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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
FOURTH SESSION
LAHORE
1940

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS.

FOURTH (LAHORE) SESSION

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FOREWORD

The Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress was held at the University of the Panjab, Lahore, on 16th—18th December, 1940, at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor, Khan Bahadur Mian Afzal Husain, M.A. (Cantab), M.Sc., I.A.S., and the Syndicate of the University.

It was attended by a large proportion of the 269 delegates who were enrolled as members. The success of the session was due to numerous factors. In the first place it owed very much to the generous hospitality and interest of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University, who not only provided accommodation for its meetings and residence of many of the visiting delegates, but also contributed Rs. 1,500 towards the cost of the function. The Government of the Panjab also contributed liberally to its success. Besides making a grant of Rs. 2,000 to the fund of the Session, it was personally represented by the Premier, the Honourable Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, who acted as Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Honourable Sir Manohar Lal, Minister of Finance, who represented the Premier during the enforced absence of the latter upon important service abroad; and the Honourable Mian Abdul Haye, M.B.E., Minister for Education, who assisted much in his official capacity, besides subscribing generously to the Reception Fund.

Every activity associated with the public interest and hospitality of the Panjab derives the most valuable help from the rulers of the Panjab States; and their response to the invitation of the local organisers of the session for help was immediate and generous, as will be seen on page 15 of this volume. In this connection and several others, also, the local committee owed very much to the cordial co-operation of the Honourable Mr. C. P. Skrine, O.B.E., I.C.S., Resident for the Panjab States. The generosity of leading citizens of the province is indicated on page 15 and also by the fact that members of the Reception Committee subscribed altogether Rs. 2,475 to our fund. The organisers also gratefully acknowledge receipt of a grant of Rs. 500 from the Municipality of Lahore through the Administrator, Mr. H. J. B. Taylor, I.C.S., and a grant of Rs. 300 from the Panjab University Historical Society.

As an indication of the liberality of the various hosts, donors and subscribers who ensured the success of the Session, it may be mentioned that the total amount of delegate fees received by the local organisers represented only about 8 per cent of the total sum of Rs. 9,891, which was received to cover the costs of the Session.

His Excellency the Governor, Sir Henry D. Craik, Bart., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., actively patronised the Session and entertained a party of 500 persons, including those connected with the History Congress and many local officials and citizens, at a garden party at Government House.

Delegates and their friends were entertained with a concert of Indian music and dancing, organised by Miss S. Zutshi of the University

Department of Music, which was highly appreciated; and also with a coloured film, entitled "This India," which was produced and shown by the Honourable Mr. C. P. Skrine, Resident for the Panjab States.

An historical exhibition was arranged by a committee, of which Dr. G. L. Chopra, Keeper of the Panjab Government Records, was chairman, and Mr. M. Sadullah was secretary.

The organisers wish to express their gratitude to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director of Archæology, Government of India, and to the Superintendent of Lahore Fort and the Curator, Taxila Museum, for their courteous and valuable assistance to parties of delegates who visited those sites.

The Joint (Local) Secretary of the History Congress, Professor J. F. Bruce, wishes to record his great obligation to the members of the following committees, whose valuable co-operation was largely responsible for the successful organisation and execution of the session.

The Local Secretary was assisted on many occasions by the generous aid of Mr. G. D. Sondhi, I.E.S., Principal, Government College, Lahore, Mr. E. P. Moon, O.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to His Excellency, the Governor, and Mr. S. N. Gupta, Principal, Mayo School of Arts and Curator, Lahore Central Museum. He wishes also to express particular gratitude to Mr. R. R. Sethi, Assistant Local Secretary, whose help in conducting the Session was invaluable. He was also greatly assisted by the zealous co-operation of many students of the postgraduate Department of History of the University and by Mr. S. D. Sharma, clerk of the Department.

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HISTORIC LAHORE

Lahore, the capital city of the province of Panjab, stands on the left bank of the Ravi—one of the five rivers which give the province its name—and has a population of about five lakhs. It consists of two parts, the ancient city, girdled until about half a century ago by a high wall, pierced at intervals by thirteen gates; and the civil station, which came into existence after the British annexation of the Kingdom of Lahore in 1849. At the north-western corner of the old city stands the Fort, while three miles east of the civil station and seven miles from the old citadel lies the Cantonment on the plain of Mian Mir.

Lahore is an ancient city, of which the origin is lost in the mist of tradition. In its long history it has been called by various names, of which the oldest appears to have been the Hindu name, Lavpur. Mythology attributes its creation to Rama, King of Ayodhia, the hero of Ramayana, whose two sons, Lav and Kush, were said to have founded the towns of Lahore and Kasur. The Labokla of Ptolemy has been identified by some scholars with Lahore. Muslim writers in the course of the past thousand years have variously named it Lohawar, Lohar or Rahwar.

Lying midway between the Khyber Pass and Delhi it has been a regular resting place for invaders of India from the north-west since before the campaign of Alexander the Great. For about eight centuries before the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni it was the centre of a considerable Hindu Kingdom or confederacy of states. The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who passed through it in A. D. 630, described it as a large Brahmanical city.

In the latter part of the tenth century Subaktgin overran the kingdom of Lahore, which extended west from Sirhind to Lamghan, and from Kashmir south to Multan. The King, Jaypal, was overthrown in A. D. 975. His son, Auangpal, in 1008 organised another alliance against Mahmud, son and successor of Subaktgin, but was also defeated. The city and kingdom passed finally under the control of Mahmud in 1022 and continued under his dynasty until it was overthrown by the house of Ghor in A. D. 1186.

The city of Lahore remained under the domination of successive Muslim rulers for eight centuries until in 1799 it was occupied by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and became the capital of the Sikh Kingdom for fifty years. During the medieval period the city, which had become the rich metropolis of the fairly fertile plain of the Panjab, was a lure to many successive invaders. In 1241 it was sacked by the hordes of Changiz Khan. In 1286 the Mongols again raided Lahore and Prince Muhammad, the cultured son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, died defending it, while his friend, the poet Amir Khusru, was captured. In 1397 one of Timur's armies captured and sacked the city, which was thereafter left by him in the charge of an Afghan viceroy. After several further minor vicissitudes, Lahore passed under the Lodhis and Daulat Khan, the governor, being at amity with his master Ibrahim Lodhi, invited Babar to invade India. Babar easily captured Lahore, which was once again sacked and partially destroyed, and then passed on to the conquest of Hindustan.

But the Mughal period, thus grimly inaugurated, was to be the age of the city's greatest splendour, testified not only by contemporaries,

but also by the sadly dilapidated monuments which survive to the present day. In the reign of Akbar it was described by Abul Fazl as a great city, "the resort of peoples of all nations," with few equals in magnificence and numbers. In 1626 it was described as one of the chief cities of India and it was said that "Ispahan and Shiraz together would not equal the half of Lahore." The city reached its greatest height under the early Mughal emperors from Akbar to Shah Jahan. Here Akbar spent the brightest period of his reign until 1598, when he left it finally for Agra and the Deccan. Here Shah Jahan was born in 1592, and here Jahangir was buried at Shahdara in 1627. The great citadel was reconstructed during this period and beautifully adorned with palaces built by Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. About the city stately and graceful gardens, palaces, pavilions, mosques and tombs rapidly grew in number, which contributed to immortalise the elegant grandeur of that great age.

Lahore in Akbar's time became famous not only for its architecture, but also in literature and other activities. It was during his residence here that a great history of the first millennium of Islam was composed; while the Mahabharata and Rajatarangni were translated into Persian. The first European visitors to Mughal India came to Akbar's court at Lahore. They were a group of Portuguese Jesuit missionaries from Goa, and in 1584 four Englishmen representing the Turkey or Levant Company. The fruit of their visit was the formation of the East India Company in 1600. Akbar's famous minister, Todar Mal, a native of Chunian, near Lahore, was engaged here during that period in the organisation of his elaborate financial system.

The accession of Jahangir to the throne in 1605 was followed in the next year by the rebellion of his son Khusru at Lahore. The rebellion was easily suppressed and the prince, in chains, was forced to witness the terrible punishment of his followers beneath the walls of Akbar's fort. Two of his advisers were sewn up in new raw hides and left to die in slow agony. Seven hundred others were impaled alive upon two rows of stakes, between which the captive prince was paraded in contumely. The fifth Guru of the Sikhs was implicated in this rebellion. This Guru, Arjun, had collected the writings of Baba Nanak, the original Guru of the Sikh faith, and had added to them hymns by Kabir and Farid and certain Hindu saints, thus forming the Adi Granth, the basic scripture of that religion. Guru Arjun was accused of giving spiritual aid to Khusru and was imprisoned and tortured and died in confinement. "All this," wrote Jahangir in his memoirs, "I did for the sake of good government." Khusru was afterwards released and "washed with the pure water of forgiveness."

Another incident in the life of the emperor Jahangir was concerned with the lady, Sharaf-un-Nissa, or Nadira Begum, known as Anarkali—"pomegranate blossom"—who belonged to the harem of Akbar. Prince Salim became captivated with Anarkali, who died untimely in 1599, leaving a grim legend. After coming to the throne Jahangir buried her body in a very beautiful marble sarcophagus, on one side of which is engraved a Persian couplet, which being translated reads:—

"Oh, could I but behold again the face of my beloved,
I would give thanks to God until my resurrection."

Above it he raised a beautiful tomb, which has since experienced many changes of time. Neglected under the later Mughals, it was used in

the nineteenth century as a place of residence by Prince Kharak Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and afterwards by Ventura, an Italian Jew in the Sikh service. After the British annexation of the Panjab it was used as a Christian Church, the body of Anarkali being exhumed and reburied under one of the turrets. The tomb is now used for the Panjab Government Record Office. The name of Anarkali is preserved in the principal bazaar of Lahore.

Upon his death, the body of Jahangir was buried in the beautiful garden of Nur Jahan at Shahdara, in a stately mausoleum which is one of the chief glories of Lahore. Nearby is the modest tomb of Nur Mahal herself; while outside the wall of Dilawez Garden also stands the tomb of her brother, Asaf Khan, the able viceroy of Lahore, who did much for its adornment.

After another bloody family feud which signalised the succession of Shah Jahan as emperor in 1627, Lahore enjoyed an era of peace and prosperity from 1628 until 1657 under the able rule of Wazir Khan, a native of Chiniot, who, was also a great patron and builder. The emperor was much attached to the city of his birth and left his imperial sign manual, always so unmistakable, upon the palace buildings within Akbar's fort.

In another bloody struggle for the succession to Shah Jahan's throne Lahore supported his eldest son, Dara Shikoh, who lived here and had endeared himself by his liberality to its inhabitants. But he was defeated and slain by Aurangzeb. The great Badshahi Mosque, built by Aurangzeb, is said to have been erected from the proceeds of the confiscated estates of Dara Shikoh. With the accession of this emperor the glory departed from Lahore. The French traveller Bernier, who accompanied him to Kashmir in 1664, noted the beginning of this decadence.

After the death of Aurangzeb Lahore continued to decay. Under the later Mughal emperors dissension, intrigue and neglect left their evil marks upon the city and the province and the contumacy of the Sikhs increased the confusion. So serious was the rebellion of Banda that the emperor Bahadur Shah marched with an army intended for its suppression, but died on the way. A new viceroy, Abdul Santad Khan, suppressed the rebellion, and his son and successor, Zakariya Khan, maintained a reasonable peace and order in the province for twenty-one years (1717—1738). But then a new scourge appeared, when the Turkoman warrior Nadir Khan descended upon India, and Zakariya Khan was forced to submit to him. After the death of Zakariya Khan his sons, Yahiya Kila, and Shah Nawaz Khan disputed the authority, for in these decadent days the office of Subedar tended to become hereditary and in many cases became the basis of the authority of Indian princes of the present day.

In these troublous times the sturdy Sikhs improved the opportunity to assert their rude power. Loose confederacies of Sikh jats, called *mists*, were organised for plunder, and Lahore first fell under their gruff authority, when Jassa Singh Ahluwalia held it from 1756 to 1758. The repeated incursions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, from 1748 onwards, provided a congenial atmosphere for their guerilla campaigns, which were impeded only by the astuteness of Adina Beg Khan, deputy of Mir Manu and afterwards viceroy of the Panjab, who died in 1758. The overthrow of the Marathas at Panipat in 1761 and the final withdrawal of Ahmad

Shah from India left the Panjab almost entirely at the tender mercies of the Sikh *misl*s, which were restrained only by the incursion of Zaman Shah in 1797.

A new power now arose in the person of Ranjit Singh, who became the leader of the obscure Sukerchakia *misl* and quickly revealed a practical genius of a very high order. At the age of about nineteen he made himself master of Lahore in 1799, at first as the nominal vassal of the Durrani. But he made the city progressively the capital of a kingdom which embraced ultimately the Panjab and Kashmir, of which he died the undisputed master forty years later (1839). The Sikhs under Ranjit Singh were a great power, though scarcely a great civilising force; and an English officer in 1809 described the ruins of Lahore as "a melancholy picture of fallen splendour." Masson described the city in 1838 as a place "of which now only the ruins are seen." The death of that remarkable ruler in 1839 removed the linchpin from the loose mechanism of orderly government and the kingdom of Lahore was delivered up to the capricious tyranny of the Khalsa Army, which encompassed the Sikh *shahi* in its own ruin, when it succumbed in the second Sikh War to ineluctable conquest by the forces of the East India Company.

Within eight years of the inclusion of the Panjab in British India the foundation of British authority was gravely but chaotically challenged by the sepoy mutiny, of which several indigenous claimants to political power sought to make use. And by a practical paradox Delhi was saved from Lahore, which so recently had been so fiercely recalcitrant to British influence. This was due to two factors, firstly the concentration in the Panjab of a choice group of British men of action, of whom Henry and John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson were the chief; and secondly, the instinctive response of Panjabis to inspiring leadership by virile men.

Since that epoch the Panjab and Lahore have assumed the form which can now be observed. This city is vibrant with the memory of its fiercely pulsating past. After Delhi—to which its fate has been so long and closely linked—it is the most historic city in India, and there is much truth in the statement that "no Indian city can boast of having been the seat of so many imperial dynasties." After Delhi it provides the most appropriate meeting place for an assembly of Indian scholars bent upon the study of the long and difficult scroll of their country's history and it welcomes them as warmly as through centuries it has welcomed less friendly invaders.

Amritsar, which stands about 35 miles north and slightly east of Lahore, on the Grand Trunk Road, is the second city of the province and the commercial rival of the capital. It is, however, less than four centuries old, having been founded in A.D. 1577 by Ram Das, the fourth Guru of the Sikh religion, of which it is the home. "On a site obtained from the emperor Akbar Guru Ram Das excavated an older pool to form a large tank, in the midst of which he placed a temple. The work was completed by his successor, Guru Arjun, and a town began to grow around this sacred tank, from which it took its name, Amritsar—"the pool of nectar."

During a period of persecution, particularly under Aurangzeb, Amritsar and its Sikh votaries suffered grievously, so that especially under the injunctions of Gobind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, they became transformed from a sect of quietists into a body as militant as their persecutors. Once more, after the defeat of the Sikhs by Ahmad Shah Durrani in A.D. 1762, the city was destroyed, the temple razed and the sacred tank defiled ; to be restored by the virile Sikhs two years later. They were recruited principally from the jats of the Central Panjab and during the eighteenth century became loosely organised into a rudimentary confederacy of twelve of groups, or *mists*. Of these the Bhangi *misl* obtained control of Amritsar, which they maintained until 1802, when Ranjit Singh, pre-eminently the Lion among Sikhs, took it in his iron grasp as a second centre of his rapidly expanding dominion. He devoted much care to the Harmandir shrine, which he embellished, adding the copper gilt roof from which it derives its popular name, the Golden Temple.

At Amritsar in 1809 Maharaja Ranjit Singh signed with Mr. C. T. Metcalfe the famous treaty by which he confined his territorial ambitions to the west of the river Sutlej ; and at Amritsar after the signature of the ill-omened Tripartite Treaty of 1838 he met Lord Auckland on the eve of the first Afghan war. In 1809 Ranjit Singh built just outside Amritsar the formidable citadel, Gobindgarh and also surrounded the city with a massive wall, most of which has since been demolished, as in the case of Lahore

Since the conversion of the Panjab into a province of British India Amritsar has developed rapidly as a commercial city and, apart from the many splendid military exploits of the Sikhs, has obtained a place in more than local history only in 1919, when its Jallianwala Bagh became the site of a melancholy event. the shooting of a deeply excited crowd by a company of troops commanded by General Dyer.

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PROGRAMME

Monday, 16th December, 1940

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|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10-0 a.m. | ... Photograph. |
| 10-30 to 12 noon | ... Inaugural Meeting. |
| 1-30 to 3-45 p.m. | ... Sectional Meetings. |
| 3-45 to 5-0 p.m. | ... Tea - given by Panjab University Historical Society (University Lawn). |
| 5-0 to 5-30 p.m. | ... Opening of Exhibition by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice. |
| 5-45 to 6-30 p.m. | ... Concert of Indian Music, University Hall (organised by the University Music Department). |
| 7-0 to 8-30 p.m. | ... Evening party, Maynard Hall. A coloured film, entitled "This India," will be shown by the Hon'ble the Resident. |

Tuesday, 17th December, 1940

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|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10-0 to 11-0 a.m. | ... Business Meeting. |
| 11-0 to 1-0 p.m. | ... Sectional Meetings. |
| 2-0 to 6-0 p.m. | ... Local Excursions to Shalamar, Lahore Fort and Shahdara. |
| 3-45 p.m. | ... Tea at Lahore Fort (given by organisers of the Session). |
| 8-15 p.m. | ... Dinner, Montgomery Hall, Lawrence Gardens (given by Reception Committee). |

Wednesday, 18th December, 1940

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|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10-0 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. | ... Sectional Meetings. |
| 12-30 to 2-0 p.m. | ... Lunch, Standard Restaurant, The Mall (given by organisers of the Session). |
| 2-0 to 3-45 p.m. | ... Business Meeting. |
| 3-30 p.m. | ... Garden Party (Government House). |
| Evening | ... Excursion Parties leave Lahore for Harappa and Taxila. |

Messages from the following distinguished persons conveying wishes for the success of the session were read by the General Secretary :—

The Honourable Sir Maurice Linford Gwyer, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., Chief Justice of India and Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University.

The Honourable Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., B.A., B.Sc., I.C.S., Member of the Viceroy's Council for Education, Health and Lands.

Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, M.A., K.B.E., Chief Minister of the Government of Mewar, Udaipur (Rajputana).

The Prime Minister of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad.

Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, K.C.S.I., Kt., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, Advocate-General of India, Delhi.

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Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President, Indian National Congress, Allahabad.

The Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot.

Dr. George S. Arundale, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), D. Litt. (Madras), F.R. Hist. S. (England), Adyar, Madras.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

The annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India was held at Lahore along with the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress in the University on the 17th and 18th December, 1940.

The following programme was arranged :—

TUESDAY, THE 17TH DECEMBER, 1940.

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|-------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. | .. | Presidential address by Dr. Panna Lall, C.I.E., I.C.C., Adviser to the Governor of the United Provinces. Reading of papers and exhibition of coins. |
| 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. | ... | Excursion as arranged by the Indian History Congress. |

WEDNESDAY, THE 18TH DECEMBER, 1940.

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|-----------------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10 a.m. to 12-30 p.m. | ... | Reading of papers and exhibition of coins by collectors and dealers. |
| 2 p.m. to 3-45 p.m. | ... | Business meeting of Numismatic Society of India (open to members only). |

Address of the Honourable Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier,
read by the Honourable Mr. (now Sir) Manohar Lal at
the Inaugural Meeting of the Fourth Session of the
Indian History Congress, on 16th December, 1941.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

When His Excellency found that he could not be present himself to inaugurate your Session and welcome you to Lahore, I gladly, at his request, undertook to perform this pleasant duty on his behalf. As Chairman of the Reception Committee I was already interested in extending to you a warm welcome and in doing what I could to make your meeting in the Panjab a success. All the more keen therefore is my regret that owing to unforeseen circumstances I have to be unavoidably absent to-day and am unable to fill my dual role as Chairman of the Reception Committee and representative of His Excellency. The best I can now do is to express to you through my colleague Mr. Manohar Lal, who has kindly consented to take my place, the pleasure with which we in the Panjab welcome you here and to wish every success to this your Fourth Session.

There can be few cities more suitable as a meeting place for a History Congress than Lahore. For Lahore is, I believe, after Delhi most rich in historic associations in the whole of India. Few cities in India, if any, have witnessed the rise and fall of so many dynasties, or suffered so many vicissitudes of fortune. Lahore has been successively under the domination of Hindus, of Muslims and of Sikhs. It emerged from the mists of antiquity as Brahminical city which attracted the attention of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in 630 A.D. as he journeyed from Sangla to Jullundur. A thousand years later it became for a while the capital of the Moghul Empire. It is here that Akbar passed the happiest period of his rule ; it is here that Shah Jahan was born and Jehangir buried. With the death of Aurangzeb, it lost much of its glory ; and a visitor in 1809 described it as a "melancholy spectacle of former grandeur." But its fortunes revived once more when Ranjit Singh made it the capital of his Sikh Kingdom. I hope, therefore, that you will find in Lahore enough material to occupy your thoughts and I hope too that you will find here an invigorating atmosphere to stimulate the keenness of your reflections.

The question has, I believe, been asked, "why should people meet to-day to discuss history, when history is being made on such a gigantic and significant scale before our eyes"? It is perhaps hardly for me to attempt to answer this question ; nevertheless I would venture to suggest that a partial answer is to be found in the person of the present Prime Minister of England. For Mr. Churchill is not only a statesman and a man of action ; he is also a man steeped in historical knowledge, a distinguished historian. There have been many men of action who have written accounts—and valuable accounts—of contemporary events in which they themselves have played a leading part. Mr. Churchill has not only done this ; he has also, as biographer of his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, produced a historical work of high authority, a work where the brilliance and vigour of his style have lent added force to his scholarship. And can any one doubt that much of his secret as a leader, much of the high inspiration which has sustained him amidst the terrible hazards through which England has been passing, has been his ability to see the

present struggle against the background of history ; much of his strength lies manifestly in his keen consciousness of the role which England has played in the past in the great drama of human affairs, in his deep knowledge of foreign and domestic policy and of the course of unflinching and effective strategy which won England success in the past.

True admiration, said a great French writer, is historical, and nothing affords a better illustration of this truth than the admiration of one's own country. Every patriotic Indian must therefore, I think, welcome these periodical meetings of historical scholars, which afford an opportunity of piecing together the fragments of our country's past into a coherent, intelligible and comprehensive whole. And I for one am only too pleased to think that the distractions of war have not interrupted these meetings, which, now that India is entering upon perhaps the most critical phase of her national development, are of greater value and importance than ever before. For only with a proper understanding of India's past, of its different peoples and customs, of the many and diverse civilisations which have grown to greatness in this ancient land, can we hope to devise the right constitutional expedients, the appropriate social and economic organisation for the new India, which, we hope, is being born in these times of stress and rapid change in which we live.

With these reflections, gentlemen, I beg leave to open the Session and call upon your new President to address you. His predecessor, who now retires, is distinguished for researches which have greatly illuminated a very difficult period of early Indian history. He himself comes here glowing with the honour just conferred upon him by the Royal Asiatic Society.

Address of welcome by K.B. M. Afzal Husain, M.A. (Cantab.), M.Sc., I.A.S., Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab.

It is my privilege to extend to you, Mr. President, and to the delegates of the Indian History Congress a most hearty welcome on behalf of the University of the Panjab.

Last year you met at Calcutta, which claims to be the second city of the British Empire. In comparison this town of ours may perhaps appear of no great importance. For the historian, however, Lahore possesses much that is of great interest. The foundation of this town is attributed to Lava or Loh, son of Rama. At any rate, for a thousand years or so this town has been the capital of a vast territory extending far beyond the limits of the area through which the six rivers flow. Lahore was the residence of the Governors of the Ghaznavids and the dynasties that succeeded them. During the Mughal period it was one of the three chief cities of the empire and an important mint town of the emperors. Akbar the Great held his court here for ten years from 1584 to 1594. During the reign of Jahangir Lahore reached its full glory and splendour. That great emperor lies buried across the river near his consort, the world-famous Nur Jahan. A big fort, mosques, gardens, and tombs speak of the days gone by. At the decline of the Mughal empire Lahore was invaded, time after time by foreigners and ransacked and destroyed. It also suffered from the prevailing anarchy and was reduced to a heap of ruins. It regained some of its glory under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, whose

last remains are interred in this town. Thus, here you have history around you.

Zamzama—the big gun made famous by Rudyard Kipling—stands close by to bear testimony to the skill of the craftsmen and the valour of the soldiers who used such weapons.

Both geographically and ethnographically this province presents to students of history a most interesting palimpsest, where strata formed by successive waves of culture lie one upon another, tilted here and there into outcrops, which suddenly reveal wonderful empires and civilisations about which history is dumb. The archæological discoveries at Harappa take us back to 2,700 B.C. and reveal to us the existence of an advanced civilisation of great splendour and vigour. At Taxila there existed a centre of Buddhist culture some 2,000 years ago.

The waves of Aryan immigration which entered from the north-west left deeper traces in the Panjab than anywhere else. The Aryans made this province their first home in India. It was here that the Raghaveda was written.

The long line of foreign invaders, beginning with Alexander in the 4th century B. C. and ending with Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1756, had lasting racial, political and social effects on the people. In particular Alexander's visit and consequent Greek contacts had far profounder effect on the social culture of the population than we are apt to imagine. Similar contributions to our cultural heritage continued for centuries. During the Mughal rule material prosperity, activity and artistic creation reached a stage of which India can be justly proud.

It is impossible to overestimate what we owe to the fruitful contact of several alien civilisations, each with a past rich with noble traditions of thought and culture, art and literature, ambition and achievement. The particular significance of this blend of life and cultures lies in the fact that while their respective outlook and ideals were so different as to be in places almost contradictory, yet a way was found to reconcile these contradictions, so that these divergent systems of life and thought could co-exist and flourish—a tribute to the wisdom and tolerance of the people who lived here. Therefore it is not surprising, as recent researches have shown, that the Panjab was the home of the *lingua franca* of India which we call Urdu or Hindustani.

During recent times another civilisation of a different growth has impinged upon this product and is producing influences the far-reaching consequences of which it is not possible for us to estimate.

To-day the world is passing through a tremendous upheaval. Is this the inevitable result of overspecialisation of a civilisation, and is history to repeat itself, producing some fresh force, more plastic, to create a "new order?" The future surely lies with those nations whose culture is not rigid, but possesses rich and abundant material for the process of national selection to act upon.

It is often stated that history as taught in our schools and colleges is responsible for much of the communal discord that exists in our country to-day. There seems no reason why it should be so. The present is predominantly a scientific age, and it is necessary that all social and historical phenomena be studied scientifically. The branches of knowledge at one time grouped under the "humanities" are following the methods of science. There seems no reason why the branch of knowledge

which deals with the records of the doings of man should not be studied with the same detachment as facts of natural history or human psychology. Why should the names and doings of certain historical figures conjure up reactions which dim our vision, dull the edge of our judgment, disturb our intellectual equilibrium and make it difficult for us to assess the true value of historical data?

There was a time when similar prejudice hindered the progress of science. By way of illustration I may be permitted to relate an incident from the history of Evolution.

At the British Association Meeting at Oxford in 1860, Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, ended a clever though flippant attack on Darwin by asking whether it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that Darwin claimed descent from a monkey. "I asserted, and I repeat" retorted Huxley, "that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather," and continued: "If there were an ancestor whom I should feel ashamed in recalling, it would rather be a man—a man of restless and versatile intellect—who, not content with success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by aimless rhetoric and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeal to religious prejudice."

The time has come when the drama of history, its actors and their acts should be studied with the same detachment with which a scientist studies natural phenomena, and not as glorious episodes in racial history, deeds of valour of national heroes, or cruel actions of aggressors. History thus studied will become a common heritage of all mankind and a cohesive force, rather than a disruptive agency, which fans fires of sectarian, communal and national hatred. Events in human history should be studied without passion and without prejudice, so that history shall develop into a science which provides guidance to individuals and states, keeping them to paths which lead to progress and away from those that lead to decay. This will often require much courage and much self-restraint. Loyalties to countries, creeds and classes may be difficult to suppress, but dispassionate search after truth demands undivided loyalty. Natural history tells us that an association between two different animals which is one-sided and not for mutual benefit degenerates into parasitism, which in the long run is more harmful to the aggressor—the parasite—than to the host. Does not human history repeatedly tell the same story? Is not final degeneration the price of every conquest?

A vast amount of enquiry and research has been achieved by Indian scholars in the vast field of Indian history and archaeology during the last 20 years or so, but a great deal remains to be done. The stimulus of such gatherings as this Congress has played a very important part in the development of research. 'I am sure the exchange of ideas and contacts established will further the progress of historical investigations. I welcome you, Sir, in our midst and I welcome the delegates of the History Congress. I wish you a pleasant and fruitful time.'

Presidential Address by Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Honorary Ph.D.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The year 1940 marks the centenary of the death of James Prinsep who may be called appropriately the Father of Indian epigraphy. Just a few years before his death, he succeeded in 1837, in reading the whole of the Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict of Asoka. Successful deciphering of Indian inscriptions became thenceforward a well recognised department of work in Indian scholarship. The century which has since elapsed has accumulated such a volume of inscriptional material that it may be said to constitute the most accurate and useful source of Indian history. It is well known that Indian studies really began with the study of Sanskrit in a fashion long before. Systematic study however began with the foundation of the mother of Asiatic Societies, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, recently elevated to the dignity of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is in connection with that Society, and as an active member of that body, that Prinsep made the discovery, and his reading of the Asoka inscription was published there. This opened the way as usual with individual study of the abundant inscriptional material in the country, and led in the generation following to the organisation of an Indian Archæological Department under General Cunningham in 1871. This department did not devote itself exclusively to the deciphering and publication of inscriptions ; but was more of a general Archæological Department, epigraphy constituting but a part of it. Even so it gave a good start to the study of epigraphy, and led ultimately to the formation of a separate Department of Epigraphy. After the retirement of James Burgess in 1884, the appointment of Director-General was held in abeyance, and, five years after, the post of the Epigraphist to the Government of India was created, which has continued to exist, searching for and collecting inscriptions and publishing them, so successfully that these inscriptions now constitute, including numismatics in it, perhaps the most reliable and voluminous source for the study of the history of India.

2. At the commencement of the new century, the Archæological Department came in for the attention of the all-comprehensive activity of the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon ; and the Department was reorganised on a comprehensive basis under a Director-General and Sir John Marshall was appointed to the post. Archæological work on a systematic basis began with this reorganisation, and work has progressed on a much wider scheme of archæology, resulting in a vast accumulation of material, carrying the history of India back by a jump to three thousand years before the earliest period so far known. The results of the various excavations carried out on important centres widely separated, as well as the other items of work connected with the various branches of the Department, have all been published in valuable reports covering the period of a full generation. The Archæological Survey Reports, the separate Memoirs of the Archæological Department and various other publications, incorporate the results of the work of this Department and provide an additional mass of material. The three excellent volumes of Sir John Marshall's report on Mohenjo-Daro, supplemented by the two volumes by Mr. Mackay, together with the two volumes published just a couple of months since on Harappa by Mr. Vats, place in the hands of the historian of India a mass of

material which takes us to a period anterior to the so-called Vedic by a couple of millenniums and more.

3. Not less important was the foundation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, now the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This new foundation had the definite object of contributing to the knowledge of Hindu and Islamic culture by the promotion of the study of Sanskrit and Persian with a view to putting the British administration of the times in possession of sounder knowledge, at least of the laws they had to administer. But their studies had been carried on on a wider scale even from the start. Warren Hastings himself translated one of the less well known love passages of the Mahabharata in a letter to his wife. Apart from this, there is his testimony to the permanent value of the Bhagavad-Gita translated by Charles Wilkins, in his preface to which he definitely stated that this Bhagavad-Gita would last far beyond the time when the British administration of India itself should have passed into history. The prophecy reflects his admiration for the Gita, its popularity only increasing with the efflux of time. The Gita teaching threatens to reach back to an antiquity before the Rig-Veda, while its appeal remains ever fresh and widening in its reach. Notwithstanding the positive discouragement of Oriental studies, at least on the Sanskrit side, by Macaulay in the system of education with which his name is associated particularly, Sanskritic studies have gone on growing both in volume and in depth in India and the world over, so that the knowledge obtained has come to be bewilderingly voluminous, though much ground remains yet to be covered. The progress made in the study of Persian and Arabic is equally great. A stimulus has also been given to the study of the Dravidian languages and of the various arts, which are really more substantial evidence of the culture and civilisation of India. After a little more than a century and a half of this renaissance of Oriental studies we are in a far better position to understand, appreciate and even appraise Indian culture and civilisation than our grandfathers and great-grandfathers were. Nevertheless it was widely accepted that India's annals were a blank before the Muhammadan invasions. A sober historian, who was the author of the first modern standard history of India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, could not only say that there was no known date in Indian history before the invasion of Alexander the Great, but also dismiss the Hindu period of Indian history in his standard work in a few chapters. The advance we have since made could be measured by comparison between Elphinstone's History and the Cambridge History of India, which, alas! remains yet uncompleted; the second volume has yet to appear. Even in that uncompleted condition, this work actually gives us a clear idea of the progress made in Indian studies in the course of the century that has just elapsed since the days of Elphinstone.

4. During the century Indian studies have been steadily pursued in all departments, and the work of research carried into many obscure corners with earnestness and enthusiasm. Within the last twenty years our knowledge of Indian history has been carried backward by two or three millenniums by the discovery of the remnants of an Indus Valley civilisation. India is the land of palæolithic man. This however takes us to the Calcolithic age, and brings us into historical contact with the West, taking back our civilisation into touch with the Aegean. Indian civilisation and culture were also carried across the Bay of Bengal into the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and the continent of Indo-China. We are not sure how far we could carry it back in date, but

we may be certain that there was some knowledge of these parts in the days of Asoka. That region of Indian history and the outspread of Indian culture has now become, by quite recent work a region quite worthy of our attention, and no history of India would be considered full unless attention be paid to this. A history of about 1,500 years seems possible for the Hindu outspread, and the subsequent history of this region is a study of a new synthesis of Hindu and Islamic culture. Across the North-West Frontier our knowledge has expanded enormously. Recent work by French archæologists in particular has unearthed the early history of Afghanistan and carried us beyond the Hindukush into Central Asia, and since the Chinese contact in the first century, communication and commerce have been carried on in a continuous stream through the Taklamakan region and the Tien-shan slopes. Communication with China has thus been established for a period of over a thousand years, and the memorials of this contact which have recently been acquired open out a new vista of study. There is the further fact that communication by the sea between China and India has now become more or less an established fact over the high seas during the same period. These new vistas have been opened before us by quite recent work, and the horizon of Indian civilisation has thus been extended beyond the dreams of our grandfathers. We know our history and culture far better than the generations that have gone before us. While therefore acknowledging to the fullest extent our obligations to the body of European Indianists who have been our teachers in this line, the question naturally arises whether the time has not come for us to make an effort to present Indian culture and civilisation as we understand it after five or six generations of tutelage. It strikes me that the time is come for us to make a constructive effort at a history of Indian civilisation and culture in all its multifarious ramifications, if only to show what apt pupils we have been in comparatively new lines of work for us. It need not be want of respect or gratitude if it is stated that our studies in the subject are sufficiently advanced for us to make an effort to explain our culture and civilisation through the centuries as we have understood it, to the outside world. If our predecessors in this field of work, European and Indian alike, were not in a position to appreciate the tendencies of Indian culture in the way that we might well do, it would certainly do them no discredit; and, if we claim a better understanding, it is not in simple egotism, but in the natural course of progress.

5. While therefore we may flatter ourselves in the belief that the progress of Indian studies would justify our launching into a comprehensive and constructive effort at gathering together the results of a century and a half of work in one full-sized historical conspectus, circumstances around us seem to call for this as a matter perhaps of emergency. The world around us seems involved in a deliberate effort at sending civilisation itself into smoke, as Carlyle said of the French Revolution. Europe seems to be straining every nerve to do this in the name of a new order. The contagion seems to be catching rapidly, East Asia by means of Japan. The demand is for a new order, the order not coming about in the course of historical evolution, but introduced by the deliberate effort of the moment, and in many respects, contrary to the tendencies of history and tradition. It cannot well be said that India is free from that totalitarian taint. The demand is for a clean slate, a call to abolish that that is historical and traditional, so that life may start anew. The idea is not unfamiliar to the Indian mind. This is known as *Visvamitra Srishti*,

creation on the ideal of Visvamitra. This great Kshatriya, by a prodigious feat of penance, acquired extraordinary powers, and imagined that it was open to him to change the order of progress; but found that the first serious effort on his part failed egregiously. We may succeed where even Visvamitra failed; but we have no experience of such success, killing all individuality and creating a new order at the dictation of an individual mind, or even of the mind of a group. Even God Himself, or Nature in the language of Science, does not appear to act in this arbitrary fashion, as accumulated human experience seems to show. The question really is, which is the safer to : proceed in accordance with experience gained gradually, or by the simple intuition of individuals, however remarkably gifted they be. It resolves ultimately into this, whether progress is a growth, or a momentary act of creation. All our experience seems to show that civilisation is a matter of gradual growth, and certainly not of momentary creation. If that general position is admitted, the value of a comprehensive and correct knowledge of the course of progress of humanity generally, or even of large communities like the Indian community, would seem to be indispensable for those who are anxious to promote the welfare of the people, and not their wholesale destruction. At the moment therefore the demand seems peremptory in India for a fuller study of her history.

6. Though the Cambridge History of India is undoubtedly a successful effort in this direction, and meets the need to a considerable extent, it still leaves much that it has actually not taken up in full, particularly in the field of the cultural history, which is the more important part of the scheme contemplated. There is besides much that a foreigner could not understand in full and explain satisfactorily, as European savants of first rank often admit. A specialised study like that of the Veda itself revealed that while the European study of it has certainly made the meanings of words clear, a similar claim could not be advanced with truth in respect of the understanding of the ideas, the allusions and all that makes it literature. Much that has hitherto been dismissed as tradition and unworthy of any credence has certainly to be reconsidered, and Vedic interpretation has to be reconstructed on the basis of a wider study. The opinion which prevails, that the commentary of Sayana is of secondary importance to the modern philological interpretation of the Veda, would certainly require reconsideration in the light of information which is now available by way of commentarial tradition, in the facts that have been brought to light recently that the Vedas were interpreted and taught centuries before Sayana. It would be absurd that there should have been any study of the Veda, and that the Veda could have received the continuous attention that they did, without some kind of effort at understanding the text. There is much else in the reading of Indian history which has gone astray for lack of a comprehensive view. There has also been a considerable amount of misunderstanding arising from the wrong order in which the study has gone on so far, so that there has been a general tendency to regard everything Buddhist for instance as being necessarily older than things Hindu, to use a modern though much misunderstood term. There is therefore clearly room for a reconsideration of the growth and development of Indian culture and civilisation from many points of view. An exposition of Indian civilisation therefore all round seems eminently desirable, and it may be said with confidence that our studies in this line as a whole have reached a stage when a comprehensive reconstruction seems called for and can be undertaken with the possibility of successful accomplishment. This matter has occupied

the attention of thoughtful Indians for very near a generation and has been in abeyance for lack of concerted effort. An All-India Congress of Indian History which was foreshadowed in 1931 in the so-called first Bombay History Congress, has now been realised in the organisation of the Indian History Congress started in Poona. This organisation had already had successful sessions in Allahabad and Calcutta, assembling here in Lahore for its fourth session. If an organisation in India should make an attempt at realising this great project, it should be a body like this, which offers a sufficiently wide common platform for bringing together all the talent available in the country for the common effort. Some work has already been done. The proposal was brought before the Allahabad Conference. The general project was considered. There was general agreement in regard to a scheme. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the feasibility of the large project, a general syllabus, an outline scheme was circulated, it may be not widely enough. The Calcutta Session of the Congress considered this scheme again, particularly in its financial aspects, and the support that it is likely to get. Conditions unfortunately are not quite propitious for launching a scheme immediately, because of the war preoccupations of all those whose support would have to be the mainstay for the successful prosecution of a project like this. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, there has been sufficient encouragement to enable a practicable scheme being made and working power mobilised therefor. The full implications of the financial side of the scheme would take some little time to measure with any degree of accuracy, having regard to the volume of the preliminary organisation and work which a large scheme like that would involve. There have been efforts in this direction; but the greatness of the project, and the large extent of co-operation which has to be secured, the actual carrying on of the work on a scale commensurate with the importance of the work, the extremely varied character of the matter that has to be dealt with and the intellectual forces to be commandeered, should give the warning that schemes in this behalf should not be launched light-heartedly, and by small bodies of workers, however enthusiastic they may be. It would be most foolish to launch on a large scheme without adequate preliminary consideration of its implications.

7. We must bear in mind the principle laid down by Lord Morley, that we have no right to expect from the past anything but that past in all its completeness; which means that a history of the past is intended to tell us what that past was, nothing more, nothing less. This caution seems eminently called for now more than at any other time, as the current theory of history is something far different, and that kind of history is making itself felt in all its dire consequences all over the West. We have no right whatever to make history subserve our purposes, however noble they may be in themselves, and the value of a study of history is lost completely for good and for evil by the slightest interference with the recording of its actual course. For one example, teachers of history have been admonished to teach history leaving out of it altogether all that would tend to promote sectarian fanaticism. An effort at abolishing what would promote fanaticism is certainly a good thing, and the way to teach it is not to remove from history the acts of fanaticism and fanatical personalities who played their part in history. The plainest way of teaching the youth to put an end to fanaticism in their convictions and character is not to tell the lying tale that people were never fanatics, that there were no fanatics before us and no acts of fanaticism were perpetrated in history.. The right way to proceed is directly and fully to point out the

fanatical acts and those influences which were responsible for the perpetration of fanatical deeds, and expound the dire consequences to human society that these actually brought. It is by convincing people of the evil consequences of a bad act that fanaticism should be removed, and the evil removed by an act of conviction and not by an act of smooth glossing over or abolishing the statement of their occurrence, by perpetrating lies which certainly ought not to be the function of history. Our knowledge of history may not be quite accurate and absolutely correct in all its details from the imperfection of the material and even of the minds that go to work upon it; but we are bound in honour, nay even in common honesty, to tell the tale of what actually happened as accurately as we can get at that. It is then that history becomes a study of value as a record of actual human experience. Then only can we make use of it for studying progress in the past, to know what promoted real progress and what prevented it, thereby cultivating a critical judgment. That is the real teaching of history. So written, there is nothing to be afraid of. We ought to recover from the past all that we can possibly recover, and in true perspective.

8. Ramsay Macdonald stated broadly that a statesman or an administrator has to set about his business in an empirical fashion, impelled by the circumstances of the moment, and that it is the valuable function of the historian, coming generally years after, to proceed with rule and compass to unravel and appraise the influences which led to a particular course of action, and thus produce an accurate record of occurrences and how they actually came about. Bearing that in mind, a comprehensive history of India should be attempted on scientific lines.

9. In order to achieve such an object we have really to mobilise the intellectual resources of all votaries of history assembled here, and those who may not be here for the moment, and whose assistance would be of value. In this mobilisation of resources, the Universities, the States and the Governments, each one of these has its own part to play. We must beat up enough sympathy for them to enable us to go forward with the momentous and difficult work with all the facility attainable for the present. Notwithstanding the fact that a great deal of work has been done, and a vast volume of material has been made available, there are still nooks and corners where light is desirable, and that light is not perhaps easily attainable. All those dark corners must be illuminated, in order to make the work succeed. Individual effort and individual work can do much; but the time has come for concerted work now. Twenty years ago I experienced difficulty in the course of my work where certain passages of the historian Firishta, accessible to me only in translation, were not accurate enough in all detail, and the late Professor Abdullah Suhrawardy of the Calcutta University offered to do for me the translations of particular passages; but at the same time he felt convinced that the time had come for the Universities to take up the systematic work of producing correct texts as well as good translations of the acknowledged classics of Muslim history. Soon after I heard reliably that the Muslim University of Aligarh had gone on with the collation of texts, and when that work should be completed they would examine the question of providing translations. That arose in connection with the work of Amir Khusru and Ziaud-din Barani. Since then the Osmania University has been making efforts in this direction as well. The Indian Historical Records Commission in its Gwalior Session in 1929 wanted the Government of India to help the publication of a more correct edition of the

valuable work, Sir Henry Elliot's History of India as told by Her own Historians. That is so far only for the Muslim side of it. Much is being done by Governments and individuals in respect of the Hindu sources. A body like the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala of Poona and the newly started Assam Anusandan may be mentioned as prominent examples. What is wanted, however, is work upon a plan with a view to serve fully the purpose of the writing of a complete History of India on critical and scientific lines. In bringing about this, the Indian History Congress may devote a part of its attention to secure the requisite amount of co-ordination.

10. Thanks to the persistent demand of research scholars and the good offices of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the records in various sections and centres in India have now been thrown open under certain rules to scholars engaged in research. That would enable us to work up in detail even the later period of history, and bring the history down to the quite modern period of reconstruction, a period of about eighty years now. The public records are thrown open up to the period of the Mutiny, and the Governments happen to be shy of records since, for a variety of administrative reasons, which in themselves are quite valid so far as they go. We may certainly hope for further facilities being provided, it may be under safeguards, for all requirements of history. What is really wanted is the co-operation of all the organisations and individuals concerned in this matter, with the sole object of prosecuting this great enterprise to success. All narrowness in sentiment, sectional, local and other kinds of patriotism must be kept aside. The Universities, the learned societies, the departments, individual scholars and institutions of all kinds, both private and public, each one of these has a part to play, and they ought to do their part with the greatest freedom and breadth of view. This land of the Indus in which I am addressing you may perhaps be regarded appropriately as the cradleland of Indian civilisation. Man has been in India far anterior to the earliest period that we know of in the Indus region. Early Vedic civilisation is in association with this region of the Sindhu (Indus), which indeed is the name by which our neighbours, the Persians and the far more distant neighbours, the Greeks, knew us by, and that is our modern term "Hindu," which by extension of idea has come to connote the whole sub-continent extending from the mountains to Cape Comorin and to the mouths of the Ganges at least. The Panjab was the land far-famed for learning in the age of the Veda, Uttarakuru and Utaramadra being referred to as remarkable for ancient learning. These fabled lands are now become real. Within historical times this continued to be the land of learning by the fact of the location of the university of Taxila here. The Buddha is said to have gone for his education there, and so did his royal contemporary, Prasenajit going like any poor bachelor to complete his education. It was from here that the torch of Indian civilisation has been handed on to be carried forward straight ahead to the mouths of the Ganges on the one side, and across the whole continent to Cape Comorin in the other direction. The whole country of this vast extent had a common name Bharatakhanda, and was known in the distant south in the Tamil land in the abbreviated form, *Bharata*, or *Bharatam* with the Tamil termination. That betokens a unity which we often forget, and the specially synthetic character of our Indian civilisation seems again to have sprung from here. As a matter of fact, it was conquest in the Bahlika country by the Hindu emperor Mandhata, and the bringing of barbarous people under his authority which set the problem, which is alive to-day, how to secure a unity in this multitudinous

variety. The story has it that, puzzled by the complexity thus introduced, and the seeming impossibility of bringing these new peoples into the fold of Hindu civilisation of those days, he went to Indra to consult him, who in turn was about as much puzzled as Mandhata himself. Vishnu is said to have got into Indra, and offered the solution to the puzzle by stating that where the practices of life proved flagrantly evil, they should be given up, but otherwise to suffer the varieties without any qualms; and that character of synthesis, for which the turn was given by the first emperor, Mandhata, continues to-day here in India as the guiding principle of Indian civilisation. Variety is the character of Indian people and tolerant synthesis is the guiding principle of organisation of Indian society. That has held for long. It remains to be seen whether it will undergo sufficient alteration for a stricter unification, which many people desire.

On the threshold of three score and ten, with a period of active work in my own humble way in this line, extending for almost half a century, I would fain hope that I shall have the pleasure at least of knowing that this great national, or rather Indian, enterprise has been launched and is well under way in the land of the *sapta-sindhu* with good assurance of ultimate success. The responsibility lies on all of you here assembled, more particularly the younger among you, to bring the great enterprise to success. I leave it in your hands and hope that, while the enterprise takes shape, the condition of affairs around us will so far improve as to permit the unhindered progress of the great effort. I thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for having asked me, born on the banks of southern Kaveri, to preside and address you on the banks of the Ravi on a subject of deep interest to all of us. Is it not in itself a new sign of the unity of Indian history?

Address by Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., Ph.D.,
D.Litt., General Secretary, Indian History Congress.

The Indian History Congress was founded in June, 1935, as the "All Indian Modern History Congress" on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Bharata Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona. The need for a body that would serve as the focus of Indian historical research, by which the unconnected and the unco-ordinated researches, which are being prosecuted in different parts of India, should be systematised and duly arranged, had long been felt. It was, however, the foresight energy and initiative of a band of scholars in Maharashtra, the workers of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona, which gave it a concrete form. Before this date Ancient Indian history figured as part of the activities of the Oriental Conference; and the Indian Historical Records Commission, established by the Government of India in 1919, had taken cognisance of Modern Indian history. There was no forum for the discussion of the problems of Indian history in all its aspects. Hence the scope of the Modern Indian History Congress was enlarged at the first session so as to include all periods and every branch of Indian History, and its name was changed to the Indian History Congress.

In my presidential address at the inaugural session of the Congress I drew attention to its essential functions. Its aim was threefold: firstly to be the clearing-house of Indian historical research; secondly to give

impetus to research on an all-India basis through a strong and effective organisation ; and thirdly to pave the way for the preparation of a comprehensive and scientific history of India. Its objects as laid down by a Resolution passed at the Poona Session, were "to promote research in Indian history on scientific lines, and to co-ordinate the work of the different agencies." It was to serve "the function of an Academy which could regulate the standards of historical research with strenuous vigilance and scrupulous honesty." At the same time the importance of the third objective, that of "a reliable and thorough history of India," was stressed by both the Raja of Bhore, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Lord Brabourne, who inaugurated the Congress at Poona. It was held to be the principal aim of the Congress, and has since been so regarded.

The foundations thus firmly laid in Poona were built upon at Allahabad, where the Second Session was held in October, 1938. There not only was its constitution given a shape, but steps were taken to implement the main objects so emphatically expressed at Poona. Its representative all-India character was clearly illustrated by the participation of the representatives of almost all the Universities, a large number of Provincial Governments, the Government of India, the leading Indian States, and the chief historical associations in India.

The organisers of the Third Session, the authorities and scholars of Calcutta University, were splendidly successful and placed the Congress firmly on its feet. The popularity and utility of the Congress may be gauged by the large number of members who attended, and by the high quality and the large number of papers read there. Its steady progress and growing value are clearly reflected in the increasing membership and the ready co-operation of the various institutions, official and non-official, of the country. Its published Proceedings, the latest of which is the impressive volume published by the organisers of Calcutta Session, have been heartily welcomed by students of history both in India and outside.

Let me now outline the scope and extent of the work done by the Indian history Congress in the last few years. First, as a clearing-house of Indian research. This function has been performed at the annual sessions, when papers throwing light on various aspects and periods of Indian history have been read by scholars who have made those subjects their special study. The sectional meetings of the Congress provide an opportunity for discussion and exchange of views on the interpretation of facts and theories. Scholars working in the same or similar fields are brought into close contact, and unnecessary duplication or waste of energy is thus prevented. The sectional presidents survey the extent of research done and prove valuable signposts for the scholar. The importance of this activity of the Congress is immense. Research has received the stimulus of discussion and the scholar receives a correct perspective of a definite period in all its varied aspects.

Second, to give impetus to historical research. The Congress has not been merely content with the reading of papers and discussions thereon. It has striven to facilitate research by making available records and documents which are not within easy access of the individual researcher. The Poona Resolutions related to the conservation of old temples, tombs, cemeteries and such other objects of historical importance, as well as the Peshwa Daftar. At Allahabad a comprehensive resolution was adopted recommending the establishment of well equipped Record Offices by all Provincial Governments and Indian States and the grant of adequate facilities for their use to *bona fide* research students. Another resolution sought

amendment of the copyright law, so as to enable the Government to acquire copies of books and other documents for preservation in the chief libraries of India at the centre and in the provinces. Also the Governments, both central and provincial, were urged to evolve a plan for securing photographs or typescripts of records relating to India now preserved in foreign countries. These resolutions are self-explanatory. Though no action has so far been practicable on the last two suggestions, yet the first proposal evoked an encouraging response. The Government of India and many Provincial Governments, have sent replies to our communication on the subject ; but it is obvious that we cannot expect substantial progress during the war. The response from the leading Indian States was equally encouraging. Unceasing efforts are necessary in this direction. The Congress must not rest content until it has succeeded in organising archives in every province and securing copies of necessary records from other countries.

Now for the last and most important object of the Indian History Congress, namely, the preparation of a comprehensive history of India on scientific lines. The Indian History Congress realised the importance of this project at its inception, as is evident from the stress laid on it in the speeches delivered at the Poona Session. The question assumed a more definite shape when at Allahabad a Committee was appointed to analyse the project and report on its feasibility. At the Calcutta Session another Committee was also appointed to explore its financial possibilities. The reports of the two Committees will be placed before the present session. This enterprise has from the very beginning been the chief object of the Congress. That it is feasible has never been in doubt ; but the task can only be accomplished with the active help and encouragement of all institutions and individual scholars throughout India, and it will be our endeavour to enlist the support and sympathy of all these elements in the furtherance of the enterprise.

The Indian History Congress has now become one of the most important organs of scholarship in India and has secured general recognition. Scholars of Indian history, whether in the universities or colleges, in British India or Indian India, official or non-official, have helped the Congress with their advice and experience, and it has gained further impetus from the assembly here at Lahore of its fourth and largest session.

Speech by the Honourable Sir J. Douglas Young, Chief Justice of the High Court, Lahore, at the opening of an Historical Exhibition, on 16th December, 1940, in connection with the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

There is assembled in Lahore to-day the largest, most representative and distinguished group of scholars and students of Indian history that this ancient and historic city has ever welcomed ; and, though I hasten humbly to confess my own lack of exact historical knowledge, particularly of India, I am aware, as one trained in the Law of England, that we of to-day are marching in the later ranks of that endless procession which is human history. Even I, uninitiated in the deeper mysteries of your profession, know that those in the columns ahead, who have marched

into the mist of time, have left us their spirit, their plans, and much of their *impedimenta*.

I am grateful for this opportunity to add my own hearty welcome to you upon your visit to this historic Lahore, of which the grand and often turbulent pageant is briefly sketched in the handbook of your session. It is my immediate function to declare open to you an interesting collection of the *impedimenta* of the march of India. This exhibition represents some aspects of history in the concrete, reminding us that it is the record of the life and activities of people remarkably like ourselves as we make their better acquaintance.

You will find here relics of predecessors who have disappeared so far into the mist—of the Indus Valley civilisation—that we cannot yet recognise them. You will find other archæological and historical relics of ages up to yesterday, to remind you of the rock out of which you are hewn and the traditions which make up much of your daily thoughts and habits.

It is a modest collection, a poor and short-lived relation of the fine museum next door, but I am sure that you will find it not without interest and merit. For its assembly and arrangement we have to thank the Chairman, Dr. G. L. Chopra, and the lady and the several gentlemen of his committee who have shown so much zeal, knowledge and skill in its preparation. We have to thank also Mr. Gupta, Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, who has given it shelter and has greatly helped by his fine judgment and special knowledge, to improve its value. We have also to thank many persons and institutions, including princes, governments, museums, libraries and private collectors, for the loan of exhibits. Their cordial collaboration alone has made it possible.

Before declaring this Exhibition open, I wish further to explain that I am performing a double function. By a fortunate coincidence Lahore is also to enjoy an advantage of another kind, namely, the display of a collection of beautiful and arresting paintings by Professor Nicholas Roerich and his son, Mr. Svetoslav Roerich, of whom the latter is present here. To employ properly a trite and often abused phrase, these artists are men of international renown, some of the reasons for which you will see on the walls within. When you have seen those paintings, you will realise that it was unnecessary for me to attempt clumsy praise of them.

This remarkable collection is made available for our edification primarily, of course, by the grace of the artists, whom we take this opportunity of most sincerely thanking for providing us with a very rare source of enjoyment. We have also to thank the Vice-Chancellor and the Department of Art of this University, and particularly the teacher, Mrs. Ahmed, whose zeal have made this display possible. It is a most fitting occasion to announce publicly the existence of the University Department of Art, which we hope will assist to endow us with future Roerichs.

I recommend you to purchase the charming and appropriate catalogue of the Roerich exhibition, which will assist you to appreciate their works.

It is my privilege now formally to declare open this Historical Exhibition, organised by those responsible for the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress and also an exhibition of the paintings of Professor Nicholas Roerich and Mr. Svetoslav Roerich, and to announce that they are open to the public.

Speech by His Excellency Sir Henry D. Craik, Bart., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Governor of the Panjab, at a dinner given in honour of delegates to the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress in Montgomery Hall, Lahore, on Tuesday, 17th December, 1940.

I should like to say at once how very sorry I am that, owing to an engagement of long standing, I was unable to be present to welcome you on your arrival in Lahore and to express the hope that your session, which is being held for the first time in the Panjab, has been in all respects successful. The Indian History Congress is a rapidly growing organisation and I believe that this year more delegates have attended than at any previous session. These gatherings of historical scholars from all over India—from every province and from a large number of Indian States—furnish one of the many signs of the increasing consciousness of India's past greatness and a happy augury for the future.

I have a personal interest in your organisation, for your General Secretary is an old and valued friend of mine, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Of all the studies which engage the attention of learned men none, I think, except possibly Economics, is of more importance to the administrator and man of affairs than history. Men of action are sometimes tempted to boast that they make history, while the historians only write it. But historians might perhaps retort that they do both: and in support of their contention they could cite the names of two of the most famous writers of history; for Thucydides, besides being a historian, was also an unsuccessful general; while Macaulay, before he wrote his history, had been Minister of War and had also made an indelible impression on the life of this country by drafting the Indian Penal Code.

I hope, gentlemen, you will not infer from this that I or my Ministers are so envious of the historians' happy lot that we contemplate consoling ourselves in old age, or after political extinction, by adding in any literal sense to the pages of history. But there are of course various themes which might attract us. Sir Chhotu Ram, for instance, might employ his vigorous pen on "the Decline and Fall of the Punjab Moneylender"; from Malik Khizar Hayat Khan we might expect a monograph on "the Re-birth of the Panchayat System," and from Mr. Manohar Lal a scholarly work on "A Budget in the Making." My own *magnum opus* would perhaps be "a History of Horse-breeding in the Punjab."

The writings of historians are supposed to be, or should be, like the official Italian communiqués, "mirrors of truth." Usually in time of war truth is the first casualty. Writing of the events of 1914-18, a distinguished historian has lamented that "to the cruelty and carnage of war was added the evil of subsidised prejudice and mendacity"; while another well known writer has admitted: "Even the truthful British gradually acquired a taste for propaganda and proved with remarkable success that they also could tell deliberate lies." Were there good reasons, gentlemen, to suppose that the same conditions prevailed to-day, I might now applaud your scholarly detachment, your disinterested love of truth in a world given over to falsehood. But when even Mussolini has publicly announced his respect for veracity, I begin to wonder whether this particular virtue is one on which I really ought to compliment you!

You yourselves, I imagine, must be feeling a little envious of future historians of the present war; for they will not only have an absorbing theme, but also in some ways an easy task. Governments having become so honest, they will be able to rely with certainty on the accuracy of all official pronouncements. They will also have certain accepted principles to guide them in the interpretation of events. For instance it is axiomatic that one's own withdrawals are always strategic, and the enemy's advances only made so as to facilitate retreat. But, lest you grow too envious, I should perhaps point out that they will suffer from certain disadvantages. The very wealth of the material at their disposal will be an embarrassment to them.

I cannot help doubting whether Thucydides would have made a better job of his work if the Parthenon had been packed with official documents and his readers plentifully supplied with photographs of the agonised Athenian troops watching their fleet being sunk in the harbour of Syracuse. Again, despite the wealth of written documents, I wonder whether the real motives of many of the chief actors in contemporary history will ever be ascertainable. Consider, for instance, the collapse of France. Shall we ever know what dark and sinister motives really actuated the principal public men of that country last summer? I suggest that some of them knew their transactions to be far too shady to be committed to writing. Shall we ever solve the riddle of the Russian sphynx? Or to come nearer home, will any one ever divine the secret workings of Mr. Gandhi's mind?

"Many are the marvels," wrote a Greek poet, "but none more marvellous than man"; and I have no doubt that man's incalculable actions will continue to confound the prophets and baffle the historians. You, whose profession and privilege it is to investigate his past antics, have a fascinating field of study and—though perhaps as seekers after pure knowledge you would hardly like me to say so—a very useful one. I hope that the debates and discussions on which you are engaged during this session are proving pleasant in themselves to you and will prove profitable to others, and I hope too that the cycle in human affairs, which some historians say does and some say does not exist, will some day in the not too distant future bring you all to Lahore again to hold your session here once more. Should it do so, you may be sure you will have a welcome as cordial as that which has greeted your present conference.

Proceedings of the final meeting of the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress.

The concluding session of the Indian History Congress, 1940 was held in Hailey Hall, University of the Panjab, Lahore, on Wednesday, 18th December, 1940, at 2. p.m., the President, Dewan Bahadur Dr S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, being Chairman.

PROCEEDINGS

1. Upon the motion of the President, all present standing, the Indian History Congress recorded its profound grief at the death of Sir E. Denison Ross, Dr. Balkrishna, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, the Ven'ble Archdeacon Firminger, and Mr. Phani Bhushan.

2 The following motion, proposed by Rao Sahib Professor C. S. Srinivasachari and seconded by Professor D. V. Potdar, was carried without dissent:

The Indian History Congress regards the scheme of writing and publishing a comprehensive history of India on scientific lines as feasible and entrusts its execution to a committee consisting of the present and past Presidents of the History Congress and authorises that committee to take all necessary steps for the purpose. The Congress authorises the committee to enter into negotiations with such persons or associations as it may deem necessary for promoting this scheme.

3. The following office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee were declared elected for the ensuing year :—

President	..	Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar.
Vice-Presidents	..	Dr. R. C. Mazumdar. Prof. D. V. Potdar.
General Secretary	...	Prof. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.
Joint (Local Secy.)	...	Prof. H. K. Sherwani.
Assistant Secretary	...	Dr. Basheshwar Prasad.
Treasurer	...	Prof. J. F. Bruce.
Members	...	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Dr. S. N. Sen. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhri. Prof. M. Habib. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. Dr. M. H. Krishna. Mr. R. V. Poduval.

4. On behalf of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Prof. H. K. Sherwani invited the Indian History Congress to hold its next session in Hyderabad. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

5. A vote of thanks to the local organisers and workers and the Reception Committee of the Lahore Session, proposed by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and supported by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhri, was carried with acclamation.

6. Khan Bahadur M. Afzal Husain, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab, responded on behalf of the Reception Committee and the local workers.

7. In a concluding speech the President reviewed the work of the session and the functions and objects of the History Congress.

CONSTITUTION

1. The object of the Indian History Congress shall be the promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of Indian history.

2. Membership of the Indian History Congress shall be open to all persons interested in the study of Indian history and the annual fee for membership shall be Five Rupees.

Each new candidate for membership shall have his name proposed and seconded by a member of the Congress. The Executive Committee shall admit the new members and maintain a full register of membership.

3. The following shall be the office-bearers of the Congress :

President, two Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Joint (Local) Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer.

4. The office-bearers together with seven other members elected along with the office-bearers by the members of the Congress shall form the Executive Committee and shall hold office till the end of the next session.

5. The Executive Committee shall have full power to transact all business including admission of new members, the framing of Rules of Business, and in case of emergency to deal with all other matters not here-in specified, provided that nothing is done which is inconsistent with the Constitution or the Rules of Business.

6. In the event of any vacancy or vacancies occurring among the office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee, such vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

7. There shall be a Local Committee of which the Joint (Local) Secretary of the Congress shall be the General Secretary.

Of the annual fee for membership (Rupees Five only) received from each member of the Congress, the Local Committee shall retain only three rupees and remit the balance to the General Secretary for defraying the expenses of the Central Office.

8. The following shall be the procedure for amending the Constitution of the Congress :

Proposals for addition to, or alterations in, the Constitution shall be addressed to the General Secretary two months before the meeting of the next session. He shall place them before the Executive Committee for its consideration and for making such recommendations to the Congress as it considers necessary.

LIST OF PAPERS

SECTION I—ARCHÆOLOGY

PRESIDENT :

M. Ghulam Yazdani, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., Director of Archæology,
Hyderabad (Deccan).

SECRETARY :

Jagan Nath, Esq., M.A., Oriental College, Lahore.

1. Jolavali, Velavali and Lenkavali,
by N. Venkataramanayya, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., University of Madras
 2. Some Early Raja Sasanas,
by D. C. Sircar, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Ancient Indian History,
University of Calcutta.
 3. Mithuna on some Early Indian Coins,
by Rabis Chandra Kar, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Profulla-
chandra College, Bagerhat (Khulna).
 4. Epigraphic Notes,
by Jagan Nath, Esq., M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Oriental College, Lahore.
 5. Medieval Visnu Images from Kashmir and some Visnudharmottara
passages,
by Jitendra Nath Bannerji, Esq., M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University.
 6. Two Jain Images,
by Adris Bannerji, Esq., M.A., Archæological Museum, Sarnath.
 7. The Kamarupa School of Sculpture,
by Sabessar Katakari, Esq., Honorary Assistant Secretary, Anusandhan
Samiti, Gauhati.
 8. Identification of "Indraratha" Adinagar found in Tirumalai and
other Inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I,
by P. Acharya, Esq., B.Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., State Archæologist,
Mayurbhanj State.
 9. Manyheaded, Manylimbed Gods,
by C. L. Fabri, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. D. Litt., Lahore.
 10. Megaliths in Travancore,
by R.V. Poduval, Director of Archæology, Travancore.
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SECTION II—EARLY INDIA

PRESIDENT :

Dr. R. K. Mukerji, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor of History,
Lucknow.

SECRETARY :

Gulshan Rai Bhatnagar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Sanatan Dharam College,
Lahore.

1. Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu,
by Dhirendra Nath Mukerji, Esq., Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, P. O.
Khulna (Bengal).
2. The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vakataka Dynasty,
by V. V. Mirashi, Esq., M.A., Nagpur.
3. Education under the Gupta Monarchs,
by R. S. Tirpathi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor, Benares Hindu
University.
4. Puri, the Capital of Konkan,
by Vasudeva Krishna Bhawe, Esq., B.A., Poona.
5. References to Indian Historical and Quasi-historical Records in
Hiuen-Tsang,
by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., Calcutta.
6. Ancient and Medieval Dynastic History of India from Tibetan Sources,
by Dr. S. G. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of
History, Patna University.
7. The Dindima Poets of Mullandram and the Kings of Vijayanagar,
by A. N. Krishna Aiyanger, Esq., M.A., L.T., Adyar (Madras).
8. Panis of the Rig-Veda and the Script of Mohenjo-Daro and Easter
Islands,
by N. M. Billimoria, Esq., M.A., Karachi.
9. Five Periods of Traditional History in the Vedic Age,
by Gulshan Rai, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Professor, Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore.
10. New Light on the History of the Malvas,
by Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Benares Hindu
University.
11. The Gajlakshmi Seals of the Rulers of Mahakosala,
by L. P. Pandeya Sharma, Esq., Balpur (C.P.).
12. The Sarvastivadinās and the Mahasangikas in the Kushna Period,
by Baij Nath Puri, Esq., Lucknow.
13. Kusasthali—Capital of Kusa,
by L. P. Pandya Sharma, Esq., Balpur.
14. "Maharaja Kubja Vishnuvardhana I," The First Eastern Chaulukyan
King,
by Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.
15. Samastsi and His Noted Predecessors,
by Sudhamoy Bannerji, Esq., M.A., L.T., Rampuria Jain High School, Bikaner
(Rajputana).
16. Minister and some other Officers of "The Chaulukyas of Anhilvada,"
by S. Banerji, Esq., M.A., L.T., P.E.S., Mirzapur.
17. The Kakatiyas and South Indian Powers,
by Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., B.Ed., Hindu College, Guntur.

18. Temple Offerings and Temple Grants in South India,
by Kumudranjan Chatterji, Esq., M.A., B.L., Serampur College, Bengal.
19. On the Origin of the Vedas,
by K. A. Nilkanta Shastri, Esq., M.A., Professor, University of Madras.
20. The Festival of a Voyage to the Island of Bali held at Cuttack,
by G. S. Das, Esq., B.A. (Lond.), Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.
21. The Kings of Magdha between the Brhadrathas and the Mauryas,
by Kshetre Sachandra Chattopadhyaya, Esq., M.A., University of Allahabad.
22. The Historical Literature of Tibet,
by George De Roerich, Esq.
23. Administration under the Palas and the Senas,
by Benoy C. Sen, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. (London).
24. A Note on the Emperor Mahipala of the Pratihara Dynasty,
by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Calcutta University.
25. New Light on the Date of Nahapana,
by V. R. Deoras, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. (London), Nagpur.
26. The Death of Raj Vardhana,
by B. P. Panthri, Esq., M.A., Benares.
27. Some Lights on the Nanda Dynasty,
by Sourindra Nath Roy, Esq., Imperial Records Department, New Delhi.
28. Thaling Monastery in Western Tibet,
by M. C. Chatterjia.

SECTION III—MEDIEVAL INDIA

PRESIDENT :

K. B. Maulvi Zafar Hasan, M.A., I.E.S., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra.

SECRETARY :

Rev. Ross Wilson, M.A., Forman Christian College, Lahore.

1. Balban's Mongol Policy,
by Dharam Pal, Esq., M.A., D. A.-V. College, Lahore.
2. The Firdausi of India,
by Mahdi Hussain, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Agra College.
3. The Antecedents of the Bahmani Kingdom,
by H. K. Sherwani, Esq., M.A., Professor of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).
4. Makhdoom-i-Jahan, a great Stateswoman of the Medieval Deccan,
by Abdul Majid Saddiqi, M.A., LL.B., Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).
5. Pre-Mughal Lahore,
by M. Abdullah Chagtai, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona.
6. The State Demand on Agricultural Produce under the Sultans of Delhi,
by I. H. Qureshi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
7. The so-called Balban Inscription of Koil (Aligarh),
by Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., and A. Halim, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Muslim University, Aligarh.
8. Qiranus—Sadain of Amir Khusrau,
By Banarsi Parsad, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., University of Allahabad.
9. Adilshahi Administration,
by P. M. Joshi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., University of Bombay.
10. The site of Battle of Tarain,
by Mushtaq Ahmad Cheema.
11. A Note on the Causes leading to the Conquest of India, by the Muhammadan Turks,
by P. C. Chakravarti, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Dacca.

SECTION IV—MUGHAL INDIA

PRESIDENT :

M. Habib, Esq., M. A. (Oxon.), Professor of History, Muslim University,
Aligarh.

SECRETARY :

Sri Ram Sharma, Esq., M.A., D.A.V. College, Lahore.

1. Original Documents on the Muslim Rule in Kashmir,
by R. K. Parmu, M.A., General Records, Jammu (Kashmir State).
2. British Ambassadors to Jahangir's Court,
by Avinash Chandra Sehgal, Esq., M.A., Lahore.
3. Humayun's Loss of Gujrat,
by Dev Raj Mahajan, Esq., M.A., D. A-V. College, Lahore.
4. Mughal Miniature No. 13 in the Bodleian Manuscript Aulseley
Addition 173,
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5. The Events leading to the Rajput War of 1679-81,
By Yashpal, Esq., M.A., D. A-V. College, Lahore.
6. Ratnawali and Tulsidas,
by Pandit Ramdat Bhardwaj, M.A., I.L.B., L.T., Kasganj.
7. The English in Madras and Mir Jumla (1652- 5),
by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, Esq., Patna College.
8. The Development of Bombay and Shivaji,
by B. G. Tamaskar, Esq., B.A., Jubbulpore (C. P.)
9. A Chapter from Golconda History,
by D. K. K. Basu, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
10. False Charges against Maharaja Jaswant Singh I of Jodhpur and
one of his Queens,
by Bisheshwarnath Rew, Esq., Superintendent, Archaeological Department,
Jodhpur.
11. Aurangzeb's Character,
by Girdhar Gopal, Esq., M.A., Kasganj.
12. State Language in Mughal India,
by M. L. Roy Chaudhry, Esq., M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Shastri, Bhagalpur.*
13. Nawab Munir-ud-Dowla Nadir Jung —A Minister of Shah Alam,
by S. H. Askari, Esq., M.A., Patna College.
14. Rachol—Its Identification,
by O. Ramachandraiya, Esq., M.A., Andhra University.
15. East India Company and Jahangir,
by Vijaya Chandra Joshi, Esq., M.A., Forman Christian College, Lahore.
16. A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India,†
by S. R. Sri Ram Sharma, Esq., M.A., D.A.-V. College, Lahore.
17. Humayun's Innovations, Regulations, Buildings and allied Works,
by Dr. S. K. Bannerji, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in History, Lucknow
University.

*Published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.

†Being published in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad.

SECTION V—MODERN INDIA

PRESIDENT :

Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., Keeper of Imperial Records, New Delhi.

SECRETARY :

R. R. Sethi, Esq., M.A. Lecturer in History, Panjab University, Lahore.

1. The Maratha Occupation of Gingee and its Significance,
by C. S. Srinivasachari, Esq., M.A., Professor, Annamalai University.
2. The East India Company and Persia (1800—1810),
by P. N. Kirpal, Esq., B.A., Hons. (Oxon.), M.A., LL.B., Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
3. The Panjab and the Mutiny of 1857,
by Vidya Sagar Suri, Esq., M.A., Panjab University.
4. Peshwa Madhav Rao I and Raghunath Rao,
by Anil Chandra Bannerjee, Esq., M.A., Calcutta.
5. A Letter of Shah Alam II to George III, in 1772,
by K. K. Datta, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., Patna College.
6. The Military Aspect of the North-West Frontier Problem,
by Nandalal Chatterji, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., University of Lucknow.
7. Capture of Imangarh,
by A. D. Advani, Esq., Karachi.
8. Alexander Burnes's Mission to Kabul,
by E. R. Kapadia, Esq., M.A., St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
9. The Imprisonment of Azeem-ul-Omrah,
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SECTION VI—SIKH HISTORY

PRESIDENT :

Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt.

SECRETARY :

Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, Forman Christian College, Lahore.

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by Ruchi Ram Sahni, Esq., M.A., Lahore.
2. Ranjit Singh and Shah Shujah's Second Attempt to Recover
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by Lajpat Rai Nair, Esq., M.A., Dyal Singh College, Lahore.
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at-Law, Government College, Ludhiana.
5. The Arrest and Release of Sardar Lahna Singh Majithia,
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by Sita Ram Kohli, Esq., M.A., Principal, Government Intermediate College,
Hoshiarpur.

SECTION I—ARCHÆOLOGY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By G. Yazdani, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., Director of Archæology,
Hyderabad (Deccan)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

At the beginning I must express my deep gratitude to the Committee of the Indian History Congress for their kindly inviting me to preside over the Archæology Section of this session. The invitation has been doubly welcome to me, first as Lahore is the seat of my *alma mater*, for which I entertain feelings of great affection and respect; and secondly because Lahore is the place where I received my first lessons in Archæology, and its monuments still have much fascination for me.

I first joined the Archæological Department of the Government of India as a Research Scholar in Arabic and Persian in 1905. Since then the preservation of monuments and the study of archæology in its different aspects have made rapid strides in India, principally through the inspiring guidance of Sir John Marshall and his able assistants, both Indian and European. Ancient monuments and sites were till then deplorably neglected or abused. The study of the Greek influence formed the limit of the study of Indian Archæology and nobody had the haziest idea of the discoveries which were to be made in Sind or in the plains of the Panjab at Harappa and Rupar.

Although simultaneously with the appointment of Sir John Marshall as Director-General of Archæology in India the idea of training Indian scholars had occurred to Government, yet no systematic programme was planned out for their coaching. Discouraged by their experience, some scholars, like D. R. Bhandarkar and V. S. Sukthankar, who had joined the Archæological Department in the earlier days, left it to choose more congenial avenues of work. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the work of some of the Indian scholars who have served the Department during the last twenty-five years is of high merit, whether from the point of view of scholarship or of technical skill, and may be compared favourably with the best work of their European contemporaries. Two of these Indian officers have gone to their final rest, I mean Rakhaldas Banerji and N. G. Majumdar, whose great work in the discovery and the survey of Mohenjo-Daro and other prehistoric sites of Sind will always be remembered with respect by students of Indian archæology. Besides these two there are other scholars like Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, who has left a record of solid work behind him in the study of Indian sculpture and other antiquities, based upon a thorough knowledge of anthropology and ancient Indian literature. I should also mention the name of the present Director-General of Archæology, Rai Bahadur Mr. K. N. Dikshit, whose excavation work at Mohenjo-Daro, Paharpur and other places is of the highest quality. Further his encyclopædic knowledge and close intimacy with every phase of Indian archæology make him eminently fit to hold this responsible office.

Sir John Marshall retired in 1931, but long before that, under the Reforms, the Indianisation of the Department had begun, and the few European officers who remained in service after Sir John Marshall's laying down the charge of his office had gradually retired by 1937, when Mr. K. N. Dikshit was appointed Director-General. The Government of

India then decided that the excellent record of archæological work which had been established by the sound scholarship, painstaking research and scientific skill of Sir John Marshall, should not suffer on account of the severance of his connection with the Department,* and that the advice of an expert from outside should be sought regarding the future programme of work and the system of recruiting and training new officers.

At this juncture, as a student of Archæology for the last 35 years who has also travelled in various countries of the world, I may venture to state that the preservation of monuments and the making of excavations from a national point of view require experts of a different frame of mind and of different training and experience from those who are employed in exploration in countries whose peoples' pride in their monuments is not yet developed, and where the main object of their mission is to collect antiquities to enrich the collections of their own museums. To illustrate this point I may say that the preservation and exploration work which has been carried out in England, France, Italy and Greece shows the utmost regard to national pride and to the immediate and future requirements and interests of the people of the locality; while, in contrast, the excavations which in comparatively recent times have been carried out by some foreign missions at Mosul, Jerusalem and other places in the Middle East have been done more or less in the spirit of treasure-diggers. As a concrete example I would say that when I visited Mosul in the winter of 1923-24, I found that the excavations there showed only irregular trenches and large hollow pits in the midst of mounds whence the sculpture and minor antiquities had been removed to different museums; but the excavators had taken no pains to preserve the character of those structures in which the relics had been discovered for the instruction or the national pride of the people of the place. Similarly in January, 1924, I found an archæologist excavating a site to the east-north-east of Jerusalem quite close to the old city walls; but instead of preserving the remains which he had discovered, he soon covered them up with earth, leaving no opportunity for local scholars to check his observations, when they were published in the form of a Report, by a study of the remains themselves on the site.

Looked at in this way, the difference between the work carried out from the national point of view in one's own country and the work carried out in foreign countries for the equipment of museums for purposes of scientific study, is very marked; and apparently this difference was not fully taken into consideration when the Government of India selected Sir Leonard Woolley to advise them in regard to the future exploration and excavation work of this country. Sir Leonard Woolley is undoubtedly an expert of international reputation and he has done marvellous work at Ur and at other places, but his training and his entire experience are that of a museum-worker. This was principally the reason why during his visit to India he failed to appreciate the talent and outlook of the officers of the Archæological Survey. I quote certain passages from Sir Leonard Woolley's Report to elucidate further my point of view. On pages 2 and 3 he writes:

*The connection of Sir John Marshall with the Department continued even after his retirement, up to 1936, in his capacity as a Special Officer for compiling monographs on the important archæological sites where he had worked during his tenure of office as Director-General.

"Where the preservation of excavated buildings is concerned, for which the precedents are more doubtful, they have indulged in an exaggerated policy which is wasteful financially and its results scientifically deplorable." To elucidate his criticism Sir Leonard gives some examples. He writes :

"At Sircap all the buildings excavated over an area of 22 acres are left exposed, there has been relatively little rebuilding, but all the walls of rough stone rubble are brought up to a level and the upper courses consolidated with cement mortar concealed by a top course of dry stone and mud. The general effect is impressive, but it is idle to suppose that the ordinary visitor will make a detailed study of 22 acres of ruins."

Under the same heading he observes :

"The same indiscriminating zeal for "conservation" has prevailed at Nalanda, one of the principal show places of the Department But architectural methods admirable in themselves have been applied without regard to archæological needs, and the work has gone much too far. Thus there are 13 monasteries already excavated, and all are fairly alike from the points of view both of the lay visitor and the student. It was not necessary to keep open more than 3 or at most 4 of these and the remainder should have been re-buried ; this would have preserved them for posterity."

The above remarks may appear to be quite sound from a scientific point of view, but looking at the case from the national point of view it is highly doubtful whether Nalanda would have produced the same impression upon the mind of the people of this country by the sight of three or four monasteries only, which is now done by its vast array of time-worn religious and scholastic buildings. Similarly the buildings of Sircap would have roused hardly any feelings of pride in the minds of ordinary people for the past of their country, if only a few of the buildings had been exposed.

Again, he has condemned "the expensive and indigestible Annual Reports and the equally esoteric Memoirs," which "are the only official issues of the Departments." Sir Leonard has completely forgotten to mention the admirable series of guide-books published by the Archæological Survey, which contains a wealth of information for the general public and ordinary students. I may mention some of the most important of these—The Guide-books to Sanchi and Taxila by Sir John Marshall, the Guide to Sarnath by Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni and the Guide to Hampi by Mr. A. H. Longhurst, each of which can be compared favourably with those published by experts in other countries.

As regards the distribution of archæological relics to foreign expeditions, the view of Sir Leonard Woolley cannot be regarded by a nationalist as sound. He argues thus :

"The object found to-day may be unique, but it is unique only because it is the sole example of its kind known to us. In all probability it is really one of a whole class of similar or identical objects produced by a school of artists whose activities covered very many years, and if the excavation of contemporary sites be carried further, others are likely to be found and the original object will cease to be either unique or indispensable to the national collections."

This reasoning may be true in the case of minor specimens of art, but the products of the master artists are also found in the course of excava-

tion and their uniqueness can never change. For instance the Charioteer of Delphi and the Hermes of Olympia will always remain unique.

In conclusion Sir Leonard recommends the appointment of an Adviser in Archæology with the following remarks :

“In museum work then, as in excavation and in conservation in some of its aspects, the staff of the Archæological Department are insufficiently trained by precept and by experience. Outside help is necessary if any good is to come of the Department's work” (page 33 para 64).

It is not known what action the Government of India have taken on Sir Leonard Woolley's Report. The problems facing the Government in this case are, however, not very difficult to solve, if a Committee of duly qualified persons be appointed to look at the case in its various aspects.

Archæological work in India can easily be divided into three different classes—(i) Conservation (ii), Epigraphy, (iii) Exploration and Excavation.

As regards (i) the work is generally done by the P. W. D. under the guidance of archæological officers. Will it not be practicable to include the “conservation of monuments” as an optional subject in the curriculum of Civil Engineers or Architects at the various Universities or institutions? Afterwards from among the distinguished graduates a candidate may be selected annually or biennially, according to the requirements of the Archæological Department, and given a travelling scholarship for gaining further experience in conservation work either in India or in Europe. The candidate thus trained will be fully qualified to look after the conservation of monuments.

As regards epigraphical research, the work should be done under the auspices of universities by professors of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Government may also create special chairs either at the centre (Delhi University) or at the seats of Provincial Governments, according to the scope of epigraphic research in the different circles. Epigraphy may also be included as a subsidiary subject in the postgraduate course of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

As regards exploration and excavation, the work should be done by the Museum staff, whose recruitment should be made on the strictest test of merit, with due regard to the aptitude of the candidate, and the training should be arranged for the first two years in Europe and foreign countries elsewhere and for the last year in India itself.

For considering these proposals the Committee referred to above should consist of two senior officers of the Archæological Survey, the Principal of an important engineering college, an expert in Indian Epigraphy, a senior officer from the Indian Museums, a financial expert (an Assistant Secretary or Deputy Secretary of the Government of India, Finance Department), and a senior Vice-Chancellor, preferably Sir Maurice Gwyer, to preside over the Committee. In Sir Maurice Gwyer we luckily possess a person of widest sympathies, great intellectual calibre and university experience, and of most cultured taste. In view of Sir Leonard Woolley's Report, it is my humble wish that the Archæological Survey should be scrutinised by a Committee of experts, whose personnel and qualifications have been roughly defined above, so that a working plan may be evolved for the future archæological policy of the Government of India.

II

Now I shall tell you something about the work carried out by the Archæological Department of Hyderabad in the survey of prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities. Luckily we possess two important landmarks in the history of the Deccan—first the Asokan Edict at Maski, and secondly a Brahmi inscription of the second century B.C. in Cave X at Ajanta. The style of the paintings of this cave shows a highly developed art, as regards skill in drawing, sense of three dimensions and choice of colours and other technical detail. It must have taken the artists of the Deccan several centuries to attain that standard. In the same way we have got some proof of the skill of the sculptors of the Deccan in the Southern Gate of the Sanchi stupa which bears an inscription of the Andhra king, Sri Satakarni. The sculptures of that gateway show art of a high order. From the third century B.C. downward there are clear indications of North Indian and foreign influences in the Deccan, partly political, but mainly through religious missions of the Buddhist faith. These foreign influences can easily be traced in the architectural and artistic devices of the Buddhist monuments of the Deccan. But the local genius was so advanced at the period that the extraneous influence rapidly became absorbed by it. The excavations which have recently been carried out by the Archæological Department of Hyderabad in Maski show that there was a vast industry at that place in bread-making and the goldsmith's work and in ivory and wood-carving. The presence of an Asokan Edict, the close proximity of the old gold workings and the abundance of precious ornaments and antiquities found at Maski lead one to the guess that it may be the Suvannagiri of Mauryan times, although some scholars are still inclined to believe that Suvannagiri should be found somewhere near Kanakgiri, while Dr. Krishna of Mysore, who has identified Brahmagiri with Isila, is trying to find it somewhere in Mysore State. We have so far discovered no inscription to confirm that Maski is the old Suvannagiri, which was the headquarters of Asoka's Viceroy in the Deccan. This however takes us to historic times only; but the antiquities which we have found at Maski and in other places of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions lead us much further back, to the very early stages of human culture. There are as many as 136 sites in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, where megalithic tombs, pygmy flakes, or neolithic implements have been found. These sites are scattered in all parts of the Dominions, but those containing the megalithic tombs are found only in the north-eastern and south-western parts of the Deccan, although in the north they are connected with similar graves in Central India, and in the south they stretch as far as Tinnevely. I believe many of you are familiar with their surface features *i.e.*, *tumuli* with single or double rings of boulders, or *dolmens*, *i.e.*, small stone tombs built on the top or along the slopes of hills; *cromlechs*, stone-tables; *menhirs*, roughly dressed or undressed pillars erected at the head of tombs, and alignments which show huge boulders arranged in parallel lines running both horizontally and diagonally. In the Nizam's Dominions we have investigated these tombs most carefully and the contents show that the people who are buried in these tombs were agriculturists by profession, for agricultural implements such as sickles and pruning knives, have invariably been found in them.

The tools are all of iron, but in rare cases small brass articles, such as ferrules or bells or cups, have also been found. We have recently found also a copper sword similar to that found about 50 years ago in the Etah

District of U. P. The sword is a surface find but the locality wherein it has been discovered has yielded both neoliths and pygmy flakes. Although there are copper mines in the Deccan, yet the rareness of copper and bronze articles in megalithic tombs indicates that bronze and copper articles were very expensive. It is therefore doubtful whether a "copper age" preceded the "iron age" in the Deccan.

The pottery found inside the tombs shows a highly developed industry, being wheel-turned and having fine polish. It is both black and red, but there is no ornament on the surface. The shape of the vessels shows much imagination and a fine taste and some of them are egg-shaped while others have lids with beautiful knobs. Some of the vessels bear marks which have not been identified as yet; they may perhaps be the earlier forms of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa marks. I have noticed these marks not only on the pottery of the Deccan, but also on the pottery of south India; and a diagram of these marks was published in the Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society some years ago. I have brought here a copy of that diagram and also specimens of the pottery which bear these marks, with a view to your kindly examining them and enlightening me regarding their significance. As the vessels have always been found in association with iron implements, they apparently belong to the iron age.

Inside the megalithic tombs we have not so far found any pygmy flakes, or neoliths; which shows that the people who are buried in these tombs belonged to a different stock from those who made pygmy flakes and neoliths; and the former entered the Deccan at some period during the iron age. In fixing even approximately the time of their entering the Deccan I require the help of experts who have worked at Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa, because at these places tombs similar to the Deccan tombs have been found; and from a close examination of the different strata it may be possible to determine their age. I have noted that in the case of Harappa tombs you have given 2000 B. C. as their approximate date. On the basis of the cultural activities of the historic period of the Deccan, as well as from the evidence provided by the gold industry which was in full swing during the Mauryan period, and even much earlier, we have also come to the conclusion that the iron age of the Deccan goes back to some 3000 B. C. Iron smelting factories are a common feature of the Deccan prehistoric sites; and we have in their neighbourhood also found megalithic tombs.

I shall speak to you, although very briefly, about the neoliths as well, the workmanship of which shows different stages. The earlier ones are roughly chipped and heavier and bolder in design, while the later ones are beautifully finished and resemble iron implements. Some of the chisels and axes which I have brought with me here most probably belong to a period when there was an overlapping of the iron and stone ages. In the Deccan we have got several varieties of close-grained stones; the stone-age man of the Deccan generally preferred black basalt for making his tools. The shape and finish of some of these tools shows the fondness of the early Deccan man for beauty of form and perfection of finish, which qualities are essential for the beginning and development of art among any race. Our roughly finished heavy specimens may go back to several thousand B. C., perhaps touching the palæolithic period, but so far we have not found any specimens of that period, although in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there are a palæolith found at Paithan and another discovered somewhere near Palonchā, both places being

in the Nizam's Dominions. Next month (January, 1941) under the leadership of Sir Theodore Tasker, our Revenue Member, who has evinced great interest in the survey of the prehistoric antiquities of the Dominions, we propose to explore some places along the old course of the River Godavari in the Adilabad District, where recently some fossilised animals have been found. We shall dig deep, down to a depth of 30 or 40 feet, but to make startling discoveries in the field of Archæology depends to a great extent upon luck. The discoveries of Tutankhamon's tomb at Luxor by Carter, and of the cylindrical seals at Kish by Prof. Langdon, have been made by sheer good luck. Recently some foreign experts have discovered a large number of so-called palæoliths in the Bellary District, but as they are all surface finds it is very difficult to say whether they are real palæoliths or half-finished roughly chipped implements of the neolithic period.

During the last two years our most interesting finds in the field of prehistory are pygmy flakes which show industry of different types, revealing the various stages of human culture. These flakes have been found in river-beds, along the slopes of hills in hidden corners, in natural caverns and also under ground at various depths. Flakes similar to ours have been found at Mohenjo-Daro, but not in such abundance and also not showing such a large variety of shapes and such a high standard of finish. The larger flakes are scrapers or knives, while the smaller ones from their shape appear to be needles, toothpicks and combs. Needles might have been used for stitching purposes, but most probably they were used also for removing thorns, for the early man walking barefooted in jungles would have often suffered from thorns. A majority of these flakes is of chert, but some of them are of chalcedony of both white and pinkish hue. The purity of material and beauty of form shown by these flakes once more indicate the artistic genius of the early Deccan man. The coarser ones have bulbs on the concave side, but the finer are absolutely flat and the ribs on their surface are uniformly carved.

Some time ago Mr. Mackay found chert needles at Chanhodaro very similar to those found by us in the Dominions. Mr. Mackay assigned these needles to the 5th millennium B. C. The age of some of our flakes may be the same; but some, which are larger in size and show a vigorous type of industry, are older, while others, which are rather beautiful in form and gracefully finished, may be of the age of beads which also have been found in great abundance in the Dominions. They have been discovered at different levels, from 7 to 15 feet below the ground. In determining their age we have not taken into consideration depth only, but also the antiquities with which they have been dug out. For instance the beads which have been found in association with coins representing the Bodhi tree and the railing emblem are of the Andhra period, while those which are of *lapis lazuli* and which have been found in megalithic tombs are decidedly of a much earlier period. Sir John Marshall in his volumes on Mohenjo-Daro has observed that the gold of Mohenjo-Daro might have come from the south. If this view is correct, then some of the precious stones like rubies and *lapis lazuli* might have been given in return to the people of the Deccan for the gold obtained from them. *Lapis lazuli* is not found in the Deccan, but beads made of it have been discovered in great abundance, both in protohistoric and prehistoric areas. The bead industry of the Deccan continued to quite a late time, and recently the excavations which have been made by an expert under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain in the Malay Peninsula prove that

the Deccan was exporting beads to Malay Peninsula and islands in the neighbourhood as late as the 7th century A. D.

I have spoken already about iron age pottery—specimens of which are on view here. Coming down to a later time, on the Satavahana levels of antiquities, we get a large variety of pottery in the forms of *terra cotta* figurines and vessels of domestic use. The ornamental designs on these vessels were made with a thumb or fingers, or with implements of wood and metal. They represent chain patterns, scrolls, floral designs and symbolic devices in the form of birds, animals and human beings. One specimen represents a leather strap with a button, evidently copied from the leather straps of a sandal. Leather sandals are shown in the frescos of Cave X at Ajanta, some of which are as old as the 2nd century B.C. We have also found a *terra cotta* cylindrical seal bearing the figure of a man leading an elephant. The form of the seal is very similar to the cylindrical seals of Babylon, but it bears no writing on it. It was evidently used by the potter to impress a design on a vessel. Some of the specimens are similar in some respects to the north Indian pottery of the Mauryan period, but here I may utter a word of caution regarding the use of the term Mauryan or Gupta in respect of the Deccan or South Indian antiquities, because in architecture, painting and sculpture and even in crafts like ivory and woodcarving or weaving, the Deccan and south India had attained very high standards long before north Indian religious and political ideas affected this part of the country.

Reverting once more to the pottery, I may tell you that we have found very good specimens of the Muslim period as well, which are very characteristic, and exhibit a highly refined taste and much delicacy of feeling. I have brought some specimens with me here and they may be examined by you. They are pieces of a cup and a *huqqa*. Thus we have made a fairly representative collection of pottery from the earliest times, *i.e.*, the iron age down to the Muslim period; and if there are any *lacunæ* in the earlier types, we hope to fill them up by sending doubtful specimens to our comrades who are digging up the past in northern India and other parts of the country. We hope to publish ultimately a monograph on the pottery of the Deccan, but at the present moment we are looking for the sanction of a scheme for a comprehensive survey of the prehistoric and protohistoric sites of the Dominions, which will undoubtedly enable us to study the subject in greater detail and with stricter regard to cultural sequence. Under the conditions of the war the sanction of such a scheme may appear extravagant to some persons, but through the interest of our benign ruler, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and the enlightened policy of his wise minister, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, archæology has always been treated most generously in Hyderabad; and monuments there are regarded as national heirlooms and cherished with genuine pride and respect.

In conclusion I thank you all for listening patiently to this long talk and hope that you will kindly examine the specimens which I have brought and favour me with your valuable criticism.

I

JOLAVĀLI, VELAVĀLI AND LENKAVĀLI

By N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., University of Mādras.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of the University of Madras read a paper on the terms *Jolavali*, *Velavali* and *Lenkavali* which occur frequently in Telugu and Kannada inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries. The author discussed the exact significance of these terms and quoted a number of passages from contemporary literature and inscriptions to support his views. A summary of his paper is given below :—

These terms occur in inscriptions and literature of the 12th and 13th centuries in the Kanarese and Telugu countries and their proper import has been uncertain up to now. The common suffix of these three terms, viz.—*vāli* stands for *ṛinam* (i.e., obligation or debt). Accordingly, the term *Jolavāli* would appear to be a term denoting an obligation, probably military in character, owed to a lord by his dependants. The lord provided his men with the means of subsistence (*jola* means millet or grain) and they repaid his debt by fighting his battles. The term is comparable to the *ṣorruk-kaḍan* of Tamil literature. Similarly *Vēlavali* also stood for an obligation involving military service and the prefix *vela* appears to have had the technical meaning of a contract or agreement (*Vyavasthā*) and *Vēlavāli* implied an obligation arising out of a contract entered into by the lord and his servant. Branding of the person of the servant was the mark of this contract. The term has its prototype in Tamil inscriptions and literature, viz., *Velaikkaran* and *Velaikkāri* (fem.). The present day *nagari pillakāvalu*, attached to zamindari households, are the modern representatives of this ancient institution.

The *leikavāli* was an institution similar to the rest, but its exact nature is not clear. It seems to have been derived from the Mahratta word *leuk*, meaning “son or daughter.” *Leivakvāli* and the *Lenkas* (fem. *Leṅkiti*) were probably servants attached to the lord’s household, rendering devoted personal service to him, sustaining themselves on sources of income bestowed upon them. The terms of their service to their lord enjoined upon the *Velaikāras* and the *Leikas* the obligation of immolating themselves on the death of their lord on either the funeral pyre or the burial place.

II.

SOME EARLY RĀJA-ŚĀSANAS

By Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

Works of a few of the early writers on law, such as Vishnu¹ and Yājñavalkya² give us some idea about the *rāja-śāsanas*, i.e., charters recording grants of land, property, etc., made by kings. According to

1. The *Vishnusamita* contains much ancient material, but has been largely interpolated (*ib.*, p. 279). In the matter of the *rāja-śāsanas*, Vishnu entirely agrees with Yājñavalkya.

2. According to some scholars, Yājñavalkya flourished in Mithila about the fourth century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 279 f.). It is however better to suggest that Yājñavalkya is an earlier person, but the *Smṛiti* ascribed to him was composed or revised in the 4th century.

Vishṇu, “ (The king) should grant land to Brāhmanas. For the information of future kings he should also give them, who receive the grant, a charter written on cloth or copper-plate adorned with his own seal and with a description of the boundaries of the land, his own ancestors and the measurement of the area. He should not confiscate land granted by others. . . . The king should kill persons who prepare spurious charters, and also those preparing spurious documents.”¹ According to Yājñavalkya, “After granting land or making a *nibandha*, the lord of the soil (*i.e.*, king) should have a document prepared for the information of noble kings of the future. He would then cause the preparation of a lasting charter written on cloth or copper-plate, adorned with his own seal on the outer side, his own signature and date and with a description of himself, his ancestors, amount of the gift and boundaries of the land granted.”² The *Mitāksharā*, a medieval commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-samhitā* by Vijñāneśvara, also furnishes some valuable informations regarding the preparation of royal charters. According to the *Mitāksharā*, for instance, the passage “on cloth or copper-plate” and the word “date” in the original should be explained respectively as “on cotton cloth, copper-plate or copper-tablet” and “the expired year of the Śaka kings and the (regnal) year; the solar and lunar eclipses, etc.”

The informations drawn from the above sources may be summed up as follows :—

- (1) After making a grant of land, etc., the king caused the preparation of a *lekhyā* or document for the guidance of future kings of the land.
- (2) It was then written on a piece of cloth or engraved on copper-plates or a copper-tablet, and thus was made a permanent charter.
- (3) It contained a description of the king, and three of his immediate predecessors and of the land granted together with its boundaries and measurement; it was also adorned with the king's seal, signature and date.

1. ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च भुव प्रतिपादयेत् । तेषांयेषां च प्रतिपादयेत्, स्ववंश्यान्
‘अन्तरप्रमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनं च पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा लिखितं स्वमुद्रांकितं
चागमिनृपविज्ञानार्थं दद्यात् । परदत्तां च भुवं नापहरेत् । विष्णुसंहिता,
३। ५७-५९ । कूटशासनकतृ^३श्च राजा^४हन्यात् । कूटलेख्यकारांश्च । ५ । ६-१० ।
2. दत्त्वा भूमिं निबुधं वा कृत्वा लेख्युं तु कारयेत् ।
आगामिभद्रनृपतिपरिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥
पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम् ।
अभिलिख्यात्मनो वंश्यान् आत्मीनं च महीपतिः ॥
‘प्रतिग्रहपरीमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम् ।
स्वहस्तकालसंपन्नं शासनं कारयेत् स्थिरम् ॥
याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, १।३१८-१२० ।

³. In some grants we have the copy of the royal signature; cf. स्वहस्तो मम महाराजाधिराज श्रीहर्षस्य at the end of the Banskhera grant of Harsha. (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 211).

- (4) There is no explicit statement regarding the donee ; it is however supposed that the donee is implied in the language of Yājñavalkya and that his name should also be written in the charter.
- (5) A high official should be entrusted with the writing of a document according to the *Mitāksharā*.

It is very interesting to note that the above characteristics are noticeable in the copper plate charters discovered in different parts of India ; but the paucity of early charters possibly suggests that many of them were written on cloth, which is an easily perishable material.

In the introduction to his *Gauḍalekhamālā* (p. 2), published in 1913, the late Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra remarked, " The antiquity of the custom of engraving such charters on metal plates has not been definitely determined. A copper-plate grant supposed to be the earliest of its kind has been discovered in this very land of Varendra (*i.e.*, North Bengal). It is a charter (*i.e.*, the Dhanaidaha copper-plate grant) recording a land grant dated in the Gupta year 113 (A.D. 433) during the reign of Kumāragupta I." Of course the claim of the Dhanaidaha grant thus advanced by Mr. Maitra has been thwarted by subsequent discoveries like that of the Vatsagulma grant of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II¹ (second half of the fourth century) ; but it is hardly intelligible why the learned author ignored the claim of the Prakrit charters of the Pallavas, which are about a century earlier than the Dhanaidaha grant.² In any case, the claim of any copper-plate grant so far discovered seems to be challenged by some records of the early half of the second century A.D., discovered long ago in several caves in the northern part of the Bombay Presidency. Some of the Nasik cave inscriptions belonging to the Kshaharātas and the Śātavāhanas, were undoubtedly copied on the cave-walls from original *rāja-sāsanas* on cloth, copper-plate, or tablet. For example, the inscription of Gautamiputra Satakarni, regnal year 18 (*c.* A.D. 128),³ another inscription of the same king, regnal year 24 (*c.* A.D. 130) and the inscription of Śaka Nahapaṇa, Śaka year 42 (A.D. 120).

It will be seen that excepting a few points, *e.g.*, the *Smṛiti* injunction regarding the king's seal, signature, and ancestors, as also the enumeration of *Parihāras* which are not mentioned in the works on law, the above records have all the characteristics of a *rāja-sāsana* described by Vishṇu and Yājñavalkya. These points are however satisfactorily explained by the facts that the records are on cave-walls and that the works of the above law-givers are not only later, but none of them belonged to that part of India where the records have been found.

The above three records and a few others of their type found in the caves of Western India must be regarded as copies of original *rāja-sāsanas*, though they are generally referred to as cave-inscriptions. It is however difficult to determine whether the originals were written on cloth or engraved on copper-plates. It should be noted in this connection that the records refer to themselves as *lekha* (*lekhyā* of the law books) *chhatakskata*-written by a high official, as *patikā*, *katā-kṛita*-made (engraved or prepared) by an ordinary person, and as *phalaka*.⁴

1. *I.H.Q.*, March, 1940, p. 182 ff.

2. Sircar, *Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 165 ff.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, No. 8, iv.

4. (१) उ.स.फ.न.क. of the *Mitāksharā*, and पांडुलेख्येन फलके भूमौ वा प्रथमं लिखन् । ऊर्णाधिकतुल्योऽथ पश्चात्पत्रे निवेशयेत् ॥ of Vyasa quoted in *Vyavaharataṭṭva* and in the *Sabdakalpādruma*.

But the evidence is rather vague as the word *patikā* may be connected with both *kārpāsa-pata* and *tāmra-patta* of the law-givers, as the words are not explained in early lexicons and as in later works *pattikā* and *phalaka* are used to indicate charters on both cloth and plates. It may however be suggested that *patikā* of the Śātavāhana records is the same as *pattikā*¹ of all other records such as the Mayidavolu grant of Śiva-skandavarman Pallava and that the word should be derived from *patta* and not from *pata*. The senses of the word *phalaka* as recognised in early works appear to suggest that it originally indicated a hard substance. If again the expression *phaluka-vāre* is explained as "on a number of *phalakas*," *phalaka* would evidently mean metallic plates, as only one piece of cloth was required to write a *rā'a-sāsana*. These considerations appear to point out that at least some of the Kshaharāta and Śātavāhana charters were originally engraved on *tāmra-patta* and that the system of engraving royal charters on copper-plates is not later than the beginning of the second century A.D.

Since it cannot be denied that some Kshaharāta and Śātavāhana records in the caves of Western India are actually *rā'a-sāsanas*, it possibly follows that it was the donees, and not the donors, who were responsible for copying them on the walls of the caves, in which they lived either for a considerable period of time or only for the rainy season. The aim was evidently to have a comparatively durable charter. The copying therefore may not have been done exactly when a charter was issued and the charters may have been engraved on the walls several at a time without regard to their chronological order.

There is another important fact with reference to the nature of the above Kshaharāta and Śātavāhana charters. It appears that during the process of copying some records have been hopelessly distorted. Of course the seal, etc., could not be reproduced on the walls; but in many places letters or groups of them and in some cases entire passages have been left out owing either to the inadvertence of the engraver or to a consideration of space. Sometimes more than one charter have been presented as one record.

The enumeration of the *parihāras* (remissions) is an essential feature of the Śātavāhana grants and of later charters. It is however interesting to note that some of their cave-charters, though they record grants of land or villages, have neither the description of the *parihāras* nor the official date.² We have already indicated the places where letters have been carelessly left out or unnecessarily engraved in the records quoted above. It has also been pointed out that there are certainly more than one charter in the third record. That the last part of this record belongs to an entirely different charter is proved not only by the word *ti-iti*, but also by the fact that whereas the donees of the first half of the record are the Buddhist monks, the second half refers to a grant in favour of the gods and Brāhmanas. The monks apparently had nothing to do with this charter. There are again some evident omissions in this part which have rendered the second charter imperfect and quite unintelligible. It will be seen that one of the

1. For the use of single consonants in place of conjuncts, see Sircar, *op. cit.* p. 166, 168.

2. The village of Pisachipadraka, for instance, was granted by Pulumavi by a charter (Nasik cave inscription, No. ii) which has no mention of the *parihāras*. It abruptly ends with the letters **सवभतभोगनिरठि** (with the renunciation of enjoyments of all kinds?) which may refer to the usual remissions. Ushavadata grants villages generally without reference to the *parihāras* and any indications regarding their position.

dates simply refers to the year and the day without mentioning the name of the month. The name of the guild in which the money was deposited as also the rate of interest is left out. The dates of the two grants are moreover different.

Similar defects are noticed in many of the Khsaharāta and Śāta-vāhana charters in the caves of Western India. It appears very probable that they crept into the records during the process of copying them on the cave walls.

Very interesting light on the nature of the *rājā-sāsana*s is also thrown by the section entitled *lekhyā-prakarana* in Yājñavalkya's work (*vyavahārādhyāya*). Of course the verses apparently deal with bonds; Vijñāneśvara however points out that, of the two kinds of documents called *sāsana* and *jānapada*, the section deals with the latter, though there is very little difference between the two varieties'. From the above section we learn that the year, month, fortnight, day, names (of both the parties), caste, *gotra*, *sabrahmachārika*, fathers' names (of both the parties) and similar other things were specified in the documents (verse 85). It is also said that a duplicate document could be prepared in case of the original one having been left in a distant land, illegible, lost, with letters obliterated, stolen, broken, burned or torn (verse 91)². It is interesting to note in this connection that we have actually some instances of a *rājā-sāsana* having been duplicated (cf. the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman, *Kāmarūpa-sāsanāvali*, No. 1). It may also be observed that the *jānapada* documents were evidently not written on durable materials.

1. तत्र लेख्यं द्विविधं शासनं ज्ञानपदं चेति । (commentary on verse 84)
एतच्च ज्ञानपदं व्यवस्थापत्रम् राजकीयमपि व्यवस्थापत्रमीदृशमेव भवति । इयांस्तु विशेषः—'राज्ञः स्वहस्तसंयुक्तं स्वमुद्राचिह्नितं तथा । राजकीयं स्मृतं लेख्यं सर्वेष्वर्थेषु साक्षिमतम् ।' तथान्यदपि राजकीयं जयपत्रकं वृद्ध-वसिष्ठेनोक्तम्, etc. (commentary on verse 91).
2. यः कश्चिदर्थो निष्णातः स्वरुच्या तु परस्परम् ।
लेख्यं तु साक्षिमतकार्यं तस्मिन्धनिकपूर्वकम् ॥ ८५
समामासतदर्धाहर्नामजातिस्वगोत्रकैः ।
सब्रह्मचारिकात्मीयपितृनामादिचिह्नितम् ॥ ८५
समाप्तेऽर्थे ऋणी नाम स्वहस्तेन निवेदयेत् ।
मतं मेऽमुकपुत्रस्य यदत्रोपरिलेखितम् ॥ ८६
साक्षिणाश्च स्वहस्तेन पितृनामकपूर्वकम् ।
अत्राहममुकः साक्षी लिखेर्युरिति ते समाः ॥ ८७
उभयाभ्यर्थितेनैतन्मयाहममुकसूनुना ।
लिखितं ह्यमुकेनेति लेखकोऽन्ते ततो लिखेत् ॥ ८८
देशान्तरस्थे दुर्लेख्ये नष्टोन्मृष्टे हृते तथा ।
भिन्ने दग्धेऽथवा छिन्ने लेख्यमन्यत्तु कारयेत् ॥ ८९

It is interesting that in Bengal bonds are written in the same way even at the present time.

III

THE MITHUNA ON SOME EARLY INDIAN COINS

By Prof. Rabis Chandra Kar, M.A.

In his *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum* Mr. John Allan illustrates three square copper coins of the Ujjayini series ⁽¹⁾ which are of great iconographic interest. The reverses of these pieces have the "cross-and-balls" or "Ujjain" symbol with a "nandipada" within each of the balls. The obverse type of these coins, identical on all the three specimens, is described by Mr. Allan in the body of the *Catalogue* as: "Two draped female figures standing facing; one on left holds uncertain object in raised right hand. River with fishes below."⁽²⁾ In the introduction to his *Catalogue* Mr. Allan similarly describes the two standing figures as female⁽³⁾.

A careful examination of the plates in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue*, however, reveals that only one of the standing figures is a female. The figure on the right is clearly a male. It has the flat chest of a male, and on its head a turban having a knob over the right side of the forehead, like many of the reliefs of male figures on the railings of the Bharaut and Sāñchī stūpas. It wears a *dhoti* the ends of which fall in loose folds between the legs set wide apart. There are traces of a *hara* on the breast. The left arm of the figure rests on its hip in the "*katyavalambita*" pose, while its right arm appears to be interlocked in the left arm of the female figure, which stands to its proper right. The female figure appears to be dressed in short skirts. In her raised right hand she holds to her face a flower, probably a lotus, what Mr. Allan describes as an "uncertain object." She appears to have an ear-ring (*kuṇḍala*) in her left ear (that in her right is not discernible on the plates), and her coiffure is done in the fashion of many of the Yakshis sculptured on the Bharaut railings.

The obverse type of the coins under examination, therefore, does not show "two draped female figures." On the contrary, it reveals an amorous couple or *mithuna*, lovingly holding each other's hand. If the symbols at the feet of the two standing figures have been correctly identified as a "river with fishes," then this couple standing on the bank of river may very well be regarded as an amorous couple of water-sprites or Gandharva-*mithuna*⁽⁴⁾.

A coin, having in our view this same *mithuna*-device on the obverse, was noticed some time ago by Mr. Jitendranath Bannerjee.⁽⁵⁾ Its reverse

(1) J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, nos. 1-3. The so-called coins of Ujjayini where the name of the city is not found, should better be ascribed to the ancient geographical unit known as Avanti.

(2) J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, p. 257, Class 4, var. b of Ujjain coins.

(3) J. Allan, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. cxliv.

(4) The Gandharvas are a class of demi-gods. In the Atharva-veda they are described as a class of gods; hairy like monkeys, who assume at will handsome appearances to seduce the females of this earth. According to Sayana, the Gandharvas are the males of a class of divine beings whose females are the Apsarasas, sprung from the ocean at the *amritmanthan*.

(5) Jitendranath Bannerjee; M.A., "*Two New Varieties of Old Indian Coins*" (*I. H. Q.*, 1934, pp. 723-25. and plate). The Avanti coin published by Mr. Bannerjee is a square copper piece having an incuse on the obverse like the three British Museum specimens.

symbol is identical with that on the reverses of the three British Museum specimens, and the coin was rightly attributed by Mr. Bannerjee to ancient Avanti. Mr. Bannerjee describes the obverse of his coin as: "Male and female figures standing side by side; the latter holds something (? a lotus flower) in her raised right hand and her left hand seems to be grasped by the right hand of her companion; the male figure wears a necklace and has a long plaid of drapery dangling down to the feet between the legs . . . ; a crescent is just to the right of his head, on the left of which is a swastika; there appears to be an indistinct object (? lotus flower) below the female figure." Mr. Bannerjee was not sure of the identity of the two standing figures. But their dress and attitude reminded him of "a male and female Yakṣa from Bhilsa (Nos. 190-A and 191-A in the archæological collection of the Gwalior State Museum) who are dressed similarly and represented in the same attitude."

Mr. Bannerjee's description of the obverse of his coin as well as a careful examination of his plate leave no room for doubt that his coin has the same *mithuna*-device on the obverse as the three British Museum specimens. What Mr. Bannerjee describes as an "indistinct object (? a lotus flower) below the female figure" appears to be merely the traces of the "river with fishes," quite distinct on two of the three British Museum specimens.

The appearance of the motif, well known in the Śilpa-sāstras as the *Mithuna*, on these early Avanti coins is quite interesting. As far as we know these are the only specimens of the early indigenous coinage of India where a *mithuna* makes its appearance. Groups of human figures indeed occur on the earlier punch-marked coins. But their real significance there is not yet known.

The date of these coins is "probably the third and second centuries B.C." (1) About this time the *mithuna*-motif begins to appear also on sculptures. (2) The erotic suggestion is much subdued in these early forms of the *mithuna*-motif, but becomes more and more flagrant as we course down the stream of time. The culmination is reached in the erotic sculptures of Koṇārak and of Khajurāho.

IV

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES³

By Jagan Nath, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of the Panjab.

1. RIDDHAPUR COPPER-PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪ GUPTĀ.

This inscription has been published by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in JASB, Vol. XX (1924), pp. 53-61. In line 11 of the text is to be found the compound *s-āgra-varṣa-sata-diva-putra-pautrā*, which he has translated as "who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years, and will (in the end) live in heaven." But it appears that he was himself dissatisfied with such an interpretation and suggested two alternatives. Firstly he said that *diva* may stand for *divya* used in the sense of "renowned"; and secondly on the analogy of *devaputravato* in the Sarnath inscription,⁴

(1) J. Allan, *op cit.*, Introduction, p. cxlv.

(2) O. C. Gangoly, "The Mithuna in Indian Art" (Rupam, 1925, 54 f., and fig 1).

(3) This is the result of my study of these inscriptions in original or their estampages.

(4) Archæological Survey of India, *Annual Report*, 1914-15 p. 125.

divaputrapautrā may be explained as “who had sons and grandsons as reigning kings.” But it is evident that all the three renderings are strained and far-fetched. The compound becomes at once comprehensible when we find out the correct reading. What has been read by Mr. Gupte as *di* is *ji*. Only the upper horizontal bar of *ji* has been left out by the engraver. The formation of this *j* may be compared with the same letter in *jīlam*, in the beginning of the first line, *sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva-putra-pautra*, means, “she whose sons and grandsons will live for more than a hundred years.” The compound *jīva-putra* occurs in Sanskrit literature as well as in inscriptions. The following are a few instances :

- (a) JĪVA-PUTRE *nivartasva putram rakṣasva c-Āṅgadam. Rāmāvana. IV, 19, 11.*
- (b) *Āṅgadas-tu kumāro-yam draṣṭavyo JĪVAPUTRAYĀ. Rāmāyana, IV, 21, 4.*
- (c) JĪVAPUTAYE *rūabhārāvave*, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, p. 199.
- (d) The abstract noun *jīva-putratvam* occurs in the Bijayagadh inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana.¹

2. BILSAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA, DATED 96.

This inscription has been published by Dr. J. F. Fleet in CII, Vol. III, p. 42 ff. In line 7 occurs the compound *bhagavatas-trailokyatejas-sambhāra-samtat-ādbhuta-mūrtter*, etc., which has been translated as, “of the divine (god) Svāmi-Mahāśena, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accumulation of the lustre of the three worlds.” Now the word *samtata* does not mean “covered.” Its literal meaning is “stretched,” and hence it is also used in the sense of constant or continual. But none of these senses fits in the present context. The defect lies in the text. What Fleet has read as *samtata* is in reality *sambhūta*. The second letter is clearly *bh* and not *t*. With the expression *sambhūta*, meaning “born of” the compound at once becomes intelligible, and may be translated thus : “of the divine one, of wondrous form, born of the collection of the lustre of the three worlds.”²

3. GIRNAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription has been published by Dr. J. F. Fleet in CII, Vol. III, p. 56 ff. In line 6, he reads, *ārtto daridro vyasanī kadāryo danḍ [yo*] na vā yo bhr̥sa-piḍitali syāt*. In forming the word *danḍyo* he had to supply the subscript *y*. The syllable *nḍ* is quite well-preserved on the original stone. On its top there are no traces of medial *o*, while in the middle of the loop of *n* there is the horizontal stroke for medial *e*. The syllable is clearly *nḍe* and the word is *danḍena*, the following *na* to be taken along with it.

4. INDOR COPPER-PLATE OF THE REIGN OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription has been published by Dr. J. F. Fleet in CII, Vol. III, pp. 68-72. In line 5 of the text occurs the word *Candrāpuraka*. The original plate is not forthcoming now. But even in Fleet's photo-litho, the letter *c* clearly appears to contain the medial *e*. So we should read *C-endrāpuraka*, i.e., *ca + Indrāpuraka*. *Indrāpura* is the name of the place where the grant was made. It is mentioned in lines 6, 7 and 8.

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vol. III, pp. 252-54.

2. Cf. *रक्षा हेतोर्नवशशिभृता वासवीनां चमूना*.

मंस्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे संभृतं तद्धि तेजः Meghaduta, 43.

5. BHITARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription has been published by Dr. J. F. Fleet in CII, Vol. III, p. 52 ff. In line 16 towards the end the text runs thus: *śrotreṣu gāṅgadhvani*. It is incomprehensible, what is meant by this "roar of the Ganges." An examination of the inscription reveals that what has been read as *gāṅga* is really *śāṅga*, the middle bar of *ś* and the superscript *r* being very faint have been overlooked. The passage, we can now understand, depicts a battle scene, and in this context we can naturally understand a mention of the "twang of the bows."

6. MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE GUILD OF SILK-WEAVERS.

This inscription has been published by Dr. Fleet in CII, Vol. III, pp. 79-88. In line 4 we have the compound *puṣpāvanamra-tarumanḍavatamsakāvāḥ*. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who examined the text given by Dr. Fleet, remarked, that ear-ornaments being always decorative, the use of the word *manḍa* is superfluous. In his opinion the first letter in this word was *kh* and he emended the reading as *khanḍa*.¹ But if we look at the form of *kh* in lines 3 and 7 it is markedly different from the present letter in line 4. This letter is neither *m* nor *kh* but it is *ṣ*. The word is *ṣanḍa*, which means "a multitude." The word is often used in classical Sanskrit: compare, for example, *surucira taruṣaṇḍam tṛyadābham Tṛkūtam*, in the Abhiseka nāṭaka, and *Kumuda-Kamala-ṣaṇḍe* in *Sisupātavadha*, XI, 15.

In line 12, the text runs thus:

Nārī-janaḥ priyam-upaiti na tāvad-agryām (āśryām) yāvan-na ṣaṭtamaya-vastra-yugāni dhatte II.

Here to get some sense, Fleet had to correct a clearly engraved word *agryām* into *āśryām*, but even with this emendation, the force of the remark cannot be appreciated. How are silk garments necessary for a secret meeting only. Fleet erred in giving the reading *priyam*. We find the first letter is *śri* and the word is *Sriyam*. With this reading no emendation of the text is necessary. The line can be easily translated, "the women-folk do not attain foremost beauty unless they put on a pair of silken garments."²

In the same line, the next verse begins with the word *sparṣavatā*. The inscription is somewhat damaged in this part, but what Dr. Fleet reads as a single *va* is a conjunct, the lower letter of which is most probably *j*. The two horizontal bars of *ja* are quite clear. I think the reading here is *sparṣājāla*.

7. SARNATH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF BUDHAGUPTA.

This inscription was published by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in the Archaeological Survey Report for 1914-15, p. 124-5. In line 3, we read *citra-vidyā-sacitritām*. That is meaningless. Either we should say *sacitṛām*, or *sucitritām*, but even with these readings the expression would retain a tinge of queeriness about it. The syllable *dyā* in the first part of the compound, is really *nyā*, and the compound should be read as *citra-vinyāsa-citritām*, "decorated by an assemblage of pictorial designs." Next we have *yad-atra puṇyam prati-nām kārayitvā maya bhṛtam*. This is defective in many places. What has been read is *tra* is *sta*, and the square form of medial *i* above it has been ignored. The reading should be *yad-asti*. After this what has been read as *mayā bhṛtam*, is *mam-ās-u*.

8. BHITARI AND NALANDA SEALS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA. II.

The Bhitari³ Seal for the first time disclosed the names of three

1. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, III, p. 400.

2. Cf. बधूवरं पुण्यति कान्तिमयया Kumarasambhava, VII, 78.

3. Published by Fleet, *JA*, Vol. XIX (1890), p. 224, and Hoernle, *JASB*, Vol. LVIII (1889), p. 84 ff.

Imperial Gupta rulers, the first among whom has been called Pura-gupta. The Bhitari seal, is somewhat effaced, and the letters are not perfectly clear in several cases. By the kind permission of the Director-General of Archæology in India, I had an opportunity to examine the recently discovered clay seals at Nalanda. On these seals I found, that the name was Puru-gupta and not Pura-gupta. If we look at the names of the Gupta emperors, we find that the first part only is the proper name, the second part only being a distinctive appendage. For example, Candra, Samudra, Kumāra, Skanda, all are complete names in themselves. But the same cannot be said of Pura. Pura means a city, and so it is not a suitable word for naming a person, particularly a king. On the other hand Puru is the name of a celebrated king, the son of Yayāti. The stroke for medial u is so clear in the Nalanda seals, that there can be no doubt regarding it. The script of these seals is of the Northern variety. Hence, the u stroke cannot be mistaken for an ornamental curve, which occurs in the Southern alphabet only.¹

V

MEDIÆVAL VISNU IMAGES FROM KASHMIR AND SOME VISNUDHARMOTTARA PASSAGES

By Jitendar Nath Banerjee, M.A., Lecturer,
Calcutta University.

In the mediæval temples of Kashmere, Viṣṇu is usually represented with four faces and four or eight arms; in the bas-reliefs, however, he is shown with three faces only, all of which are not human. Reliefs carved on the western walls of the ante-chamber in the Mārtaṇḍa temple built during the time of Lalitaditya, the great Kashmerian king of the Karkoṭa dynasty, depict the god with three faces, the left face being that of a boar and the right, that of a lion. Similar is the representation of Viṣṇu in the Avantisvāmin temple of Avantipur (modern Wantipur)². In both the places, the god is eight-armed, two of their hands being placed on the heads of the chauri-bearers who are, as will be presently shown, the Āyudhapuruṣas. Many of these reliefs are so mutilated that the emblems in their hands cannot be correctly identified. But the images of Viṣṇu which are fully in the round never fail to show the fourth head at the back. The fragmentary sculpture, No. Aa 21, in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, has the front and side faces as in the above reliefs, the back face being that of a demon; its mutilated condition does not enable us to be sure about the attributes in all the four hands, but the front right hand undoubtedly holds a lotus³. The beautiful sculpture, fully in the round, illustrated by R. C. Kak in page 50 and described by him in pages 49—51, of his *Handbook*, however, supplies us with all the necessary details that must have been present in the other sculpture when it was whole. One other specimen of these four-faced images of standing Viṣṇu is known to me, which originally hailed from Benares. B. C. Bhattacharya discovered this image which is unfortunately very much mutilated; the four faces are, however, quite

1. Dr. Hoernle states that Gen. Cunningham also read the name as Puru, from a coin. See *JASB.* 1894, p. 212.

2. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1915-16, pp. 62-3.

3. R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p. 49, fig. Aa 21.

intact, all its hands and the portion below the waist being broken. The front face is human, placid in aspect, while the right and left faces are that of Narasiṃha and Varāha, the back face being horrid-looking with round protruding eyes, lolling tongue, *jatas* over the head, etc.¹ Bhattacharya has rightly drawn our attention to the iconographic text as compiled by Hemādri from *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which would partially explain this type of image; it says that "Viṣṇu, the god of the gods, should be shown on Garuḍa; he should have four faces and eight hands; the eastern face will be placid in form, the southern one that of Narasiṃha and the western (*i.e.*, the back face) should be *Kapila* and the other face (*i.e.*, the northern or left one, should be of Varāha". It should be noted that a text similar to the above must have been followed in the carving of the Kashmirian four-faced images of Viṣṇu, as it is expressly mentioned by Kak that the back face is demoniacal in character. The Mārtaṇḍa temple specimens, as has been pointed out above, are eight-armed, but the objects in the hands are undistinguishable; the Avantipur ones, on the other hand, are four-handed and the Benares specimen also seems to have been so.

Some passages from the third book of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* enable us to throw more light on the above types of Viṣṇu images. In the verses 2—14 of chapter 85 of the work (Book III), an elaborate description of the images of Vāsudeva are given; in verses 16—20 in the same chapter, an explanation about the real nature of the attributes in the hands of the god is supplied to us; then verses 21—26 describe the images of Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; again, in verses 29—37 are incorporated the names and real nature of the eight attendants of the four above-named deities; lastly the eight devaṅgas, *viz.* *animā*, *laghimā*, *prāpti*, *prākāmya*, *īṣitva* *vaśitva* and *kāmāvasāvitā* (the eight yogic *siddhis*, the attainment of which is the desire of every yogin) are associated in batches of two with each of the four gods, in verses 39-41. After all this Mārkaṇḍeya tells Vajra that "what has been narrated to him is the *Caturmūrti* of the lord; but if the four are combined into one, the composite image should be called *Vaikuṇṭha*, and it should be four-faced—by making the god four-faced the one god becomes four-formed; the eastern (*i.e.*, the central, because the deity faces east) face, the most important of the four, should be placid in aspect; the right face, of the lustre (form) of a lion, should typify knowledge; the western face should be terrific which is called (typifies) prosperity; another form of four-faced (image of the lord) is to be made as I have expounded".² This interesting passage should be compared with the other description of the four-faced image of Viṣṇu from the same work noticed above (Bk. III, ch. 44, verses 9-13). The Varāha face is not explicitly mentioned here and the back face is named *raudra* in place of *kapila* (or *kāpila*). But there can be very little doubt that both descriptions fit in the case of the same types of images, as regards the number of the faces; in the case of the present text the god is named *Vaikuṇṭha caturmūrti* who is four-handed while in the case of the other, the deity is Viṣṇu, one of the triad (*Trimūrti*—*Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*), but the number of his hands is given as eight. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, while further describing the Kṛṣṇa (evidently

1. B. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, Part I, p. 8, Plate IV. The above image is now in the collection of N. M. Ray Chaudhury of Rungpur; V. R. S. Monograph, No. 4, pp. 30-31, and plate. It is quite probable that this specimen either originally hailed from Kashmir region or it might have been made at Benares under the orders of Vaisnava of the former locality.

2. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Bk. III, ch. 85, verses 42-45.

Vāsudeva) form of the lord, explains the real nature of his four faces, eight hands, *vanamālā*, Garuḍa and other accessories. It is expressly mentioned there that "mind, which is in the body of all beings, is to be known as Garuḍa, than whom nobody is stronger or swifter, the eight hands of the wielder of *Sārṅga* bow (i.e., Viṣṇu) are the eight quarters (four major and four minor), the four faces of the god are to be known (to typify) *bala*, *jñāna*, *aśvarya* and *śakti* (four of the six ideal *gunas*, associated with Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha respectively) ; each two of the eight hands are to be associated with each of the four faces ; in Vāsudeva's hands are to be known (placed) the sun and the moon ; in Saṁkarṣaṇa's hands are a pestle and a ploughshare ; in those of Pradyumna are known a bow and an arrow, while in Aniruddha's hands, a sword and a shield. The sun and the moon typifying *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* (appear as) a *cakra* and a *gadā* in the hands of Vāsudeva ; the ploughshare should be known as time and the pestle as death, with which Saṁkarṣaṇa as Rudra ploughs this movable and immovable world. The bow and arrow in the hands of Pradyumna, the fire, are instrumental in piercing the highest target (reaching the highest goal) which is meditated on by the Yogins. The shield, in the hand of Aniruddha who is Brahmā, stands for the cloak of ignorance necessary for the creation of the world. The sword (in the other hand of Aniruddha) known as Nandaka, really passionlessness or indifference to the world, causes joy to the Yogins because it severs all their ties with the world."¹

It will be quite apposite here to take note of an essential doctrinal tenet of the Pāñcarātra system in order to understand the true significance of the images of the great god Vāsudeva Viṣṇu conceived in his four primary aspects, viz., Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha and his twenty other secondary ones—totalling twenty-four forms in all (*Caturvīṁśatīmūrttayaḥ*). The philosophy of the Pāñcarātrins, like the same of the various other religious systems, is inseparably bound up with the story of creation. The creation according to them takes place in gradual stages ; in the beginning, Śrī, the great śakti of Viṣṇu opens her eyes by his command (*unmeṣa*) and flashes up in her dual aspect of *kriyā* (acting) and *bhūti* (becoming), i.e., Force and Matter. Viṣṇu, the transcendent lord, himself inactive, indirectly acts through his consort in her two aspects and thus Viṣṇu, *Kriyā Śakti* (really the Sudarṣana portion of Lakṣmī) and *Bhūti Śakti* are respectively the *causa efficiens* (efficient cause), *causa instrumentalis* (instrumental cause) and *causa materialis* (material cause) of the the world. Thus, in the Pāñcarātra system the transcendent aspect of Viṣṇu remains completely in the background, but still the motive force, while the one force (Lakṣmī) which as *Bhūti* appears as the universe and as *Kriyā* vitalises and governs it. The first phase of the manifestation of Lakṣmī is called *suddhaśṛṣṭi* (pure creation) which consists of the creation of the six ideal *gunas* (*gunonmeśadaśā*). These *gunas*, the attributes of the highest god, are *jñāna* (knowledge), *aśvarya* (lordship), *śakti* (pōtency), *bala* (strength), *virya* (virility) and *tejas* (splendour) and are themselves *aprākṛta* (not belonging to Prakṛti, like the three *gunas*—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) ; they in their totality and by pairs are the material or instruments of pure creation. The first three of them, connected with the *Bhūti* fall under one group called *viśrāmbhūtimayaḥ* (stages of rest) while the last three under the other, viz., *śramābhūtimayaḥ* (stages of effort) and the corresponding *gunas* of each group join to form a pair connected with one to other of some special divine manifestation. In their totality the *gunas* make up the body of Vāsudeva, the

1. The above is a free translation of verses (7—17) in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Bk. III, ch. 47.

highest personal god (*Sādgūṇyavīgraham devam*), as well as that of his consort Lakṣmī. When, however, they begin to pair—one of the first group pairing with another of the second—begins that process of emanation, which appears as a chain, as it were, consisting of several emanations—each one excepting the first originating from an anterior one; thus, the favourite image of the process has, with the Pāñcarātrins, become that of one flame proceeding from another flame (any creation up to the formation of the Brahmaṇḍa, is imagined as taking place in this way). The first three—or including Vasudeva, four—beings thus coming into existence are called the Vyūhas which really denotes that the six *gūṇas* are shoved asunder into three pairs; and the Caturvyūhas (*cf.* the Caturmūrti of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* passage) are Vasudeva (in whom all the six *gūṇas* are equally manifest), Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, the last three being the elder brother, the son and grandson respectively of Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa according to the epic and purāṇic tradition.

The above account of the *Vyūha* doctrine, one of the essential tenets of the Pāñcarātra system, read in connection with the *Viṣṇudharmottara* passages, helps to explain the character of the mediæval Viṣṇu images of Kashmir. It is not at all surprising that Kashmir, of all places in India, should particularise in these types of icons essentially associated with the Pāñcarātra doctrine. Schrader remarks that this system “must have originated in the north of India and subsequently spread to the south.” He further observes, “The story of Śvetaadvīpa seems even to point to the extreme north and so do some Saṃhitās, among them *Ahimbudhnyā*.” This extreme north was most probably Kashmir, as the frequency of the above types of images there fully show.

VI

TWO JAIN IMAGES

By Adris Banerji, M.A., Archæological Museum, Sarnath.

Mr. A. Banerji read a paper on this subject a summary of which is given below :—

The contribution describes two images identified with the *Digambara* Jaina *Takshini* Agnīka or Dharmadevi. It gives a brief account of the mythology, and describes two hitherto little known images. Incidentally it points out that considerable Jaina ruins are to be met with in the border districts of Bihar and Bengal.

VII

THE KĀMARŪPA SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

By Sarbeswar Kataki, Hony. Assistant Secretary, Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati.

The author in this paper discussed that a Kāmarūpa School of Sculpture flourished in the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa, the boundary of which is indicated in the following Sanskrit couplet :—

“*Kartr̥yāṅ samarabhya jātat dikṣur basini*
Uttare Nanda sailacha dakṣiṇe Bihagochala.”

A summary of the salient points is given below :—

Significance of Kāmarūpa School—The jurisdiction of this school—The age of the school—The influence on and relation with other different

1, F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to Pancaratra*, p. 16. The above account of the *Vyūha* doctrine is based on Schrader's presentation of the same.

Indian schools—Kāmarūpa sculptures—Architectural remains—Sculptural remains—Designs—Height—Breadth—Circumference of the ancient Kāmarūpa temples—Speciality of its construction—Structures on granite stone—Abundance and convenience of quarry—Stone images—Their Peculiarity—Uniformity—Mongolian influence—Tibetan influence—A mixture of Tibetan sculpture and Kāmarūpa sculpture—Possibility of opening a border school running at the foot of the Bhutan hills at the edge of the Brahmaputra Valley running lengthwise on the north bank—Hill tribes—Aka—Dufla—Miri—Mismi and Physiognomy as manifested in the sculptures discovered at the foot of the Bhutan hill—All these prove that the Kāmarūpa School of Sculptures flourished in the eastern corner of India with Prāg-*gyotish* as centre—Their evolution in the legendary period, historic period, pre-Ahom period and Ahom period and the evolution and destruction of the schools—Attention of the scholars invited to the Kāmarūpa School—Conclusion.

Scholars of Indian archæology as well as the spade workers of historical research are always led by the belief that in Kāmarūpa or modern Assam no separate school of sculpture ever evolved or if it evolved it was submerged in the Orissa School of Kalinga or the Pala School of Bengal. This is rather an erroneous superstition. Numerous remains are lying scattered throughout the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa and their recent discovery has made a firm conviction in the mind of a research worker that a separate school of sculpture known as Kāmarūpa School existed in this ancient kingdom around Prāg-*gyotish* as a centre or Sonitpur or Kundil as centres of activity from time to time. For a clear conception of this theory, we should like to divide the Kāmarūpa sculptures mainly into four groups. The first group comprises the sculptures belonging to Asuras or Danavas of the mythic period, *i.e.*, the sculptures used in the construction of the temples and structures consecrated to gods and goddesses by Narakasur, Bānasur and Bhismaka Raja of Kundila city and this group can be traced back historically up to the Epic period. The second group comprises the sculptures as revealed in the stone structures constructed by the line of kings of Kumār Bhaskarvarman. The third group comprises the ruins belonging to the Kochas and Kachari kings of the kingdom. The fourth or the last group comprises the ruins of the glorious Ahom period. All these different groups of sculptures when studied minutely will undoubtedly prove the existence and evolution of the Kāmarūpa School just like other schools of India, *viz.* :—Gāndhāra School, Mathura School, Bharhut School, Amaravati School, Pala School, etc. What do we mean by a school of sculpture? The Gāndhāra School has been thus defined "The phrase Gāndhāra School is a collective form denoting the labours of many artists working in various materials through several generations with a considerable variety of techniques."

How far this definition is applicable to Kāmarūpa School it is our subject under discussion. In Kāmarūpa sculptures, the following characteristics may be enumerated as special features to establish a separate school.

VIII

IDENTIFICATION OF "INDRARATHA" OF ĀDINAGARA
MENTIONED IN TIRUMALAI AND SOME OTHER
INSCRIPTIONS OF RĀJENDRA CHOLA I

By P. Acharya, B.Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State.

Parakesari Varman Rājendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.) sent an expedition to Bengal which traversed the countries in a north-easterly direction from Chakrakotta in Bastār State to Bengal. On the way in the vicinity of Dākṣhiṇa Kosala and Odra the army conquered one "Indraratha" of the ancient race of the moon residing at Ādinagara and then marching over the dense forests of Odra it reached in the country called Daṇḍabhukti which was situated in the southern part of Bengal and northern part of Orissa now comprised in the districts of Midnapore, Bankura, Balasore, and eastern Mayurbhanj. That there was a route from the ancient sea-port Tamruk to Central Provinces through Baman-ghati of Mayurbhanj, has been observed by Kitter (1838) and Beglar (1874-76). Relying on the identification of Takkana Laddam with either southern *Lāta* or Gujrat or *Virāta* or Berar, Keilhorn suggested that Indraratha might be the same as Indraratha, the opponent of Bhoja of Dhārā found in Udaipur inscription; but subsequently *Takkam Ladam* and *Uttira Ladam* of Tirumalai inscription have been identified with south-west Bengal and thus the countries called Dākṣhiṇa Kosala, Odra, Daṇḍabhukti and southern and northern Radhas are found to be contiguous. So Indraratha should be identified with a king of the same name in eastern India and not in western India. The identification of Indraratha and his capital "Ādinagara" depends on the contemporary epigraphic evidence supported by the correct reading of the Tamil text of the inscriptions of Rājendra Chola which refer to his invasion of Bengal. The copper-plate grants of Somavamśi kings of Kosala and Utkala mention two kings named Bhimaratha and Dharmaratha whose capital was at Yāyātinagara on the Mahanadi in the Sambalpur tract and among the previous writers Dr. S. K. Aiyangar only made attempt in 1925 suggesting this identification but Professor Nilakantha Sastri rejected the suggestion on the ground that Dr. Aiyangar did not say how he got his new reading "Sadinagara" in place of "Ādinagara" and came to the conclusion that "of Indraratha of the lunar race whose defeat led to the surrender of the Odda (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kosala nothing can be added to Keilhorn's suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhoja of Dhārā mentioned in Ujayapur inscription," *vide* the Chola page 250 published in 1935. In an article published in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1935, Mr. A. C. Banerji also identified Indraratha of the Tirumalai inscription with the opponent of Bhoja of Dhārā. Not being satisfied with this identification I wanted to verify the reading of the Tamil text as given in the inscriptions of Rājendra Chola and sought help from the Government Epigraphist for India whose Assistant for the South Indian Epigraphy has informed me that the reading of the Tirukkalar copper-plate is *Yāyātinagara* which served my purposes very satisfactorily and I found no difficulty in accepting that the hitherto read Ādinagara of the Tamil text to stand for Yāyātinagara of the Somavamśi inscriptions. The readings of the doubtful name as *Dhira tara*, *Indiradan* or *Indraratha* as given by Hultzsch in the same way should stand for a name beginning with "Dha" and ending with "Ratha" from which it would not be unscientific to find out the name as Dharmaratha which also occurs in the list of the Somavamśi kings of Orissa. Moreover,

the Brahmesvara inscription of Bhubaneswar mentions that Dharmaratha died childless and his kingdom was attacked by many warriors and this statement is in harmony with that of the Tirumalai inscription. So it can safely be said that Tamil text stands for *Dharmaratha* and *Yayātinagara* of the Somavaṃśi kings of Orissa.

Another very important point found from this identification, is the date of the inscriptions of the Somavaṃśi kings which do not contain any date; the date of Dharmaratha which terminated in 1022 or 1023 A. D. would give us approximate date of his predecessors in the 10th century A. D. and successors in the 11th century A. D. in the third quarter of which the Somavaṃśi line ousted by the Gangas of Kaliṅganagara as is proved from the Ganga inscriptions.

SECTION II—EARLY INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D.

I appreciate the honour done to me by fellow workers in electing me as Chairman of this section of Ancient India of the Indian History Congress.

It is very fitting that the Panjab has been the venue of this Conference, for it was the Panjab where India had the beginnings of her history, her earliest culture and civilisation. The *Rigveda* which is the earliest book of India, and also of mankind, was first sung on the banks of the rivers of the Panjab which it aptly calls the land of the *Sapta-Sindhavas*, of the seven rivers such as *Vitasta* (Jhelum), *Asikni* (Chenab), *Parushni* (Iravati, Ravi), *Vipāśa* (Beas), *Sutudri* (Sutlej), along with the *Sindhu* (Indus) and the *Sarasvati* (or, according to some, the *Kubha*) or the *Kabul* [*Rv. VIII., 24, 27*].

Even in those early days, a grateful national imagination keenly recognised how the Panjab was the gift of her rivers to whom was devoted the *Nadistuti* of the *Rigveda*, in which prayers are offered to all the rivers that joined their sacred waters in helping to shape the country as the seat of India's earliest civilisation. The *Nadistuti* gives the first expression to the nation's geographical consciousness. The country was fondly worshipped as the land of the sacred rivers [*Rv. X, 75, 5*].

But even this ancient passage is not an adequate expression of what India, and the Panjab in particular, owes to her rivers through the ages. There is evidence that some of India's rivers were older than India herself and helped to bring her into existence as the mother the child. It would appear that the greatest of her rivers, the Indus, the Ganges and the *Brahmaputra*, were already live rivers before even the Himalaya or India was heard of, and that they rose in the great mountain systems to the north of the Himalaya such as the *Karakoram Range*. The explorer, and geologist, *Visser*, the leader of the *Karakoram expedition*, has thrown new light on the origination of India as a country out of the abysmal depths of a primeval ocean, the *Tethys*. He writes :

"All the above-mentioned rivers break through the mighty Himalaya, partially by tremendous gorges. In an ordinary case a river will never break through a mountain range. It will try to go around it, as that is the easiest way. One of the only explanations we can give in the case of the three big rivers of Northern India is that the mountain ranges north of the Himalaya are older than the Himalaya itself ; or to express this in other terms : the whole mountain region of the Himalaya was under the sea-level when the rivers came down from the more northern mountains to the ocean. Then the Himalaya region rose slowly above the surface of the sea."

The Panjab is thus the very cradle of India. She may also be the cradle of the human race itself and of its civilisation. There is evidence of the appearance of early man in the higher regions of the Panjab and in the *Siwaliks*. It would appear that India owes to the Himalayas a double debt, geographical and social. The Himalayas have not merely contributed to the geographical evolution of India as a distinct country. They have also helped in the evolution of man and his appearance in India. According to the geologist *Barrell*, " Man and the Himalayas arose simultaneously, towards the end of Miocene Period, over a million years ago."

Elliot Smith also holds that "the common ancestors of anthropoid apes and men probably occupied Northern India during the Miocene Epoch." (*Early Man*: Lecture delivered at the Royal Anthropological Institute: p. 3. 7.)

The only point of interest that emerges out of these opinions is that Northern India can claim to be one of the cradles of man in the earliest phase of the evolution of the type.

If civilisation must depend on rivers and follow their courses, there is no reason why the seats of our earliest civilisation should be confined only to the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris and should not be sought in the Indus Valley, or even in the valleys of the Yamuna and the Ganga, or even the older Narmada. Hitherto scraps of early Indian history had to be traced in meagre paleolithic and neolithic remains, till the position was completely revolutionised by the epoch-making archaeological excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. These discoveries have established the position that India can claim to be a pioneer of civilisation along with Sumer, Elam, Mesopotamia or Egypt. Sir John Marshall has recorded the opinion that the Indus civilisation has been mainly an independent and indigenous growth, a product of the Indian soil, marked by certain specifically Indian features, not present in any other early civilisation, from which they could not be derived. The Indus people gave to the world its earliest cities, its first urban civilisation, its first town-planning, its first architecture in stone and brick as protection against floods, its first examples of sanitary engineering and drainage works, showing how they planned for the people at large in a truly democratic spirit, for the welfare of the masses, as compared with the aristocratic architecture of Egypt. To them also belongs the credit for producing some of the earliest specimens of pottery and also of inventing what was the most important aid to civilisation, the device of a cart to harness animals to serve man's needs. Harappa has revealed the form of a two-wheeled cart provided with a gabled roof and even showing the driver seated in front and this is considered by Sir John Marshall as "the oldest known example of a wheeled vehicle, older even than the stele fragment, with the picture of a chariot, found by Wooley at Ur, which in its turn antedates by a thousand years the use of the wheel in Egypt."

But the fundamental point of a civilisation is its physical and economic condition, and not the remains that may be found of it, or their probable dates. The problem of a civilisation is the problem of growing the food which sustained it. Perhaps we do not yet fully realise the importance of the discovery of our daily bread. It is the growing of grain, the beginning of agriculture which is the beginning of civilisation.

Thus to determine where cereals and cattle were first domesticated would be to determine the place where civilisation originated. This task has been undertaken by a group of Russian scientists headed by Vasilov. They have achieved results which are fairly definite in the case of wheat. Vasilov concludes that bread wheat originated from "a centre near the Panjab," "the fold between the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas." It was this original wheat which was the source of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats, and of the more important varieties grown in Europe and North America to-day."—J. B. S. Haldane, *Inequality of Man and other Essays*.)

Specimens of this early wheat are found at Mohenjo-daro. It is also to be noted that "only one sample of very early wheat is known from Mesopotamia." Mohenjo-daro wheat is also found to be the ancestor of the wheat which is "still in cultivation in the Panjab."—(*Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, III: 586.)

Civilisation thus had a very early start in India in the Panjab, which was one of the first countries of the world to commence agriculture. While it is necessary to emphasise that Indus civilisation is no less individual and national than other great river civilisations, it is also necessary to recognise that a civilisation in those early days could not be a completely self-contained and isolated growth, but must have been aided in its development by active intercourse with other countries as the sources of the manifold material required to build it up. But it seems to me that more attention has been paid up to now to the borrowings of the Indus civilisation from countries outside India than to the dependence of the Indus Valley upon other parts of India for the supply of its economic and architectural requirements. A few facts may be presented here to explain the position.

The main materials of which the use was known to the Indus people were metals and minerals such as gold, silver, copper, bronze, tin and lead, and stone of diverse kinds. These materials could not all be derived from the Indus Valley, but came from countries far and near. Indeed, in one sense, the contents of this early civilisation are not more important to history than the economic setting or background to which it was vitally related, the intimate ties of commercial and cultural intercourse by which different countries and civilisations were bound to one another in the ancient world on the basis of a freedom of trade which knew no national frontiers or provincial barriers.

In the ancient world there were several countries which could have supplied these metallic materials, and India was one of them. All these metals, including tin, were mined in early times within the confines of India. They were also available in other neighbouring countries. Persia could yield all of them. Afghanistan could have supplied gold, silver, copper and lead; Arabia, gold, silver, and copper; and Western Tibet, gold, for which it was noted. But the particular type of gold which was in use at Mohenjo-daro has been considered by experts to be the indigenous gold of India, derived from the South, rather than from any other country. As Sir Edwin Pascoe has pointed out, the bulk of India's gold has been derived through the ages from the South (Hyderabad, Mysore, and the Madras Presidency), where are still to be traced the workings of old mines. And what is more significant and conclusive is that "much of the gold found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa is alloyed with a substantial percentage of silver, and this alloy (electron, as it is commonly known) is found in the Kolar gold fields of Mysore and at Anantapur in Madras, but not in other districts from which the Indus people would have been likely to procure it."

Copper was very largely used at Mohenjo-daro, where it took the place of stone and was used as material in the manufacture of weapons, implements, and domestic utensils, such as lance-heads, daggers, knives, axes, chisels, and vessels, and also of ornaments like bangles, ear-rings, and girdles, as well as figurines, wires, rods, etc. At Harappa has been found a large hoard of copper and bronze objects in an exceptionally fine state of preservation, not very much affected by oxidation, as they were contained in a closed copper vessel. The chemical analysis of these specimens shows that the copper used contains proportions of arsenic and nickel not found in the Sumerian copper which does not contain any arsenic. The nearest source of this type of copper is found in the Rajputana mines. India is a fertile source of copper which was extensively worked in very early times, as proved by the finds of numerous prehistoric implements of which the most important find was that at Gungeria in the Balaghat district of C. P. bringing to light 424 hammered implements

Sir John Evans described this find as the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the old world. But pure copper is too soft to produce a hard or keen edge. This was understood by the Indus Valley craftsmen, who were well up not merely in the metallurgy of pure copper but also in that of its alloys with tin or arsenic.

As to tin, its sources are traced to the Western Presidency and parts of Bihar and Orissa, and specially the mines of Hazaribagh, the source of the bronze found abundantly in the "Asur" graves of that region.

Stone was a rarity in the Indus Valley and had to be imported from places far and near. Limestone came from Sukkur down the river by boat. Gypsum and Alabaster could be quarried only in the Kirthan hills 100 miles away. The yellow stone came from Jaisalmer. Other places in Rajputana supplied steatite and dark grey slate.

Semi-precious stones such as rock-crystal, halmatite, agate, chalcedony, onyx, carnelian and jasper were obtainable from Rajputana, Panjab, Kathiawar and Central India.

Some stones had to be imported from abroad. Lapis lazuli came from Badakshan (Northern Afghanistan); turquoise from Khorasan; and the source of jadeite—a hard form of jade—lay in the Pamirs, Eastern Turkestan, and Tibet.

"On the other hand, the nearest spot from which the beautiful green amazon stone could be got was Doddabetta in the Nilgiris, far away in Southern India, and it is probable that amethyst was procured from the Dekhan trap."

Nay, Southern India sent her unique green stone to far more distant countries of the old world. In an early layer at Ur were "found two beads of amazonite, a green stone, for which the nearest source," as pointed out by Sir Leonard Wolley, "is in the Nilgiri hills of India," and, as he further states, "at once there is called up the astonishing picture of antediluvian man engaged in commerce which sent its caravans across a thousand miles of mountains and desert from the Mesopotamian Valley into the heart of India."

In *Excavations at Harappa* (Ch. XV) Mr. H. C. Beck has recently pointed out eight facts or pieces of definite evidence showing that there was no very close connection between the Indus civilisation and the other foreign civilisations. Firstly, he says that "the Indus civilisations, as far as beads are concerned, is primarily a steatite civilisation." In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, very few beads of steatite are found.

Secondly, Harappa evolved its own technique of treating and painting steatite which is absolutely unknown to Mesopotamia, Egypt or Crete.

Thirdly, Lapis is very rarely used in the Indus civilisation, while it is extremely common and popular at Ur. Ur obtained the stone from a source which was far nearer to the Indus Valley than to Ur. It was North-East Afghanistan.

Similarly, beads of crystalline quartz, amethyst, garnet, or obsidian are not at all to be found at Harappa, while they are common in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Again one of the favourite shapes of beads of Lapis at Ur was the bicone, of standard length and generally elliptical. Such a shape has not been found among the numerous beads from Harappa.

The sixth fact cited is that flattened leach beads have not been reported from Harappa, while large numbers of these have been found in Mesopotamia.

Seventhly, objects called plumb-bobs (ear-drops) were in use at Ur but not at Harappa.

And, as the eighth fact, it is pointed out that beads made of blue frit were in common use in Mesopotamia and Egypt but not at all in Harappa.

Thus the Indus civilisation may be taken to be more a product of India, an indigenous and independent growth, than an offshoot of the Mesopotamian civilisations.

Lastly, it is to be noted that this indigenous Indian civilisation, evolving on its own lines, was not confined to the Indus Valley, but had extended to the east. Recently, the finds of antiquities unearthed at Katla Nihang are so like those at Harappa that it may be taken for granted that this early civilisation had extended to the Doab between the Sutlej and the Jumna. [*Excavations at Harappa*. I. 477.]

I shall now refer in brief to a few other outstanding problems of early Indian history. The first of these is the relationship between the Indus Valley and the Rigvedic cultures. I desire only to draw attention to the possible links of connection between the two cultures as indicated in the following Rigvedic words applied to describe the non-Aryans of the times: (1) *Krishna vāch* dark-skinned (*Rig.* I. 130, 8; IX. 41, 1), or *Krishna-garbhāh*, "of dusky brood" (I. 53, 8; also *cf.* II. 21, 6-7; IV. 16, 13); (2) *anas*, "noseless, snub-nosed" (V. 29, 10), or "without face" as taken by Sayana, in which case it may mean "misfeatured" as taken in the St. Petersburg Dictionary; or "speechless," unable to speak the language of the Aryans, as interpreted by Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch*; (3) *Mridhara-vāch* (I. 174, 2; V. 32, 8; X. 23, 5, etc.), "of stammering, unintelligible, hostile speech," as variously interpreted; (4) *A-Karman*, devoid of rites (X. 22, 8); (5) *A-Yajvan*, "non-sacrificing" (VIII. 70, 11); (6) *A-devayū*, "not worshipping the *Devas*" or Aryan gods (VIII. 70, 11); (7) *A-brahman*, "wanting in devotion or prayer" (IV. 16, 9); (8) *A-vajryn*, "not sacrificing" (VII. 6, 3); (9) *A-vratā*, "lawless," not observing the Vedic vows (I. 51, 8; I. 130, 8; 165, 3; VI. 14, 8; IX. 41, 2); (10) *Anyā-vrata*, "addicted to other (non-Vedic) practices" (VIII. 70, 11); (11) *Deva-pīyū*, "reviling the Vedic gods" (*Av.* XII. 1, 37); or (12) *Sisna-devah* "those who worship the phallus for a deity." (*Rv.* VII. 21, 5; X. 69).

Add to these the Rigvedic references to the great progress achieved in material civilisation by the non-Aryans of its times, to its cities, forts (I. 41, 3); of iron *ayasi* (II. 58, 8); and stone *asmamay*, (IV. 30, 20; forts wide in extent (I. 189, 2); full of kine *gomati* (*Av.* VIII. 6, 33); of hundred pillars *satabhuji* (*Rv.* I. 166, 8; VII. 15, 14); and autumnal *saradi* forts, as refuge against the inundations (of the Indus). The Vedic god Indra is aptly called Purandara, sacker of cities characteristic of non-Aryan civilisation (I. 103, 3). The Rigveda does not stop with descriptions of the non-Aryans in merely general terms. It mentions individual non-Aryan or political leaders of the day, such as Ilibizha, Dhuni, Chumuri, Pipru, Varchin, and Sambara, together with the more prominent non-Aryan peoples, whose political alliance was sought after by the Rigvedic peoples. These leading non-Aryan peoples are called Simyas, Kikatas, Ajas, Yakshus, and Sigrus.

As regards the realistic and physical descriptions given by the Rigveda of the non-Aryans in the epithets *Anāsa*, or *Krishna-garbhā*. We find them corroborated by the evidence of expert examinations of the human remains excavated at Mohenjo-daro. The few skulls examined show "the nose to be comparatively broad." As regards both the nasal and orbital indices.

we have a regular graded series, commencing in the Kish skulls, with a nose that is long and narrow ; in the Al-Ubaid skulls, the nose is slightly shorter and distinctly broader ; and these changes are even more marked in the Mohenjo-daro skulls. [*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, II 641]. The earlier Mohenjo-daro skulls are broad-nosed and both these and the Al-Ubaid skulls definitely show a chamaerine index—the mean values in the two series being 51·06 and 49·2 respectively [*Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, I. 631.] Again an examination of the skulls found at Harappa shows racial types pointing to “a large-headed dolichocephalic people with well-developed supra-orbital ridges and high cranial roof, long face, and prominent nose” [*Excavations at Harappa*, I. 238]. It is, however, to be noted that the population of Mohenjo-daro, from the few skulls brought to light, was not of one, but at least of four different racial types, viz.—(1) proto-Australoid, (2) Mediterranean, (3) Mongolian, and (4) Alpine, the two latter being inferred from only one skull found of each type. The proto-Australoids seem to have been its main population settled in the city. Others were probably its traders forming its floating population. According to the learned Census Commissioner for 1931, Sir J. H. Hutton, the Rigvedic epithet *anās*, or snub-nosed, must point to the Kolarians or proto-Australoids, whose descendants are still seen in the Bhils and Chodhras. Dr. Hutton has recorded his conclusion that the makers of the Indus civilisation and of pre-Vedic Hinduism were the non-Aryans of the Rigveda, whom he identifies with the Dravidians, who were racially of mixed type, Mediterranean and Armenoid.

With regard to the Rigveda reference to the non-Aryans as *Sīna-devah*, we find it verified by the finds of numerous examples of cult-stones of three types—the baetyl, the phallic and the *yonī* ring-stones, at both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. *Linga* and *Yoni* worship was then the popular religion in the Indus Valley [*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, I. 63].

The Panjab has not merely been the cradle of India's civilisation. She has given it some of its formative, governing, and guiding principles. The two outstanding achievements of India's civilisation concern her political and educational system and the Panjab has led in the formation of both. The Panjab began as the home of democracy and republican traditions and also as the home of the highest learning. The spirit of democracy she imbibed from the hymns of the Rigveda, first sung on the banks of her rivers. Though the Rigveda is not of an age or clime and is the ultimate root of the entire Hindu civilisation in all its numerous branches and offshoots that have grown through the ages, it started as the book of the Panjab, deriving much of its inspiration from the beauty of its *Usaks* or Dawn on its West, and the grandeur of storm and thunder, cloud and rain toward its east. • The Rigveda lisped in democracy. It gave to the world its first conception of democracy and its first expressions such as *Samgha*, *Sabha*, and the *Samiti*, words which are still our stock-in-trade in politics and have penetrated into every vernacular in India. • The Rigveda tells how in the assemblies, or *Samghas*, of learned men and by their discussions its every language was hammered into shape, and its thought fixed. It applied the principle of democracy even to learning and education, the method of discussion by which truth is best thrashed out. The Atharvaveda tells how Prajapati, the creator, after inaugurating His Creation, sent down as His agents His twin daughters, *Sabha*, and *Samiti*, who alone could take charge of it and nurse it properly. Democracy is thus recognised as the first aid to civilisation.

The democratic spirit of the Rigveda finds culmination in its last hymn. It prefers to end on that note. • Its very last hymn in the tenth

Maṇḍala is an exhortation to democracy, an appeal for unity, which resounds through the ages and will bear repetition at every modern assembly. The very deity who is invoked in this hymn may be designated as the presiding Deity of Democracy, whom the Rigveda calls by the abstract, philosophical term of *Sainjīdāna*, typifying a common political consciousness as the foundation of nationalism and democracy. The hymn develops into a prayer to this abstract God for impulse to national congregation (*sainjā chchadhvam*) to be animated by a unity of counsel (*Mantra*), a spirit of co-operation (*Samiti*), a unity of minds, hearts, and plans, of aspirations and efforts (*Akūti*),

It was this democratic and republican tradition which struck its roots early, deeply and firmly in the fertile soil of the Panjab. The Panjab became the chosen home of many a republican community, to which the grammar of Pāṇini (c. 500 B. C.) bears unimpeachable testimony. Pāṇini refers to many such communities, whom he calls *Sainghas* or *Ganas*; and some of whom he distinguishes as *āyudha-jīvi sainghas* warrior-clans, as is well known. Most of these were vigorous republics even at the time of Alexander's invasion of the Panjab, which they resisted with all their resources in men and material. Among these Pāṇini mentions the following, whose names are also known in their Greek forms : (1) *Kshudrakas* (Greek Oxydrakai), IV. 2, 45. (2) *Mālavas* (Greek Malloi); (3) *Vrikas* also called *Vārkenya* (V. 3, 115), most probably corresponding to the people of Wakhan in North-East Afghanistan, whose ancient name is mentioned as Wakan, Bakan, or Barkana, in Kushan Inscriptions; (4) *Damani* and others (V. 3, 116); (5) the Confederacy of the *Six Trigartas* comprising (a) Kaundoparatha (b) Dāṇḍaki (c) Kaushṭaki (d) Jalamādi (e) Brahmagupta and (f) Janaki; (6) *Parsu*, associated with *Asura* and *Rkshas*, and probably of the country called *Parsa* on the Persian Gulf, the place of origin of the Achæmenians, whence the name Persia; (7) *Yaudheyas*; (8) *Salvas* (Alwar and its surrounding country), a large confederacy comprising (a) *Udumbaras* (b) *Tilakhalas* (c) *Madrakāras* (d) *Yugandharhs* (e) *Bhūllagas* (f) *Saradanḍas* (g) *Budhas* (h) *Ajakrandas* (i) *Ajamīdhas* IV. 1, 173; (9) *Bhargas*, another confederacy comprising (a) *Karīṣshals* (b) *Kekayas* (c) *Kāsmīras* (d) *Sālvas* (e) *Susthalas* (f) *Uraṣas* (of Hazara district) and (g) *Kamavyas* IV. 1, 178; (10) *Ambashthas* (Greek *Abastanoi*) who are associated in the *Mahābhārata*, II. 42, 14-15 with the *Śibis* *Kshudrakas*, *Malvas*, and other north-western tribes; (11) *Hastināyana* VI. 4, 174 Greek *Astnenn*; (12) *Prakanva* VI. 153 corresponding to modern Ferghana, whose people called the *Parikani* corresponds to *Prakanvāyaras* (Sten Konow, *Karoshthi* Inscriptions, p. XVIII); (13) *Madras* (IV. 2, 131); (14) *Madhumantas*, (IV. 2, 133); *Mbh. Bhīshmp* (p. IX. 53), corresponding to the Mohmands; (15) *Apritas* IV. 2, 53 (Greek *Aparytai*), corresponding to modern Afridas; (16) *Vasāti* I. 6. (Greek *Ossadioi*); (17) *Śibis* (IV. 3, 112); and (18) *Aśvāyana* (IV. 1, 110) (Greek *Aspasil*) and *Aśvāyana* (Greek *Assakenoi*), whose stronghold was Massaga (*Maśakāvai*).

It may be noted that the city called Aornos by the Greeks corresponds to the term *Varana*, used by Panini (IV. 2, 82). [I owe much of this material to Mr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow].

The Mahabharata also knows of the following republican peoples of these regions : (1) *Yaudheyas* (II. 52; VII. 9); (2) *Kshudarkas* (II. 52. VI. 57); (3) *Malavas* (II. 3; II. 52); (4) *Vasatis* (II. 52; V. 30); (5) *Śibis* (II. 32; II. 52); (6) *Udumbaras* (II. 52); (7) *Prasthalas* (VIII. 44); (8) *Trigartas* (II. 52); (9) *Madras* (II. 52); (10) *Kekayas* (III. 120); and (11) *Agreyas* (III. 251).

The Greeks knew of a few other republican peoples such as Glaukani-koi (= *Glauchukāvanakas*) ; Adraistai (= Adhrishtas or Arat̥tas) ; Agalassoi (= *Arjunayanas*) ; Kathri (= *Kshatriyas*) ; and Sodrai (= Sudras).

Side by side with these robust republican traditions, the Panjab was building up from the earliest times traditions of learning and education which set the standard for the rest of India. The centre of these traditions was Taxila, which held primacy in ancient India for the efficiency of its many and diverse educational institutions. Taxila, indeed followed in the wake of earlier academic traditions, of which glimpses are given in the Brahmanas and Upanishads. They tell of the bands of scholars called *charakas* who wandered through the country in search of higher learning, of which the centre was then in the north. It was represented by philosopher-kings like Asvapati Kaikeya, who taught even Brahmana pupils of the eminence of Uddālaka Āruni the mystic doctrine of the Vaiśvānara, of which he was then the only master in the country. And he was as great in politics, an ideal king who could boast of his achievements thus : " In my kingdom, there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person no adulterer, much less an adulteress " (*Chhandogya Upanishad*, V. 11, 1-5 ; *Satapatha Br.*, X. 6, 1. 1. 2) The land of the Madras in the Panjab was famous as a seat of learning represented by the teacher, Patanchala Kapyā, whose reputation drew to him renowned pupils from the far South, such as Uddalaka or Bhujya Lahyayani (*Bri Upa.* III, 3, 1, 7, 1). Svaidavana Saunaka also represented the learning of the North and established its supremacy against the challenge of Kuru Panchala scholars (*Satapatha*, XIII, 5, 3, 5). Taxila was the heir of all these high ideals and academic traditions. It was known as the seat of advanced studies and not of mere elementary education. The Jatakas tell of the educational conditions of Taxila in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. They refer to students being admitted for study at Taxila at the age of sixteen or when they " come of age." Taxila was then full of " world-renowned " teachers (*dis-apamokkha* acharyas). We read : " Youths of Kshatriya and Brahmana castes came from all India to be taught the arts by one of these teachers." Taxila offered instruction in all the Humanities and Sciences of the times. Among its subjects of study are mentioned the three Vedas and eighteen Sippas or Arts, among which are mentioned archery, hunting, and elephant-lore, which were appropriate for princes. Taxila had a special school for princes, a sort of a military academy.

It was also known for its special schools of law and medicine. Training was given in both theory and practice. The best example of this education was Jivaka, a graduate of its medical college, where he had to undergo a course of study for seven years, after which his teacher imposed upon him a practical test, saying : " Take this spade and seek round about Takkasilā a *vojana* on every side, and whatever plant you see which is not medicinal, bring it to me." Jivaka was given the licence to practice only after he was able to satisfy his teacher in his practical examination and by his field-work and knowledge of medical botany. As in medicine and surgery, Taxila produced some of the foremost men of learning in other subjects. We know from the Buddhist Text, *Vamsatthappakasini*, that the great scholar, Chanakya, known for his encyclopaedic erudition, as a master of all *Sastras* and *Sastras*, was a native of Taxila and a product of its schools. Chanakya's father also was a citizen of Taxila. The same text tells us that Chanakya secured as his disciple Chandragupta when he was only a boy of seven or eight years (*Sattatthavassikameva*) and

at once brought him to his own native place, Taxila, where he gave him an all round education in many sciences and practical or technical arts (*bahusachchabhavan cha uggahita sippakan cha*) for a period of eight years to prepare him for the great mission for which Chanakya had intended him, the mission of being the liberator of his country from the yoke of foreign Greek rule and also the yoke of indigenous tyranny, from which the country was suffering under its disreputable ruler, the last Nanda King. Taxila produced the first hero of India's independence.

Taxila could also boast of another learned student of immortal fame. He was no less a person than the great grammarian Panini himself. He is described as a Salaturiya a native of the village called Salatura.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDA

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Modern scholarship recognises in the saṃhitās (collections) of the Veda, the earliest strata of Indo-Aryan literature to which we have access ; and even in the earliest of the saṃhitās, that of the R̥gveda, students of language and prosody recognise differences in the age of the different parts comprising the saṃhitā, while very often individual hymns bear on their face hints of the particular circumstances in which they were composed.

The orthodox Hindu view looks upon the Veda as Revealed Scripture, the source of all Knowledge, and even of all creation ; "From the Puruṣa (sacrifice), invoked by all, came the R̥ks and the Sāmāns," says the Puruṣasūkta ; and Brahmā, the Creator, is said to receive the Veda from his creator, Īśvara, and proceed to shape the universe "as before" (*yathā pūrvaiṃ*) with the aid of the Unwritten Word. This is the view which finds expression in the celebrated half-verse of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad *Yo Brahmānam vidadhāti pūrvaiṃ yo vai vedāmsca prahinoti tasmai* ; and in the tag : *Dhātā yathā pūrvaiṃ akalpayat* . Another view considers the different parts of the Veda as emanations from the different faces of Brahmā, the creator, and this is what we commonly find set forth with variations of details in the Purāṇas as a rule.¹

These views and others allied to them have this in common, they are all calculated to deny that the Vedas were composed by men like any other books and to assert their *apauruṣeyatva*.

There is, however, one very interesting passage in the Vāyu Purāṇa which shows that speculation on the origin of the Vedas and the nature of their contents took at one time a more critical turn which was still *a priori*, rather than the result of any systematic analysis of the hymns like that undertaken by modern scholars. The view contained in this passage is in itself very suggestive of much that we shall never know in its fulness, and that we can guess only vaguely from the indications contained in such passages as this. It occurs in the fifty-ninth chapter vv 56-61 of the Vāyu Purāṇa. These verses may be rendered as follows :

"In each manvantara is prescribed a separate śruti ; the r̥ks, yajuses, and sāmāns have appropriate references to each of the deities ; with the one exception of the Satarudriya, they remain till the deluge that engulfs all creation. Injunctions, sacrificial formulæ and praises come into existence as before ; praises are of four kinds : (1) praise of material (dravya), (2) praise of quality (guṇa), (3) praise of ritual (karma), and (4) praise of the high-born. In every manvantara there are *devās* duly constituted, and Brahmā puts forth the four kinds of stotras of these gods. Likewise the guṇas of the mantras have a four-fold origin ; and this is separate in the vedas of the Atharvans, Yajuses and Sāmāns. In former manvantaras, indeed mantras proceeded from ṛsis as they were engaged in tapas very difficult of performance ; and this happened in five ways *viz.*, from satisfaction, from fear, from unhappiness, from happiness and from sorrow."

It seems to me that we have here that blend of legend and history, logical analysis and religious faith, characteristic of the most significant of

• 1. See Wilson VP. (1840), p. 42 and n. 21, end of ch. I 5.

the Purāṇas which were meant to be in their own way cosmic or universal histories narrated in easy verse for the instruction and edification of the common people. A little consideration shows that this text is interesting in several ways as it sums up in a brief compass the results of different lines of speculation; it is by no means easy to decide if these different lines represent successive stages in a single line of growth; or simply different points of view that might have prevailed together, or as seems most probable, a combination of both. The Purāṇic theory of manvantaras is employed, as often happens in similar contexts, to cover the contradictions among the various views put forward regarding the *Veda*, its nature and origin. We have thus only three Vedas, Rk, Yajus, and Sāman accounted for at the outset, though later in the account of *mantragunas* the atharvan also finds a place. The *Śatarudriya* is alone said to be of a higher order of eternity and survive the deluges, unlike the rest of the *Veda*. Then the *Veda* is classified into *vidhi* (injunction), *hotra* (sacrificial text) and *stotram* (praise), the last class falling in its turn into four sub-classes—viz., praise of material, of qualities, of ritual and of noble men. But this is not all; this fourfold praise (*stotram caturvidham*) has something to do with the gods, and Brahmā is said in each *manvantara* to adapt the qualities of the stotras to the nature of the gods in the *manvantara*. The sting of the passage lies, however, in its tail; and here the ideas of impersonal origin (*apauruṣeyatva*) and Revelation by the Īśvara or Brahmā are dropped altogether, and the mantras are declared to be the expressions of the feelings of ṛsis of yore, of their joy of achievement, and their pleasures and pains. And this is said to have occurred in the *pūrva manvantaras* former æons. Thus it is clear that even to the orthodox believers in religious creeds of Vaidik origin, the idea was not altogether unknown that Vedic hymns and texts like any other literary compositions were the products of human effort, and the reflection of critical and significant situations in the life of man in society.

Other texts of a more or less similar character, but of less value to the historian, because they embody the clear-cut theory of established orthodoxy may just be cited here for comparison. One of them is :

Yugānte 'ntarhitān vedān setihāsān-maharṣayaḥ
lebhire tapasā pūrvaṃ anujñātās-svayambhuvā

That is, the *vedas* and *itihāsas* disappear at each *yugānta*, and are recovered by *maharṣis* by their *tapas* and with the permission of Brahmā. Again,

anādi-nidhanā veda-vāgutsṛṣṭā svayambhuvā
Śivādyā ṛṣiparyantās-smartāro'sya na kārakāḥ

The original and eternal word was released by Svayambhū, the Self-existent; all the others from Śiva down to the sages only recall it, and are by no means its authors. Lastly, perhaps more interesting than these is a text from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka¹ which gives a curious derivation of the term *ṛṣi* and seems to furnish the basis for much of the later theory on their part in the elaboration of the *Veda*. The text is :

ajān ha vai pṛśniṃs-tapasyamānān brahmā svayambhv²
'abhyānarṣat ta ṛṣayo' bhavan, tadṛṣṇān ṛṣitvam.

1. II. 9. 1.

2. Sayana's commentary takes this to be the absolute incarnate in some form—tadiyena tapasa tustam svayambhu brahma jagat-karanatvena svatassiddham parabrahma-vastu kancinmurtim dhrtva.

“The Self-existent Word approached (*abhyānarṣat*) the pure Ajas who were performing *tapas* ; they became *ṛṣis* ; hence the *ṛṣis* are called by that name.” In this text, it will be noticed that the *svayambhū* of the two preceding citations is just an attribute of the Word, and not its Creator.

To return now to the Purāṇic text. The classification of Vedic texts into *Vidhi*, *hotram* and *stotram* is only one of several classifications reviewed, for instance, by Sayana in his celebrated prefaces (*upodghātas*), and may be taken to belong to a relatively early stage of exegetical analysis.

It may not be without interest to invite attention, before concluding, to another passage in the same Purāṇa giving an *a priori* account of the origin of the different *sākhās* of the *samhitās*. The passage occurs in ch. 58 (vv. 10-13).

This passage opens with the statement of the usual view of the Veda having been single and undivided in the beginning till Vyāsa arranged it in four *samhitās* to suit the shorter term of human life that characterised the later *yugas* ; only the account is generalised and made to apply to several cycles of *yugas* by the consistent use of the names of the *yugas* in the plural. Our chief interest lies in the account which follows of the way in which differences in the Vedas arose (*bhidante*) by the mistakes (*drṣṭivibhrama*) on the part of succeeding generations of *ṛṣis* (*ṛṣiputraiḥ*) as the result of which changes arose in the order of the mantras and *brahṁṇas*, and in their *svaras* (accent) and *varnas* (letters). And the extant *samhitās* are the result of later attempts to make reductions (*samhanyante*) of *samhitās* which sought to standardise and fix even these altered forms and secure them from the inroads of still further changes. Who can doubt that we have here a generalised and correct account of the historical process by which Vedic literature as we know it came into existence ?

II

THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA DYNASTY

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

At the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal brought to the notice of scholars a copper-plate inscription of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti, which he had discovered at Bāsim in the Akolā District of Berar. This inscription records the grant of a village which Vindhyaśakti made in his thirty-seventh regnal year. It gives the following genealogy of the donor :—

1. Pravarasena,
2. Sarvasena, son.
3. Vindhyaśakti, son.

In connection with Vindhyaśakti the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agnishtōma, Āptoryāma, Vājapeya, Jyōtiṣhtōma, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamedha sacrifices. The genealogical portion of the record is written in Sanskrit and the formal portion

in Prakrit. Like most other Vakāṭaka inscriptions, this record also is written in box-headed characters. As only one Vindhyaśakti is known to history, viz., he who is mentioned in the Vāyu and Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas¹ and in the stone inscription² in Cave No. XVI at Ajanta, it was naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vakāṭaka dynasty. The use of the Prakrit language in a portion of the record lent colour to this identification, for all other known Vakāṭaka inscriptions—whether on stone or copper—are invariably in Sanskrit. The Basim plates were, therefore, supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vakāṭakas two generations before Vindhyaśakti. It is no wonder then that this discovery was hailed at Calcutta with great delight.

Dr. D. C. Sircar³ has since then drawn attention to the faulty construction of the genealogical portion of this grant which seems to repeat the epithet *Dharma-Mahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti. Besides, this grant credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices⁴ (including four Aśvamedhas) as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasena I in other Vakāṭaka land-grants. Again the characters of this grant closely resemble those of Pravarasena II's land-grants. Now Pravarasena II, who was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II (circa 380-413 A.D.) must have flourished about the middle of the fifth century A.D. The Basim grant cannot therefore be as old as the third century A.D., when Vindhyaśakti, the celebrated founder of the Vakāṭaka dynasty flourished. For these reasons Dr. Sircar has suggested that Vindhyaśakti who granted the Basim plates was the grandson of Pravarasena I and should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He evidently belonged to a different branch of the Vakāṭaka family. As for the locality where this branch was ruling, Dr. Sircar has put forward two suggestions: Either these princes were ruling side by side with the main line, or Sarvadeva and Vindhyaśakti II were ruling between Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I.⁵ He appears to favour the second view and suggests that Rudrasena I supplanted his cousin (Vindhyaśakti II) with the help of his maternal relatives, the Bhāraśivas.

Of the arguments advanced by Dr. Sircar to prove a later date for the Basim plates, that based on palæography is not quite convincing. The characters of the Basim plates of course bear close resemblance to those of Pravarasena II's grants, but it is possible to argue that these artificial characters may not have changed much during the 125 or 150 years which separate Pravarasena II from Vindhyaśakti; for we find that these characters have not undergone much alteration even during the time of Dēvasena and Harishena who also were separated from Pravarasena II by some generations.⁶ His other arguments based on the

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 48 and 50.

2. For the latest edition of this inscription, see *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182 ff.

4. Dr. Sircar says that the Basim plates mention Vajapeya and Jyotishtoma in place of Ukthya, Sodasin, and Atiratra named in the later records. This is not quite correct; for Vajapeya is mentioned in several records of Pravarasena II.

5. Pravarasena I's son, Gautamiputra, does not seem to have ascended the throne, for in later Vakataka grants, the epithet *Vakatakanam Maharaja* which invariably precedes the names of ruling kings, is not prefixed to his name.

6. This is according to the prevailing view of the Vakataka genealogy, for which see Jayaswal's *History of India*, etc., p. 76.

repetition of the epithet *Dharma-Mahārāja* and the attribution of the performance of identical sacrifices to both Vindhyasakti and Pravarasena I have more force, though these mistakes can be ascribed to the carelessness or ignorance of the drafter of the record.¹ It is therefore necessary to adduce more evidence for proving the existence of this hitherto unknown branch of the Vakāṭaka family.

In this connection I draw the attention of scholars to the stone inscription in Cave No. XVI at Ajanta. This inscription has been edited thrice before, first by Dr. Bhau Daji with "a tolerably accurate facsimile" in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-74, then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, pp. 69-73 and finally by Dr. Bühler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-28. Dr. Bühler's transcript is accompanied by a lithograph of the record which had been prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal.² This lithograph has been somewhat worked up by hand. As it is, it seems to show that the inscribed stone is quite smooth where the inscription is well preserved, but those who have visited Ajanta and seen the inscription *in situ* know that it is just the reverse. This lithograph must, therefore, be used with caution and important readings of it must be verified from mechanical copies of the record. As I was suspicious about certain readings in the transcripts of Bhagwanlal and Bühler, I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to lend me a fresh estampage of the inscription. I am grateful to him for complying with my request and sending me an excellent estampage.

The Ajanta inscription is very much worn especially in the middle and on the left hand side, but Bhagwanlal has, with his wonted skill, transcribed all that could be deciphered in his days. I give below his transcript of the first nine lines of the record for ready reference.

- [१] उदीर्णलोकत्रयदोषवह्निनिर्वापनो
 प्रणम्य पूर्वो प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्वो [म्] [II]
 [२] महाविमर्देष्वभिष्टुद्धशक्तिः क्रुद्धस्त्रुररप्यनिवार्य [वीर्यः] [I]
 रणदानशक्तिः द्विजप्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः [II]
 [३] पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्यार्जितस [र्वलोकः] [I]
 [यशो]शुकानां बभूव वाकाटकवंशकेतुः [II]
 [४] रणो [पु] हर्ष्युत्थितरेणुजालसञ्छादितार्कः [I]
 नरातीन्कृत्वा [भि] वादप्रवणांश्चकार [II]
 [५] [विनि] जितारि [स्मुर] राजकार्यश्चकार पुण्येषु परं प्रय [त्नं] [I]
 [१] नरेन्द्रमौलिविन्यस्तमणिकिरणालीढक्रमांजुजः

1. Similar mistakes are known to occur in other records. The Poona plates of Prabhavātagupta, for instance, ascribe to Chandragupta II the epithets *prithivyam-āpratiratha*, etc. which are usually applied to Samudragupta in the Gupta records. Similarly, in the Balagha plates of Prithivishena II, the Vakataka Rudrasena II is called 'Maharaja (of the family) of the Bharasivas,' the name of the Bharasiva king, Bhavanaga being omitted.

2. See *A. S. B. L.*, Plate I.XII.

3. This should be वह्निनिर्वापणा as read by Bühler.

4. Read [शरि]

- [६] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षणाविमयूखः.....
[रुद्र ? सेनः] प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्वसेनस्सुतोभवत्
 [७] पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य [प्रशशास] धर्मेण मेदिनीम् कुन्तलेन्द्रवि.....
प्रवरसेनस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोजितोदारशासनप्रवर [ः] [१]
 [८][॥] तस्यात्मजः कामत.....
मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दको यः प्रशशास सम्यक् [॥]
 [९] तस्यात्मजो भून्नरदेव..... भुवि देवसेन [ः] यस्योपभोगैर्ललितैर्वि-
 पावनैर्नृदेवराजस्य.....भूः [॥] पुण्यानुभावात्तत्तपस्य

In his introduction to this inscription¹ Bhagwanlal gives the following list of the Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in it :—

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 1. Vindhyaśakti, | 4. ... |
| 2. Pravarasena, | 5. Devasena. |
| 3. (Rudra ?) sena | 6. Harishena. |

He further remarked, "From the broken state of the inscription it is not clear whether Pravarasena was a son of Vindhyaśakti, or, as is probable, of a member of the Vindhyaśakti family." Of his son only—*sena* is legible, preceded by a faintly traceable form like *-dra*, so that the name may have been Bhadrāsena, Chandrasena, Indrasena, Rudrasena, etc." Bhagwanlal seems to have adopted the reading Rudrasena, because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasena I in the Siwani and Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, which had been discovered before. This list was next revised by Bühler in the introductory note to his transcript of the record in *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. Bühler thought that he could read, in the middle of line 7, the *aksharas pra* or *pri thivī* which showed a name like Prithivishena. As Rudrasena was mentioned in the immediately preceding line he identified this prince with Prithivishena, the son of Rudrasena I, mentioned in the Vākāṭaka land-grants. Again, he proposed to read further on in the same line, *Pravarasenas-tasya putro-bhūt* . . . in place of Bhagwanlal's *Pravarasenasya putro-bhūt* and this Pravarasena he identified with Pravarasena II.

According to him, therefore, the Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajanta inscription were as follows :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Vindhyaśakti, | 5. Pravarasena II, son. |
| 2. Pravarasena I, son (?), | 6. son, |
| 3. (Ru)drasena I, son, | 7. Devasena, son, |
| 4. Prithivishena, son, | 8. Harshena, son. |

He also pointed out that the name of one prince, Rudrasena II was omitted after Prithivishena.

1. Read न्दीवरेक्षणा [ः ii] रविमयूख as in Bühler's transcript. See also Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 27.

2. Burgess and Indrajī, *Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India*, *A. S. W. I.*, p. 69.

3. Scholars are now agreed that this Pravarasena was the son of Vindhyaśakti himself, for he is evidently identical with Pravira mentioned in the Vayu and Brahmanda Purānas as the son of Vindhyaśakti. See Pargiter, *Dynasties*, etc. p. 50.

From the land-grants of Pravarasena II and Prithivishēṇa II, we get the following genealogy :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Pravarasena I, | 5. Rudrasena II, son, |
| 2. (Gautamīputra, ¹ son), | 6. Pravarasena II, son, |
| 3. Rudrasena I, son, | 7. Narendrasena, son, |
| 4. Prithivīshēṇa I, son, | 8. Prithivīshēṇa II, son. |

If we compare this list with Bühler's revised genealogy of Vakāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajanta inscription, two discrepancies in the latter at once strike us—(i) Rudrasena I was not the son of Pravarasena I, but was his grandson and (ii) Pravarasena II was not the son of Prithivīshēṇa I, but was his grandson. Fortunately, the Ajanta inscription is quite clear in the portions which describe these relationships, so that there is not the least doubt about the readings. In the former case, the inscription reads [*Rudrasenaḥ*] *Pravarasenasya jita-sarvasenas-suto-bhavat* in line 6 and in the latter case [*Prithivīshēṇaḥ*] *Pravarasenasya putro-bhut-pravar-orjjitodātra-śāsanapravaralḥ*. We must therefore suppose that either the poet committed mistakes in describing these relationships or that some of the readings of the royal names given by Bhagwanlal and Bühler are incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely, for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vakāṭaka king Harishena's minister and is on the whole very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the names of Rudrasena and Prithivīshēṇa occur and consequently mistakes in reading are not unlikely. On referring to the excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist I found that the reading *Rudrasenaḥ* in line 6 was extremely doubtful. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler also were not quite certain about it, but Bhagwanlal thought that he saw a faintly traceable form like *dra*. He proposed to read *Rudrasenaḥ* evidently because Vakāṭaka land-grants mention a Rudrasena soon² after Pravarasena I. This reading was also adopted by Bühler. Referring to the lithograph used by both of them I find that the upper member of the ligature is quite uncertain, but there appears a loop below it. This has evidently been taken to be the subscript *r* of *dra*. There are several instances of the subscript *r* in this lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop; it is always denoted by a hook open to the left. The estampage of the Government Epigraphist does not show even this loop. The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagwanlal and Bühler. The reading *Rudrasenaḥ* is, therefore, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

Let us see if we could restore this royal name. The extant portion of this verse shows that the prince whose name is partially lost was a son of Pravarasena who has now been identified by all scholars with Pravarasena I. The Basim copper-plates suggest that he might be Sarvasena and the reading *Sarvasenaḥ* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasenaḥ*. The latter part of the verse in line 6 would therefore read *Sarvasenaḥ Pravarasenasya jita-sarva-senaḥ suto-bhavat*. The resulting *yamaka* makes this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this Ajanta inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names as³ will be seen from the following lines :—

1. He did not probably come to the throne, see above, note 5.

2. They mention him as the grandson of Pravarasena I and the son of Gautamīputra.

3. For another instance of the use of *yamakas* based on personal names, see the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff.

Line 1. अभिवृद्धशक्तिः..... दानशक्तिः विन्ध्यशक्तिः

7. प्रवसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्जितोदारशासनप्रवरः ।

10-11. हस्तिभोजः..... दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव ।

14. हरिषेणो हरिविक्रमप्रतापः ।

The description *jita-sarvasenah* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name *Sarvasena*.¹ The Basim plates have now shown that Sarvasena was a son of one Pravarasena.² This Pravarasena, with whom the genealogy in the Basim plates begins, must therefore, be identified with Pravarasena I.

In the middle of the next line (7) Bühler read the *akshara pra* (or *pri*) *thi* and thought that they formed part of the royal name *Prithivishena*. This prince he identified with Prithivishena I. Referring to the lithograph used by him I find that the *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as *thi*; for in other places in this inscription *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom. See, for instance, *prathito* in line 15, *prathita-gun-opabhoga* in line 21, etc. The *akshara* appears to be *shri* of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct in that lithograph.³ The following *akshara* is clearly *vin*. In the Government Epigraphist's estampage I find clear traces of *dhya* following *vi*. Especially the elongated curve representing the subscript *y* is unmistakable. The two following *aksharas* are almost certainly *senah*.⁴ The name thus appears to be *Śrī-Vindhyasenah*. This prince I identify with Vindhyasakti of the Basim plates.

As regards the remaining names I am in complete agreement with Bühler. They are Pravarasena, Devasena and Harishena. Between Pravarasena and Devasena we have lost the name of a prince who, according to the inscription, came to the throne when he was a boy, only eight years old. I do not, however, agree with Bühler's view that this Pravarasena was Pravarasena II, of whom several land-grants have come down to us. The names *Vindhyasena* (or, *Vindhyasakti*) and *Sarvasena*, of his father and grandfather respectively, show that he was different from Pravarasena II, the son of Rudrasena II and grandson of Prithivishena I.

The genealogy of this branch of the Vakāṭaka family can be stated as follows :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Vindhyasakti I, | 5. Pravarasena II, son, |
| 2. Pravarasena I, son, | 6. (name lost), son, |
| 3. Sarvasena, son, | 7. Devasena, son, |
| 4. Vindhyasakti II, (or,
Vindhyasena), son, | 8. Harishena, son. |

We know from the Purāṇas that Pravarasena I had four sons who became kings. They apparently divided his extensive kingdom among themselves after his death. Gautamīputra, who was probably his eldest son, seems to have predeceased him. Therefore, Rudrasena I, the son of Gautamīputra, succeeded Pravarasena I. An inscription of this king

1. Otherwise there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like *jita-sarva-lokah* or *jita-sarva-rajah*.

2. It is possible to read *svasenah* from the traces in the new estampage, but I prefer to rely for the reading *Sarvasenah* on the wording of the description in l. 6.

3. Traces of the subscript *r* can be seen in the new estampage.

4. They were doubtfully read as *Shenah* by Dr. Bühler.

has been discovered at Deotek¹ in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces, not very far from Pauni where an ancient record of a king of the Bhāra clan (the later Bhāraśivas) has been found.² He may, therefore, have acquired by inheritance the territory of the Bhāraśivas also. The copper-plates of his great-grandson Pravarasena II record gifts of land at Chammak³ near Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, Chandrapura⁴ (modern Chandur) in the Wardha District, Paṭṭan⁵ in the Chhindwara District, Tiroḍi⁶ in the Balaghat District and Brahmapūraka⁷ (modern Bahmnī) in the Bhandara District. Pravarasena II was therefore ruling over the northern parts of modern Berar and the territory comprised in the Siwani, Chhindwara, Balaghat, Nagpur, Bhandara, Wardha and Chanda Districts of the Central Province. We do not know how much of this territory was acquired by Pravarasena II or his immediate ancestors. But since the inscriptions of no other branch of the Vakataka family have been found in these districts, we may suppose that the whole of the aforementioned territory was under the rule of Rudrasena I also. His capital was probably Nandivardhana which is mentioned as the place of issue in the earliest copper-plates of this branch, viz., in the Poona plates of Prabhavati Gupta⁸ and the Belora plates of her son Pravarasena II.⁹ Later on Pravarasena II founded Pravaraṇa and shifted his seat of government there.

Prithivīśheṇa II is the last known member of this branch. Scholars have long been in doubt about the relation of this Prithivīśheṇa with Devasena and Harīśheṇa. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thought that the Vakataka family branched forth after Pravarasena II. Narendrasena, the father of Prithivīśheṇa II, being a brother of the Vakataka prince whose name is lost in the Ajanta inscription.¹⁰ Jayaswal, on the other hand identified Narendrasena with this latter prince.¹¹ The foregoing discussion, will make it plain that the two branches had separated long before, i.e., after the reign of Pravarasena I and that Devasena and Harīśheṇa belonged to a different line from that of Narendrasena and Prithivīśheṇa II.

Only five inscriptions of this second branch of the Vakataka family have been discovered so far, viz., the Basim plates of Vindhyasakti II, a fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Devasena¹² and three stone inscriptions of the reign of Harīśheṇa discovered at or near Ajanta—one of his feudatory in Cave No. XVII¹³ and two of his ministers Varahadeva in cave No. XVI¹⁴ and the Ghatotkacha cave at Gulwada,¹⁵ about 11 miles west

1. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.

3. *Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 236 ff.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III pp. 258 ff.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second edition), p. 93.

5. *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

6. *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

7. *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 243 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 171.

8. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

9. *Ibid.* Vol. XXIV, pp. 260 ff.

10. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IV, p. 35.

11. Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., p. 76.

12. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

13. *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 128 ff.

14. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

15. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. The name of Varahadeva is lost in this inscription, but line 16 refers to the sons, apparently, of Hastibhoja, the minister of the Vakataka king. Devasena mentioned in line 10 and Varahadeva was probably one of them.

of Ajanta. The provenance of these inscriptions shows that this branch ruled over Southern Berar and the northern parts of the Nizam's Dominions. Both the known copper-plate inscriptions of this branch have been issued from Vatsagulma¹ which seems to have continued to be the seat of their government to the last.

According to the genealogy of the Vatsagulma branch fixed above, Vindhyaśakti II and his son Pravarasena II were the contemporaries of Prithivīsheṇa I and his son Rudrasena II of the other branch. From the grants of Prabhāvati-gupta we know that Rudrasena II was the son-in-law² of Chandragupta II (A.D. 380-413). He may therefore have come to the throne in *circa* A.D. 400. This is also the approximate close of Vindhyaśakti II's reign. As we have seen, Vindhyaśakti II was the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. In view of the abnormally long reigns³ assigned in the Purāṇas to Vindhyaśakti I and Pravarasena I and the date, the thirty-seventh regnal year, of the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, we shall not be wrong if we assign 150 years to the four reigns of Vindhyaśakti I, Pravarasena I, Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti II. Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of the dynasty, seems therefore to have risen to power about A.D. 250. Vindhyaśakti II was followed by four kings whose reigns must have covered about a century. We may therefore place Harishēṇa, the last of them, about A.D. 475-500.

III

PURI THE CAPITAL OF KONKAN

By Vasudeva Krishna Bhawe, Kesri Office, Poona.

There are two Puris in Konkan one Gharapuri near Bombay and the other Rajpuri near Janjira. Gharapuri is a small island at a distance of seven miles from Bombay, generally known outside Maharashtra by the name Elephanta. It is celebrated specially for cave temples. There are three landing places namely, Shet Bundar, Morah Bundar and Raj Bandar. The Island is practically devoid of population. The Bombay Gazetteer referring to it remarks as follows:—

“Though it has long lost almost all its people and almost all its holiness, Elephanta perhaps from about the third to about the tenth century was the site of a city and a place of religious resort. This must have been a place of religious importance and may possibly be Puri the unknown capital of the Mourya and Silahar rulers of the North Konkan from about sixth to the tenth century.”

From these remarks it is quite clear that except for the mention of the Morah Bundar and Raj Bundar there is no reliable trace to establish the connection of Gharapuri with the Mouryas and Silahars. The mere names of Morah and Raj are not enough to drive us to the conclusion that they refer to Mourya and Silahar monarchs of those times. Because at present there exist so many ordinary Morey families in Konkan and Maharashtra of later date it is ridiculous to connect the name

1. This place is identical with Basim, see *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 721 ff.

2. Vincent Smith places the marriage of Rudrasena II with Prabhavati-gupta at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion against the Saka Satraps of Gujarat and Surashtra “somewhere about A.D. 395.”

3. According to the Purāṇas, Vindhyaśakti ruled (or perhaps lived) for 96 years and Pravarasena I for 60 years.

Morah with the Mourya rulers of the seventh century A. D. Moreys of Javali in the Satara District were also small chiefs in the time of Shivaji. Thus it is possible that some ordinary Moreys may have been associated with the Bundar for unknown reasons. While another landing place Raj Bundar carries us nowhere since in Konkan and Maharashtra also it is a nick-name of hundred of people. For instance one of the ports in Bombay is called Bhau's Dhakka. This Bhau has obviously nothing to do with the Sadashivrao Bhau killed on the battlefield of Panipat. The same may be said about Raja Baba, Dada, Anna, Nana and other nick-names current in the Deccan. To take a more charitable view of the two landing places it may be conceded that on their visits to Gharapuri the place where the Mouryas at their first visit landed was commemorated by the name Morah Bundar and the place where Silaharas or other kings landed happened to be styled as Raj Bundar. Moreover Gharapuri as it possesses some relics of ancient Buddhistic monuments and famous cave temples of the Hindus of Rashtrakuta times it may possibly have earned a reputation in the neighbourhood in the past as a place of pilgrimage visited on festive occasions by a large number of devotees. The other important point which has to be borne in mind is that a place entirely isolated from the mainland is quite unsuitable to be a capital. It must be situated in the midst of the country over which the king rules. Since the case of Gharapuri is quite to the contrary, in absence of a convincing proof it is impossible to concede its claim if at all there be any. Moreover the island is too small to permit the location of a capital and shows no traces of fortification. "

Now I would turn to Rajapuri the other claimant which in conjunction with another small village lying close by is popularly known as Danda Rajpuri. It stands on the western sea-coast in the Janjira State. Murud the present capital of the State is to its north separated from Rajpuri by a small but shallow creek. Janjira the historic sea fort is only one mile to the west of Rajpuri surrounded on all sides by the Arabian Sea. Rajpuri is situated at the mouth of a big creek of the same name extending over several miles in the east. It is thus girt on three sides by water. Holding such an impregnable position Rajpuri was consequently made the Headquarters of a district by the Yadav Kings of Deogiri. The same position is held under the Sultans of Ahmedabad who raised it to the status of a Sircar. When the Mahommedan Kings of Ahmadnagar seized Konkan from the Sultans of Ahmedabad in the 16th century the port of Rajpuri stood next in importance to Chaul which is another sea-port in the neighbourhood. Under the Siddis who were appointed first as administrators and had become Jahagirdars afterwards it was called Danda Rajapuri Jahagir. But later on when the Headquarters were removed to Murud, Rajpuri sank into insignificance and Murud rose to eminence.

The following remarks of the Kolaba Gazetteer to a certain extent are also worth consideration : -

"Danda Rajpuri has at different times in the history of the Konkan been a place of consequence. Puri which was the capital of Konkan Silaharas from A. D. 810 to 1260 has by some been supposed to be Rajpuri. But Danda Rajpuri has no ancient remains and seems to be too far south for the capital of the Northern Silaharas. The position of Puri is doubtful. The Morey-landing or Bundar on the north-east corner of Gharapuri or Elephantia is perhaps the most likely identification, according to Jervis, but this is doubtful, Rajpuri was the head of a district at the beginning of the 14th century. The first certain

reference is towards the close of the 15th century, when in 1400 after a long siege, the town was reduced by Malik Ahmad the founder of the Nizamshahi dynasty. So long as Ahmadnagar power lasted Danda Rajpuri remained a place of considerable trade. In 1514 Barbarosa notices it under the name of Banda or Danda and about the same time the Gujrat histories mention it as a place of trade and the head of one of the twenty divisions of the Gujarat dominions."

Thus the importance which Rajpuri possessed under the Mahomedan rulers was not accidental. It must have been inherited from times still older. The name Puri first occurs in the stone inscription of Aiholi by Ravikirti, a Jain Poet, flourishing in the reign of Pulkeshi II the mighty Emperor of Badami who having invaded the territory of Mourya Kings of Konkan about 611 A. D. had laid a siege to Puri their capital. Ravikirti describes Pulkeshi's exploits in glorious terms. The verse is as follows :—

अपर जलधेर्लक्ष्मीं यस्मिन्पुरीममितप्रभे ।

र्मदगजघटाकारैर्नान्नांशतैरवमृन्दति ॥

जलदपटलानीका कीर्णन्नवोपलमेचकम् ।

जलनिधिरिव व्योम्नस्समोभवदंबुधिः ॥

Here the poet mentions the way in which Pulkeshi employed his navy for subduing Puri. This description can be made applicable to Danda Rajpuri as it is surrounded on three sides by water of the sea and creeks. The town may have been besieged on land by army and on the waters by battle ships. Several years after this event under Silahars the successors of Mouryas it held its sway as their capital. While Aparajit a Silahar King was ruling over Konkan, Puri had to again face a terrible attack from the Chalukya King Satyashraya of Kalyan in 995 A. D. Dr. Altekar writes about it as follows :—

"Satyashraya had routed the Lord of Konkan and extended his Kingdom as far as the sea. Aparajit fled to his sea capital Puri. Ranna a Kannad Poet describes the flight graphically. "Hemmed in by ocean on one side and the sea of the Satyashrayas army on the other, Aparajit trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which were on fire." This description proves beyond the shadow of doubt that Puri was not situated on an island but was a seaport like Danda Rajpuri.

In a copper-plate issued by a Silahar King Chittarajdev in 1025 A. D. Konkan is described as 'पुरी प्रमुख चतुर्दशसति समन्वितं समस्त कोकण भुवम्' which means that Konkan as a whole contained 1,400 villages with पुरी its capital. In this respect the observation of Mr. P. V. Kaney in his "Notes on the ancient history and geography of the Konkan" are highly significant. He says "From very ancient times epigraphic records speak of two Konkans the one containing 1,400 villages and the other 900. The Konkan 1,400 represents that country, the capital of which was Puri and which included Hanjaman (Sanjan), Sopara, Thana, Kalyan and Chaul, etc., Northern Konkan including the districts of Thana and Kalata and parts of Ratnagiri"! This assertion refutes the argument of the Kolaba Gazetteer that Rajpuri is too far south to be the capital to the Northern Silahars. Because with certain portion of the Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts on one hand and the remaining portion of Kolaba and Thana Districts on the other. Puri certainly occupies a central place and is not too far to the south as Kolaba Gazetteer points out.

It was only in the times of Silahars that the Konkan seems to have been split up into two parts, one which was governed by the Northern Silahars and the other by the Southern Silahars. But this distinction did not exist under Mouryas, their predecessors who were the sole masters of the whole of Konkan about 611 A. D. when Pulkeshi II had laid siege to Puri. Under those circumstances Puri must be occupying decidedly a central place in their kingdom extending perhaps from Goa in the south to Sopara in the north. Thus Rajpuri once chosen by the Mouryas for their capital continued to hold the same position even under the Northern Silahars. Here also it has to be remembered that in addition to Puri, Thana was their second capital being very useful to command the northern part of their kingdom. The distance between Thana and Gharapuri is however so small that no wise ruler would ever conceive of selecting them for his capitals from administrative point of view.

The claim of Rajpuri is further supported by two sets of copper-plate grants preserved in the Baroda Museum. They were found at Murud Janjira placed in a stone-box and were purchased by the Baroda State in 1923. Both are of the Silahar King Aparajit. Both record grants of land to a Brahman named Kolama who migrated from Kurahatak. The grant registered in the first set consisted of a field in the village of Vihale in the Chikkhalada district of the Puri Konkan of 1,400 villages. Both grants were made by Aparajitadeva at the time of the solar eclipse on Sunday, the 15th of the dark half of Shravana in the Saka 915. They both mention the Rashtrakuta King as the overlords of Silahars. The places recorded in them are Manyakheta, Tagar, Sanjan, Punakadesa, Chipulana, Sangameshwar, Puri and Sthanak.

The village Vihale and the District Chikkhalada in which it lay have got special significance. Both these places still exist in the neighbourhood of Rajapuri. Vihale whose present name is Vihula is in the Mangaon Taluka of the Kolaba District adjoining the small State of Janjira while another village Chikkahalad is in the Janjira State itself. Since Murud where the copper-plates were discovered is scarcely four miles from Rajpuri and has risen to importance very recently, it may be presumed that the copper-plates virtually belonged to Rajpuri which in its turn literally means the Royal City.

In short since on the authority of Ranna, the Kannad Poet, it has been proved that Puri the capital of the Silahars was situated on the sea-shore, between Gharapuri and Rajpuri the two claimants, the honour undisputably devolves upon the latter.



THE PANIS OF THE RIGVEDA

By N. M. Billimoria, Marston Road, Karachi.

The Panis were Aryan merchants in Sapta Sindhu in the Rigvedic times. They traded with foreign countries in their own vessels, which had 400 oars and wings, that is sails. They were also cattle keepers, and moved from place to place with their own cows and animals. They were unscrupulous for they often added to their stock by stealing other people's cattle through the land they passed. As the Panis were not agriculturists they did not worship Indra, nor did they give any offerings in his honour.

The Panis jested with Sarama, when she had gone to them as Indra's messenger. These avaricious traders and robbers had stolen the milk kine on which men depended for their nourishment. This beautiful and dramatic myth is sung in the *Rv.* X. 108. Whatever astronomical or mythological interpretation may be put upon the conversation between Sarma and the Panis, it is certain that their theft of the cows from the Aryan cultivators involved a long search and caused a good deal of anxiety to the owners of the cows.

The Panis continued to worship Varuna as their lord God, because he was the god of the ocean. The sea-going merchant Panis had to cross the ocean under the guidance and protection of the ocean god as he knows the path of the ships and courses of the far-reaching wind. Also Varuna revealed the stars which guided the ships of the Panis. In Hymn I, 25-7-9, Varuna is praised as follows :

7. Varuna knows the way of the birds that fly in the air ; he knows the way of the ship on the seas.

8. The righteous Varuna knows the 12 months with their children ; he knows the month that is born beside ; that is, the days and the intercalary months.

He knows the track of the wide high and great wind ; he knows them that sit thereon.

Trade was carried on by exchange and a cow was the unit of exchange. Among the Rigveda Aryans the Panis were the great trading class and they carried on commerce on land and sea far and wide. But they were not in the good graces of the people ; they were greedy like the wolf (*Rv.* V, 51-14) ; extremely selfish (VI, 61. 1) and niggardly, and non-sacrificing, voluble, of cruel and wicked speech, devoid of reverential sentiments and non-multiplying (VII, 6. 3). The above epithets are from scattered verses of the Rigveda. In Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion, the Panis are described as "a group of demons are the Panis (niggard) primarily the foes of Indra who with the aid of Sarama tracks and releases the cows hidden by them."

In Hymn 61, Mandal V, to the Maruts (the storm gods) Max Müller translates Pani as Miser in the following three verses :—

5. May the woman, if she stretched out her arm as a rest for the hero, praised by Syavasva, gain cattle consisting of horse, cows, and hundred sheep.

6. May a woman be even more often kindlier than a godless and miserly man.

7. A woman who finds out the weak, the thirsty, the needy and is mindful of the gods.

8. Even though many an unpraiseworthy miser (pani) is called a man she is worth as much as weregild.

Weregild, the German, *wergelt*, the price to be given for a man killed ; *Vaireadeya* means weregild, from *vir*, a man, and *vairadya* would mean what is to be given as a value of a man. The poet praises a charitable woman and wishes to say that she is sometimes better than a man, if he gives nothing. The translation of verse 8 is "even though many an unpraiseworthy miser (pani) is called man, she is like him in weregild, i.e. she is worth as much even though she is a woman" (Sacred books of the East, Vol. XXXII, Vedic Hymn, by Max Müller, pages 356, 360-61.)

The Panis were clever ship-builders and built boats and vessels for themselves.

They were hated for their illiberality and selfishness and their great greed and usuary, though Bribu, a Pani chief was praised in *Rv.* VIII. 77. 10, for his generosity and gifts to Rishis. Sayana the commentator, describes him as a master-carpenter rich and liberal. His liberality is highly praised in *Rv.* VI. 45-31 to 33. It is said at one time he helped hungry Bharadvaja, a Rishi, who was wandering at night in a wood and had lost his way. In the 45th hymn, book VI, Bribu is praised "we always praise Bribu with songs who gave us 1,000 cows, is wise, and deserves to be sung in hymns." This shows that a compromise was effected between such of the Panis as were left in the country, and the heads of the cultured Aryan community. Bribu was a great builder, probably of ships, and has been called "Tvashta," or master-carpenter or master-builder.

The cow did not form the only unit of barter. Gold and silver coins were used. The gold coins were called Nishka and mana; the latter was probably taken by the Panis to Babylonia and Assyria where it was known as "Mina." The word mana occurs in *Rv.* VIII. 67, 2 "O Indra, bring us jewels, cattle, horses and manas of gold."

In several verses of the Rigveda the Panis have been condemned for their greed, hard-heartedness, irreverence, heterodoxy and niggardliness. They were money-lenders, very rich (IV, 25, 7), as the Marwaris and Pathans of the present day in India. They never performed the Soma sacrifices; they incurred the displeasure of Indra and his followers. Their rate of interest must have been high; how much it was we do not know.

The Rigveda mentions four seas to correspond with the four quarters of the world; *Rv.* IX. 33, 6. From every side O Soma, for our profit, pour thou forth four seas filled full of riches thousandfold; see also X, 47, 2. The Panis were merchants on land and sea. They had their own vessels, and they crossed the four seas mentioned in the Rigveda. The Eastern Sea immediately to the east of the Punjab, covering the whole of the Gangetic trough as far as Assam. Western Sea covered the present lower valley of the Indus. The Southern Sea covered a portion of present Rajputana separating the Deccan from Sapta Sindhu or the Punjab, and the Northern Sea was the Asiatic Mediterranean, north of Bactria.

The Panis exchanged their own goods for indigenous products of the places they visited, and brought to Sapta Sindhu (the Punjab). The Panis came in contact with all sort of men, savages and half-civilised, and even cannibals. The Raksasas are often mentioned in the Rigveda (VII, 104; X, 87; X, 182, 3) perhaps the ideas were inculcated by the Panis who saw men leading loathsome life, and when they returned to their native land they brought exaggerated accounts.

Several objects of commerce are mentioned, such as pearls. (*Rv.* I. 35, 4; 126, 4; X. 68, 1). That showed that the Panis sailed to Ceylon and the Persian Gulf, and the Malabar and Coromandal coasts. They imported also precious stones and good timber for ship-building.

The Aryans of the Punjab penetrated to South India, there to work their way to power and spread their civilising influence. The Ramayana is the allegorical story of the Aryan conquest of South India. Sita, the beloved wife of Rama, is the "field furrow" sung in the Vedic hymns (*Rv.* IV. 57; verses 6 and 7). As she advanced south, Rama, who was the incarnation of Vishnu, followed and established the worship of Hindu gods. The monkey army, who assisted Rama against the demon Ravana, represented the wild races of South India. Lanka the island where Sita was carried and kept, as prisoner, is Ceylon.

The furrow was called Sita. In Rigvedic times the plough was a light instrument. *Rv.* IV. 57, 6 sings "Auspicious Sita come thou near; we venerate thee that thou mayest bless and prosper us and bring us fruits abundantly." Griffiths says Sita is the furrow or husbandry personified and addressed as a deity.

Out of the four seas in the Vedic age, when the beds of the Rajputana Sea and the Eastern Sea were dried up, the Pani merchants left the old Punjab and settled on Coromandal and Malabar coasts; the latter supplied them with materials for ship-building and the Panis played a great part in bettering the condition of the Dravidians. The Panis also visited the coasts of the Persian Gulf and Baluchistan, Arabia and the coastal ports of the Red Sea. They took with them, civilising after centuries, the Cholas and the Pandyas; they first settled down in Mesopotamia and laid the foundation of the Chaldean or Sumerian civilisation. As the Cholas, coming in contact with the Panis, had imbibed Aryan civilisation, they probably took with them their priests and gods, and called the colony Cholahvipa, which word was corrupted to Chaldea, *i.e.*, the land of the Cholas. This land was the "Shinar" land of the Semites and Babylonia of the Greeks. Chaldea or Babylonia is a wide plain, a hundred miles above where the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris meet. The new colonists were called Sumerians, because a portion of land was called Sumer, and had UR for its capital; but the immigrants called the land Chaldea and the men were called Chaldees or Chaldeans. The Dravidian termination UR or village is often seen in some places as Nellore, Tanjore, Coimbatore, Mangalore. Also Madura or Madur, the most noted town in the south.

The Cholas had received culture and civilisation in all branches, agriculture, arts, industries, architecture, etc., from the Vedic Aryans and they founded a colony with the assistance of the Panis on the coast of the Persian Gulf near the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which was called Kengi; it was called Sumer also; Sumer is from Sanskrit *Sa-maru*, a land continuous to the desert or Chaldea. These Chaldeans spread civilisation among the aboriginal savage tribes and the Semites who as apt pupils founded famous empires about ten thousand years ago. The whole of Western Asia and South Europe were indebted to Babylonia and Assyria and to Egypt for their early culture and civilisation. Muir Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, page 488 and Vol. II page 423 gives the following points to prove the Aryan origin of the Sumerians.

- (a) Identity of names of Assyrian and Babylonian gods with those of Aryan Vedic gods.
- (b) Creation of man from flesh and bones of Marduk as related in the Assyrian tablets resembles the Rigvedic legend of the sacrifice of Purusa and the creation from his limbs of the four castes into which mankind is divided. (See also *Andrew Lang's Myth, Ritual and Religion*.)
- (c) The religious ceremonies of the ancient Babylonian like those of Vedic Aryans ended in invocation and sacrifice.
- (d) The Brahmins in India held high position like the priests of ancient Chaldea. In both nations the priests were rulers of provinces and kingdoms.
- (e) The custom of Devdasi, maiden dedicated to gods, prevailed in South India and Babylonia. The custom shows Dravidian influence on ancient civilisation of the Babylonians, who imitated the virtues as well as the vices of the teachers.

(f) The Chaldeans were greatly influenced not only in religion but also in astronomy and astrology by the Cholas under the influence of the Panis.

When the Panis went to settle on the Malabar coast, they civilised the Pandyas, who were aboriginals there. It must have taken centuries to educate them. The civilised Pandyas with the Panis then went over and settled in Egypt. This was called the land of Punt, that is the land of the rising sun, the Malabar coast. The very fact that the name of *Kamit* which the immigrants gave to Egypt and the name of *Hapi* which they gave to the river Nile can be traced to Sanskrit origin goes to strengthen the view that the newcomers hailed from that part of India which was peopled by a race whose speech was Sanskrit and who had been influenced by Indo-Aryan civilisation. And this part of India could not be any other than the Malabar coast, peopled by the Pandyas, which was probably called the "Land of the Pandyas," afterwards corrupted in Egypt into the land of Punt.

Egypt was called *Kamit* (black country) by the ancient inhabitants.

In the Encyclopedia Britannica we find "The name of Egypt in hieroglyphics is *Kem* . . ." The sense is black land, Egypt being so called from the blackness of the cultivable soil. But the names *Kamit* and *Hapi* can be traced to Sanskrit words. From the etymological meaning of the word *Kamit* (black soil) it seems to us that it was derived from the Sanskrit root *ku*, black (in a physical sense as in *ku-rupa*) and *mrit*, soil; and *Hapi* is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Apa* meaning water.

It would be interesting to note that among the earlier students of the subject of the origin of the Egyptians "Heerin was prominent in pointing out an alleged analogy between the form of skull of Egyptians and that of the Indian races." He believed in the Indian origin of the Egyptians. One of the most recent authorities, Prof. Flinders Petrie "inclines to the opinion that the Egyptians were of common origin with the Phœnicians, and that they came into the Nile region from the land of Punt across the Red Sea."

There is a striking similarity of social and religious customs prevailing among the Egyptians and the Indians; the gods are solar deities; *Horus* is *Surya*; *Osiris* is *Asuyia*; *Isis*, the *Usas* of the *Vedas*; *Bes* is *Vishnu*; *Ra* is *Har*; respect to ladies and elders was common to both; the law of inheritance was the same. Both believed in the immortality of the soul; sacrifice of the bull was common; one poured libations of wine the other of ghee; both nations kept aloof from foreigners; both hated the hog; the cow was venerated and never given in sacrifice, that was on economic grounds rather than religious.

The Panis finally settled on the Syrian coast; they were the ancestors of the Phœnicians, who are the mixed product of the Panis and the Semites. The Phœnicians admit that they immigrated to Phœnicia from the shores of the Erythrean Sea; it can be concluded that their ancestors came immediately from the shores of the Persian Gulf; so the Phœnicians were undoubtedly the descendants of the Panis of the Rig-vedic times, and their primitive home was *Sapta Sindhu*. Herodotus says that the Phœnicians "formerly dwelt as they themselves say, on the coasts of the Erythrean Sea. From thence they passed transversely across *Syrja* and now dwell on the sea-shore" (of the Mediterranean) . . . Now this Erythrean Sea was a common designation of the sea that modern geographers call by the name of the Arabian Sea, which, with all its gulfs, washes the shores of Arabia, Persia, Baluchistan, and Western India,

The Phœnicians were an amalgamation of a highly civilised people of a different family inhabiting the sea coast and the Semetic who afterwards immigrated there. The amalgamation was complete, the Semetic type finally predominated in the race, hence they are called Semetic people. Gordon Child in his *Most Ancient East* states "The Phœnicians preserved to the time of Herodotus a tradition that they had come from the Persian Gulf—a tradition quite as worthy of credence as that referring to the foundation of Melquart's sanctuary that excavation has partially verified. It is thus quite possible that a sudden rise of a brilliant maritime civilisation on the Mediterranean was due in part to the transplantation across the Isthmus of Suez of some of the coastal culture of the Arabian Sea."

The earliest mariners who traded on the shores of the Erythrean Sea were the Panis of Sapta Sindhu. This is supported by the following quotation from his *History of the World*, Vol. I, p. 536.

"The people who brought its culture to the southern coasts of Babylonia and probably also to the coasts of Elam, and communicated it to the still uncultured races living there seems to have belonged to that perfect commercial race which the Hebrews designated as the 'sons of Kush' which was not unlike the Phœnicians and was placed in the same category; a race which while jealous of its independence was not aggressive, and although inclined to colonisation and to making distant journey."

In the Puranic literature of the Hindus, mention has been made of a country named Kuca or Kucadwipa, which is identified by some with Southern India or Australia, and by others with Africa. Probably it was applied to the whole Indo-Oceanic Continent. "The sons of Kush" therefore might mean the people of the Southern Continent whose remnants were Southern India, Burma, East or South Africa and Australia. As the Panis came from the coasts of Southern India, they would rightly be called "The sons of Kush."

The Cholas and Pandyas are Dravidians; thousands of years ago they attained a high culture, because they came in contact with the Aryan civilisation.

The Brahuis, the only solitary Dravidian people living in Baluchistan, must have gone there in an age later than the Rigvedic when there was free land communication between Sapta Sindhu and South India or when the Dravidians visited the coasts of Baluchistan and Mesopotamia for the purpose of trade in their vessels.

Sir Aurel Stein, the world famous archæologist, says about the Brahuis as follows: "West of the lower Indus the small primitive Brahui people speaks the Dravidian language. The west mountain country of this people is separated by a vast distance from the Dravidian peoples of South India. This puzzle will be solved if the hypothesis is confirmed that the seal-impressions found in intervening territory, for instance in the ruins of the city of Mohanjo-daro, are in the Dravidian language. Then, this poverty-stricken semi-savage nomad little people can be regarded as cousins of the once mighty people of the Indus Valley of pre-Aryan times, as a small remnant which had crept into a small corner in front of the victorious Aryans and which has remained there for thousands of years, because it has submitted to the less cultured but more virile conqueror."

Sir Denys Bray in his "Brahui Problem" concludes "The Brahui riddle like the riddle of the Indus language remains unsolved. How dramatic if both were solved together."

The Deccan is not mentioned in the Rigveda ; it was cut off from the old Punjab by the Rajputana Sea, and the sea of the Gangetic trough. The Panis lived on the eastern coast of Sapta Sindhu for their ships had better protection, and they easily procured timber from the forests of the Himalayas for building their vessels. The daring Panis or Vaniks had their own ships and they only ventured to take long and dangerous voyages. The word "Vanik" was derived from the Rigvedic word Pani, or the Sanskrit words Panika, which latter word is still traceable in the Sanskrit words Panya (merchandise) and Apana or Bipani meaning the place where articles of trade are sold. Originally Panya must have meant those articles only, in which the Panis principally traded ; but afterwards it came to mean any articles of trade.

The Rigveda Aryans persecuted the niggardly but daring Pani merchants and drove them out. At that time by a great upheaval the Rajputana Sea was dried up and the Panis were stopped from going on that side by sea. They then sought to form new colonies and went on the Malabar coast, there they found good timber for ship-building. Regozin in his Vedic India says that this particular tree (the Indian teak) is to be located with more than ordinary accuracy ; it grows in Southern India (Dekhan) where it advances close to the Malabar coast, and nowhere else ; there is none north of the Vindhya. And during their stay on the coasts mixed themselves with the Cholas and Pandyas, the original Dravidian inhabitants of the Deccan, and taught them the use of metals, iron, copper and gold and the art of building ships.

The Panis were ever restless. Some of them settled in Mesopotamia and after that on the coast of Syria, in the Islands of the Mediterranean Sea, north coast of Africa, trading along the south coast of Europe, even of Great Britain and Norway. They spread Aryan civilisation wherever they went among the savage inhabitants of the countries they visited.

These Panis were the ancestors of the Phœnicians. In this case the adage "History repeats itself" is true, for just as the western European travellers and merchants spread western civilisation in the east, the Pani merchants of the east went to west and spread Aryan civilisation among the savage races of the west. Certainly they were not actuated by altruistic motives or missionary spirit, but their inordinate love of gold and restless spirit of adventure took them far away from their home.

We read in Manu Samhita, Chapter X, 45, that many Aryans in very degraded condition were driven out of Sapta Sindhu and lived in the mountains of the western frontier under the name of Dasyus, speaking the Aryan language or its corrupted form which were known as Mlechcha. After the expulsion of the Dasyus from Sapta Sindhu, the Panis or the Vaniks and the Iranian branch of the Aryans, who did not believe in Indra and did not offer any sacrifices were so much persecuted that they had to go away from Sapta Sindhu. The Panis left first and the Iranians afterwards.

The Panis after leaving old Punjab went to places where they could get sufficient timber for ship-building, safe harbours for their ships and free scope for trade. They tried Gujerat, the Malabar and Coromondal coasts, where they civilised the Pandyas and Cholas, the aboriginal tribes of the Dravidian race. When the southern colony was invaded by the strong barbaric Semetics the Panis moved towards the north, and settled on the sea-coast of Syria, which they called Phœnicia or the land of the Panis or Panikas. This land gave them facilities for trading in the islands of the Greek Archæpelago, Southern Europe and Northern

Africa. They captured or bought slaves by whose assistance they manufactured articles of trade ; thus they became prosperous and powerful people, founded colonies in the islands of the Mediterranean and on the coast of North Africa. Carthage was a Phœnician colony. They traded by sea as far as the coasts of Great Britain, Gaul and even Scandinavia, where the Panis taught the original inhabitants the use of metals and art of agriculture. Thus the Panis spread Aryan culture among the Semitics of Western Asia and Arabia, also among the pre-historic inhabitants of Egypt and North Africa and the Greeks, the Romans, the Iberians, and Celts, and the Gauls of Europe. It is wonderful to think how an insignificant and small body of Aryans, much hated in their mother country, for their vicious habits, could spread, civilisation nearly in the whole of the world. As they were traders, they, out of necessity, invented a purely alphabetical script which was borrowed and improved on by the Greeks. The Semites with the help of the Chaldeans (the original Cholas of South India) founded the famous kingdoms of Babylonia and Assyria. The Egyptian civilisation was the result of the joining of the Punic Race (the Panis) the Pandyas of the Malabar coast and the original inhabitants of the land. The Greeks received their culture from the Phœnicians, the Babylonians and Egyptians and passed it on to the Romans, who gave it to the Iberians, the Celts, the Teutons, and Slav.

The Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas or Cherales must have been savages before they came in contact with the Panis, who taught them the art of agriculture, ship-building, architecture and irrigation by means of canals.

These savages of Southern India were autochthonous can be proved by the undoubted fact that "the aboriginal tribes of Southern and Western Australia use almost the same words for, I, thou, he, we, you, etc. as the fishermen of the Madras coast, who resemble in many ways the Madras Hill tribes, and use the national weapon, the boomerang. There is also some linguistic affinity between the Dravidian language and the language in some of the islands in the distant Pacific Ocean. The Encyclopedia Britannica further adds that as to whether the islands in the distant Pacific Ocean were peopled either from the Dravidian settlements in India or from an earlier common source, remains a conjectural induction of philosophers rather than an established fact. It is not a conjecture, but an established ethnological fact by this time, if we take into account that Southern India formed part of a large continent, now submerged, but extending in ancient times from the coasts of the Pacific Ocean to South Africa and Australia. A large portion of the continent having been submerged the remnants of it, with their human inhabitants became isolated and separated from one another by wide oceans and the only evidence of their having once belonged to the same continent are now to be found in the similarities of their fauna, flora, original human inhabitants, and their languages, such as have survived the changes and modifications imposed upon them by time, circumstances and altered environments.

The Panis were notorious cattle lifters when in *Śapta Sindhu*. But the inherent vice had not left them though thousands of years had passed. This vice in company of barbarians and savages took a more intensified form, and they not only bought slaves at low prices but kidnappad men, women, and children from the surrounding countries. Thus they were worst pests in Western Asia and Southern Europe than they were in *Śapta Sindhu*.

Another cruel practice of the Panis—now we should call them Phœnicians—was human sacrifice. Perhaps the Panis when they were in Sapta Sindhu may have begun this loathsome sacrifice and thereby incited the wrath and hatred of the orthodox Aryans. This must be one of the causes of the worshippers of Hormuzd separating from the Aryans of the old Punjab. This custom has been hinted at in some hymns of the Rigveda and may have existed in pre Rigvedic times. Book I, Hymn 24; in the Aitareya Brahmana, the legend of King Harishchandra, who promised to sacrifice his first born son to Varuna; has a son born, Rohita; but the king delays the sacrifice. But in spite of all their faults the Panis were the greatest benefactors—as they helped the advancement of civilisation in the western world.

V

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE MĀLAVAS

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The Mālavas have played an important part in the history of Ancient India. They are a tribe of fairly great antiquity in Indian history. It is no doubt true that the late Dr. V. A. Smith thought that they were foreign immigrants in the country,¹ for the names of some of their chiefs like Bhapamyana, Magaja Mapaya, etc., which appear on their coins issued in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. appeared to be clearly un-Indian and non-Sanskritic. The names on the coins are still a mystery, but it cannot be solved by the assumption that they betoken a foreign origin. The coins belong to the 3rd and the 4th century A. D. and so these chiefs cannot be of Hūṇa extraction. Nor can they be Scythian or Parthian in origin, for there is ample evidence to show that these tribes were completely Indianised long before the 3rd century A. D. The clear and undisputed facts of history show that the Kushāṇas of Northern India and the Sakas of Western India became completely Hinduised within two generations. We find them bearing Hindu names, patronising Hindu or Buddhist priests and promoting Sanskrit literature in less than a century. The foreign looking names of the Mālava coins are therefore very probably blundering legends inscribed by ignorant mint-masters.

The *Mahabharata* also shows that the Mālavas were a people of great antiquity and respectability. The notorious Kichaka was the son of a Mālavi princess². The famous Savitṛi had also a Mālavi mother; for her father Āsvapati had married a princess of Mālava extraction.³ Āsvapati for a long time had, no sons, but only a daughter; when the latter by her extraordinary devotion succeeded in winning over Yama, she did not forget the woes of her sonless father. One of the boons that she asked of Yama was that her father should have a hundred sons. Yama said amen, and added that they would be known as Mālavas. The sons of a Madra king—the father of Sāvitrī belonged to that clan, should have

(1) Smith—Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. 2 p. 162.

(2) पुत्रास्तस्य कुरुश्रेष्ठ मालव्यां जज्ञिरे तदा । कीचका इति निख्याताः षट्शतं चैव भारत । IV 106.14

(3) पितुश्च ते पुत्रशतं भविता तव मातरि । मालव्यां मालवा नाम शाश्वताः पुत्रपौत्रिणः ॥ XVII, III 298 60

become known as Madras. If Yama decreed that they should be known after their mother, the Mālavi princess, the obvious reason must have been that in these days the Mālavas were more famous than the Madras. At a later date Samudragupta, though a Gupta prince, took pride in calling himself a *Lichchhāvī-dāuhitrā*; at this period the 100 sons of Aśvapati went a step further and began to call themselves not *Mālavi-dāuhitrās*, but Mālavas themselves. This would show that firstly the Mālavas were then more famous than the Madras, and secondly that the territories of the two tribes were contiguous. Madras were occupying the Central Panjab; the Mālavas were their southern neighbours. The Sikhs of the districts of Ferozepore, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotla are still known as Mālava Sikhs, not because a boon was given to them by Banda Bairagi,¹ but because the territory has been the homeland of the Mālavas since very early times.

The Southern Panjab was not however the only tract occupied by the Mālavas. When hard pressed by Arjuna on the 10th day of the Bhārata war, we are told that Bhishma was defended by the Mālavas of the east, the north and the west.² The epic as well as the historians of Alexander the Great afford clear evidence to show that the Ravi-Sutlej Doab from Multan to Kasur was also in their occupation. Both these authorities agree in stating that the Mālavas were close allies of the Kshudrakas, (Oxydrakais of the Greek historians). The Greek historians tell us how the Mallois (Malavas) and the Oxydrakais had planned a joint resistance to Alexander the Great and how he smashed the power of the former before their forces could effect a junction with those of the latter. Of course we know that the blows were not received only by one party; for the Greek historians admit that Alexander very nearly lost his life while fighting with the Mallois. The data of the Greek historians show that the Mallois were the northern neighbours of the Oxydrakais, who were occupying the territory roughly corresponding to the state of Bhawalpur. The homeland of the Mallois or the Malavas then must have corresponded to the Ravi-Sutlej Doab, extending from Multan to Kasur.

The political geography of the present version of the *Mahabharata* holds good, generally speaking of the 3rd century B. C. The epic references to the Mālavas would show that they were then a powerful tribe, in close alliance with the Kshudrakas. These two tribes are usually referred to together in the *dvandva* compound. We are thus told that they offered tributes to Yudhishtira together at the time of his Rajasuya sacrifice.³ Karna also defeated them together in his *digvijaya* (III. 255. 20). In the great war, the Mālavas and Kshudrakas had thrown in their lots together on the side of Duryodhana; in the war formations their battalions were standing shoulder to shoulder⁴. When on the 3rd day of the war, Arjuna launched a determined attack on the Kauravas, the Kshudrakas and Malavas suffered together.⁵ When on the 10th day, Bhishma was in imminent danger, the Mālava battalions are reported to have rescued him.⁶

(1) Imp. Gaz., Vol p. 105.

(2) सौवीराः कितवाः प्राच्याः प्रतीच्योदीच्यमालवाः ।

संप्रामे नाऽजहुर्भीष्मं वध्यमाना शतैः शरैः ॥ VI. 106.6

(3) शिवित्रैर्गत यौधेया राजन्या माद्रकैः सह । वासुतेयाः समालेयाः सह क्षुद्रकमालवैः ।
II. 79. 90

(4) दरदैश्चैव शकैश्चैव सह क्षुद्रकमालवैः । V. 57. 18.

(5) V. 59. 136

(6) See *anti* p. 2 n-2.

The Mālava chief was Indravarman; it is not clear whether he was the head of all the Malavas—the Malavas of the east, the north and the west, or of only a section of them. It was the elephant of this Malava chief which bore the name of Asvatthama. It was the death of this interesting elephant,¹ which enabled Yudhisthira to make the equivocal statement that Asvatthama was killed.

By the beginning of the 1st century A. D. we find the Malavas moving to the south and occupy considerable portions of central and south-eastern Rajputana. Whether they continued to occupy the Southern Panjab, we do not know. Probably such was not the case. The loss of the homelands owing to the pressure exerted by the Greeks, the Scythians and the Kushanas was the reason which impelled them to seek pastures new in Rajputana.

The next reference to the Malavas is in the inscription of Nahapana, Nasik No. 10, where we are told how that ruler deputed his son-in-law Ushavadatta to rescue the Uttamabhadras, who were being troubled by the Malayas. The Malayas of course cannot be the people roundabout the Malaya hills in South India; for they could never have harried the Uttamabhadras residing near Ajmer. They must be the Malavas. We are told that Ushavadatta was successful in his mission, and before returning home, he took an opportunity to bathe in the lake of Pushkara near Ajmer. The definite habitat of the Mālavas is not given by the inscription, but the reference of Ushavadatta's bath in the Pushkara lake would show that they were occupying the territory to the north and north-west of Ajmer. Uttamabhadras of the inscription are probably identical with the Utsvasamketas mentioned in the great epic in connection with the conquests of Nakula. The epic says that after defeating the 'Sibis,'² the Trigartas and the Mālavas, the Pandava hero returned to the Pushkara forest and defeated the republican tribe of the Utsvasamketas. The relative position of the Mālavas, the Utsvasamketas and the Pushkara forest is similar to that of the Mālavas, the Uttamabhadras and the Pushkara lake in the Nasik inscription No. 10.

The Mālavas must have recovered their power with the overthrow of Nahapāna in c. 125 A. D. But the rise of the Śaka power in Western India under the house of Chashtana was destined soon to eclipse them. Rudradāman I claims to have annexed Sindhu and Sauvira (southern and northern Sindh) and Maru or Marwar. He claims to have inflicted a signal defeat on the Yaudheyas, who were then occupying the territories of the State of Bahawalpur. The Mālavas of the central and north-western Rajputana must obviously have been compelled to recognise the Śaka suzerainty.

A considerable light on the history of the Mālavas is thrown by the Nāndsā inscriptions, dated in the Kṛita, i.e., Vikrama year 282, corresponding to 226 A. D. A short note on these inscriptions had appeared in the *Indian Antiquity* Vol. LVIII, p. 53. It was stated there by its writer, Mr. R. R. Haldar, that the record commemorated 'a sacrifice performed by a chief named Śaktiguṇagura. I had an opportunity to study these records recently in great details and find that the sacrificer was not any king like Śaktiguṇagura, but a Mālava chief who bore the epithet of Paurapa and

- (1) ततो भीमो महाबहुरनीकेषु महागर्जं । जघान गद्या राजन्श्वत्थामानमित्युत ।
परप्रमथनं घोरं मालवस्येन्द्रवर्मणः । VII. 191. 14
- (2) शिबीरंस्त्रिगर्तानम्बष्ठान्मालवान्पञ्च कर्पटान् ।
पुनश्च परिवृत्याऽथ पुष्करारण्यवासिनः । गणानुत्सवसंकेतानजयत्पुरुषर्षभः ॥
II 32 (7-9).

whose name was of three letters, of which the first two were Soma. Unfortunately just that part of the record where the personal name of the potentate appeared has been broken. The father of Paurapa was Jayasoma and grandfather Prabhāgravardhana. There is however some doubt as to the correct reading of the last name as well. Just before the performance of the Ekashashti-rātra sacrifice, which is recorded in the inscription, Paurapa had scored a great victory, which had filled the wide between the earth and heaven by his all-excelling fame and enabled him to win for himself and his country extensive wealth and prosperity. Unfortunately the inscription does not state who the enemy was who was defeated by Paurapa. But there can be no doubt that he must be the contemporary Śaka ruler of Ujjain.

The Śaka ruler defeated by Paurapa may have been either Rudrasena I (220-222 A. D.) or one of his younger brothers, Sanghadāman 222-3 A.D.) or Dāmasena (223-235 A.D.). Most probably it was Sanghadāman; his short reign of about one year only may have been probably due to his having lost his life in the struggle against the Mālavas. It is important to note in this connection that his death took place only three years before the erection of the Nāndsā *Tūpa*, which commemorates the signal victories of Paurapa. It is interesting to note that Paurapa takes the title of *sva-śakti-guna-guru*, great by the quality of his own prowess. This title reminds us of the title *svayamadhigatamahākshatrapanāmā*, which Rudradaman I had taken for himself.

The Nāndsā inscription describes the *Malava-vamśa* as being as famous as the famous Ikshvāku vamsa; cf. *Ikshvāku-prāthita-rājarshi-vaiṇśe Mālava-vaiṇśe prasūtasya*; it is therefore clear that no one suspected the Mālavas to be of foreign origin at this time. It is interesting to note that this inscription is earlier than the time of the Mālava coins, which bear foreign looking names.

Another rather surprising fact disclosed by this inscription is this: though Paurapa claims to be supporting the yoke of administration, which was formerly borne by his father and grandfather, neither he nor any of his predecessors bear any royal, military or feudal title like *raja* or *maharaja* or *senapati*. It would appear that the republican traditions were far too deep rooted in the clan to permit the use of royal titles, though as a matter of fact hereditary kingship had been established in the clan.

We may before concluding briefly refer to the extent of the territory occupied by the Mālavas in Rajputana at this time. Ajmer and the territory to its north was in their possession as shown by the Nasik inscription No. 10. Mālava coins found in large number at Nagar, about 25 miles south-east of Tonk, would show that that State was also in their possession. To the north of Tonk, some of the Jaipur State territory was also in their occupation, for recently a seal bearing the legend [*Ma*] *lava-janapadasa* has been found in that State at Rairh. Then our inscription shows that Nāndsā which is about 30 miles to the east of the railway station Bhilwara of the B. B. C. I. Railway, was under their rule. It would thus appear that a strip of territory roughly extending from Udaipur to Jaipur, and about 100 to 150 miles in breadth was the land of the Mālavas during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era.

There are some indications to show that the Mālava power grew in course of time and it is probable that the decline of the Kshatrapa power during the first part of the 4th century was most probably due to the hammering they got from the Mālavas.

VI

FIVE PERIODS OF TRADITIONAL HISTORY IN THE
VEDIC AGE

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INTRODUCTION

The Vedic Age in India may be said to be already existing at the time of Manu the son of Vaivaswata. He is a Vedic Rishi, and Suktas 27 to 31, invoked in praise of the Vishvadevas, in Mandala VIII of the Rigveda, are ascribed to him. Even at this early age the 33 gods of the Vedic Aryans are known. Manu Vaivaswata is supposed to be the first Aryan king of India after the Flood. I should think that the Vedic Age extended from the first settlement of Manu Vaivaswata in Northern India, right up to the time when the Nanda rulers of Magadha, in Bihar after destroying the Aryan kingdoms of Koshala, Kosambi, and Avanti, established an extensive empire in the country. From the dynastic lists given by F. E. Pargiter, in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 144—149, we find that there were 95 reigns or generations from Manu to Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna Pandva, and Somadhi, the Brihadratha king of Magadha. The Puranas then tell us that subsequent to the battle of Kurukshetra there were 22 kings of Brihadratha dynasty in Magadha. This dynasty was succeeded by the Pradyotas, who had 5 kings. They in their turn were succeeded by the Sisunagas, who had 10 kings. The last king of this dynasty was overthrown by Mahapadma Nanda. There are thus 37 kings from Parikshita to Mahapadma Nanda. The Vedic Age may therefore be said to extend from Manu Vaivaswata to Mahapadma Nanda. During all this time there were 95 plus 37 or 132 reigns. This is a sufficiently long period.

Six landmarks in the Vedic Age.

If we study carefully the events recorded in the Puranas during this long period of 132 reigns, we come across six definite landmarks in the traditional history of the Vedic Aryans. The first and the earliest landmark is the settlement of the Indo-Gangetic plains of India by Manu Vaivaswata after the Deluge, the story of which is first mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana. After this the Suryavanshi kings seem to have established their kingdoms all over India. We do not know how long the Suryavanshis had exclusive domination over the country. The second great landmark in the traditional history of India is reached when the Chandravanshis come into India, under the leadership of Pururava; and established their headquarters at Pratishthana, near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. From this time begins a struggle between the Suryavanshis and the Chandravanshis. The Puranas record a long Deva-Asura Sangrama, in which it is supposed as many as 12 wars were fought. These wars are supposed to have been concluded in the time of the Chandravanshi king Nahusha. The third great landmark in this traditional history is reached when Sasabindu, the Yadava king, destroys the other Chandravanshi kingdoms in the east, and north, and then later on the Haihaya kings Kritvirya, and his son Arjuna Sahasrabahu, overwhelm the kingdoms of Kashi and Ayodhya. It was during these wars that Parusharama, the son of Jamadagni, comes into prominence. These destructive wars are concluded by the victories of the Suryavanshi king Sagar. The fourth landmark in the traditional history of the Vedic Aryans is

when Rama Dasharathi, the Suryavanshi king of Ayodhya overthrows the power of Dashagriva Ravana, whose sway at that time, it seems, extended from Ceylon to the sources of the Godavari. A couple of generations after Rama Dasharathi, this period is brought to a close by the Dasha-ragya Sangrama of the Panchala king Sudas. The fifth landmark in this history is the Mahabharata War. After this War the Vedic Age begins to decay. This last period of decay is brought to a final close when the Vedic kingdoms are at length destroyed by Mahapadma Nanda. The birth of Buddha, and the rise of the Nandas in Magadha is the sixth and the last landmark in the long traditional history of the Vedic Aryans.

Original Home of the Aryans.

The most important question for settlement is what was the original home of the Suryavanshis. If we study the story of the Deluge given in the Satapatha Brahmana, and the different Puranas, we find that Manu Vaivaswata whose personal name appears to be Satyvrata, was a South Indian king, and that when the Floods came he had abdicated from his throne, and was practising austerities in the Malabar country. We also find that the Deccan was in the Vedic Age known as Dandeka Vana, after the name of Danda, one of the sons of Ikshwaku, the eldest son of Manu. In the Ramayana also, we find Rama asserting an ancestral claim on the South. If we can draw any inferences from these stories it is this that Manu Vaivaswat and his descendants came to Northern India from Southern India. Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Historical Tradition* comes to the conclusion that what we call the Suryavanshis were in reality the Dravidians. (See page 295 of his book).

Ten Suryavanshi settlements in Northern India.

According to the tradition recorded in the Puranas, the descendants of Manu Vaivaswata made ten settlements in Northern India. One branch, the Saudyumnas, established themselves in Orissa, Chhota Nagpur, and Southern Bihar. The second branch, the descendants of Nabhanedhishta, established themselves in North Bihar, and their settlement grew later on into the kingdom of Vaisali. The third son, not in the seniority of age, but in the order of settlements counting from the East, was Ikshwaku. He is supposed to have numerous progeny. Some of them, Danda and others, settled in the Deccan. One branch out of the descendants of Ikshwaku, settled in North-Western Bihar, a tract well known by the name of Mithila or Videha. The main branch, descendants of Vikukshi, remained at Ayodhya. The fourth son of Manu was Karusha, whose descendants settled in the Vindhya-chal hills. The fifth son was Nabhag who is stated to have settled in the midlands, in between the Ganges and the Aravalis, in the one direction, and between the Saraswati and the Vindhya-chals in the other direction. The sixth son was Dhrishta, who may be said to have settled in the Panjab. The ancient Balhikas and their subdivision the Jartakas (Jats) may be supposed to be a section of the descendants of Dhrishta. The seventh son was Narishyanta. He is stated to have, according to Matsya and Padma Puranas, a son, Saka. He settled in the trans-Indus regions. According to Manava Dharma Sastra, the Sakas became split up into four sections, the Paradas, the Kambhojas, the Pahlavas, and the Yavanas. If these statements record a correct tradition then the Paradas, or the Parthians, the Kambhojas or the modern Kambohs of the Punjab, the Pahlavas, or the ancient Iranian people, and the Yavanas, or the Ionians, or the Greeks, were all Suryavanshi

Aryans, the descendants of Narishyanta, a son of Manu Vaivaswata. Then again if this tradition is correct then it appears that the Suryavanshi Aryans spread out of India, through Afghanistan, Iran, Mesopotamia, Turkey, to Greece ; and that they did not come to India from the north-west. The eighth son of Manu Vaivaswata was Saryati, whose descendants settled in Gujrat-Kathiawar. The other two sons, Pramsu and Prasadra, may have settled in Rajputana and Malwa, respectively. In this way it seems the descendants of Manu Vaivaswata spread all over India, and the Middle Eastern countries, and from there one section, the Yavanas, penetrated Greece in Europe.

The ten Suryavanshi settlements and the ten Rishi Families.

There is one other point to be noted in this connection. It seems in each of these ten divisions or kingdoms, which were formed by the Suryavanshis, there arose a separate family of Vedic Rishis. In Vaisali, or Northern Bihar, we had the Angiras. The Brihaspatis who were an offshoot of the Angiras, established themselves, in the eastern lands of Bengal and Orissa. The Vasishthas attached themselves to the descendants of Ikshwaku in Mithila and in Ayodhya. The Agastyas were attached to the lands of the Karushas in Bundhelkhand. Kashyapa, the son of Marichi, settled in the Midlands, between the Saraswati, and the Vindhychals. The Atris settled in the Panjab. The Bhargavas established themselves in Gujrat-Kathiawar, in the country of the Saryatis. These are the seven earliest families of Vedic Rishis. The other three were Kratu, Pulha, and Pulastya. The last named Rishi, is associated mostly with the Rakshasas and the other South Indian people. Pulha on the other hand is associated with the Kimpurushas, the Pisachas and people in the north-west. Valkhilyas who are supposed to be descendants of Kratu, may have belonged to Rajputana. It is curious, and quite significant that each section of the Manava or Suryavanshi race is associated with a separate family of Vedic Rishis. So long as the Chandravanshis do not appear on the scene, this division of territories among the descendants of Manu seems to have prevailed.

Origin of the Chandravanshis.

The advent of the Chandravanshis was the first great landmark in the traditional history of Vedic India. They seem to have come into the Gangetic Doab like a wedge, may be from western Tibet and the lands where the Ganges and the Jamuna have their sources. According to the stories given in the Puranas, the god, Chandra had a son, Buddha, whose son was Gotama. This man Gotama is supposed to have married Ila, and their son was Pururava, the first Chandravanshi king in India. The Pauranic traditions point towards the mid-Himalayan regions as the original home of the Chandravanshi Aryans. The Matsya Purana connects Ila, the mother of Pururava with a country called, Ilavrita, which became known later on as Uttara Kuru. But it seems Ila was also assigned a place for residence at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. It is just possible the original name of Allahabad may have been Ilabas, or Ilabad. Pratishthana, the first capital of the Chandravanshi king Pururava was near Allahabad.

Expansion of the Chandravanshis.

But when Pururava established himself at Pratishthana, there was a powerful Suryavanshi kingdom of the Ikshwakus in the north at Ayodhya, and a strong military power of the Suryavanshi Karushas

in the south, in the hilly country of Bundhelkhand. So the new Chandravanshi power could not expand northwards into Oudh, nor southwards into Bundhelkhand. Naturally it could expand only in the east and in the north-west, into the Gangetic Doab, and Malwa and Eastern Rajputana. This is exactly what we find. On the death of Pururava, the new Chandravanshi kingdom is divided into two parts. The eastern and the home territories of Pratishthana are inherited by Ayu the eldest son of Pururava, and the northern territories in the mid Gangetic Doab come to the share of his second son Amavasus. Two generations after this, that is to say, after the death of Ayu and his son Nahusha, there is a further partition of the kingdom. The home territories of Pratishthana are inherited by Yayati, and his brother Kshatravridha establishes a new kingdom in the east at Kashi, or Benares.

Deva-Asura Sangrama.

All Pauranic traditions agree that the Deva-Asura Sangrama, it contained as many as 12 wars, were concluded in the time of the Chandravanshi king Nahusha. Who were the parties to these wars? Were they between the Suryavanshis and the Chandravanshis? That is the opinion of Mr. Pargiter. (See his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 305-307.) But if the Asuras are identical with the Daityas and the Danavas, and the Rakshasas, then it is clear this Deva-Asura Sangrama cannot be a struggle between the Suryavanshis and the Chandravanshis, but between the Aryans and the non-Aryans. Was this a struggle between the Aryans and the Indus Valley people, or the Indo-Sumerians? We must in this connection collect all the details about the Deva-Asura wars, before we can give any opinion with regard to the racial particulars of the parties to this struggle. The Puranas are definite that the Daityas, the Danavas, and the Rakshasas, do not belong to the same race as the Devas, or the Aryans. But it is at the same time stated in many places that political and religious opponents are also very often given the name of Asuras. It is just possible there may have been religious and political differences between the Chandravanshis and Suryavanshis. There is one thing very significant in this connection. If we take up the dynastic lists of the different Suryavanshi kingdoms, we find that although the whole of India was distributed among the sons of Manu, yet we find dynastic lists only for the Suryavanshi kingdoms of Vaisali, Videha, Ayodhya, and to a very incomplete extent, of the Saryatis in Gujrat-Kathiawar. The dynastic list of the kingdoms founded by the other sons of Manu; Nabhag, Dhrishhta, Narishyant, Pramsu, and Prasadra, have all disappeared. What can be the explanation? If the Chandravanshi king Pururava, came in like a wedge from Uttara Kuru and Manasarover regions, directly into the Gangetic Doab, and established himself at Allahabad, and the Deva-Asura Sangrama was a struggle between the Suryavanshis and the Chandravanshis, in which the Chandravanshis, under the leadership of Nahusha finally came out victorious, then the disappearance of the dynastic lists of the kingdoms established by Karusha, Nabhag, Dhrishhta, Narishyanta, Pramsu, and Prasadra can be readily understandable. The Nabhagas had been established in the midlands of the Gangetic Doab. They were probably the first to be displaced by the Chandravanshi Pururava. As the Chandravanshis expanded in the time of Yayati and his sons, they must have displaced the Karushas in the south, the Pramsus, the Prasadras, and finally the Saryatis, in the west, the Dhrishtas in the Panjab, and the

Narishyantas in the north-west. With the destruction of these Suryavanshi kingdoms, it is natural all records concerning their dynastic lists disappeared. It may also be possible that the Suryavanshi kingdoms, of the Dhrishtas and the Narishyantas in the north and the north-west may have, before the arrival of the Chandravanshis in the Gangetic Doab, been destroyed by the Daityas and the Danavas or the Indo-Sumerians, coming from the Middle East. It is also possible that the Chandravanshis who seem to have been allied in race to the Suryavanshis, may have been invited by the latter to help them in repelling the invasions of the Indo-Sumerians, and that after driving out the Daityas and Danavas, the former took possession of the whole of Northern India west of the Ganges, and north of the Narbuda. In the absence of necessary material, it is useless to speculate on the nature of Deva-Asura Wars.

I. THE PRIMITIVE PERIOD 7350 B.C. TO 6400 B.C.

This first and the primitive period of the Vedic Age may be said to have lasted from the settlement of Manu at Ayodhya to the time of Nahusha. How long did this first period of Vedic Age last? Employing the method suggested by the late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, we should find out how many times has the list of Nakshatras been revised. The present list is headed by Aswini. The previous list was headed by the Krittikas, and the one previous to that was headed by the Mrigshira or the Orion. There was a list of Nakshatras earlier than that, which was headed by Punarvasu. The presiding deity of Punarvasu is Aditya. If the vernal equinox took place when the Sun was at the end of Punarvasu Nakshatra, that is to say $93^{\circ}20'$ of the lunar zodiac, and it was at the end of Revati, or zero degree, in 660 B. C. we can calculate backward. The annual precession of the equinoxes is supposed to be $50'26''$. The distance $93^{\circ}20'$ is equal to $336,000''$, which can be said to be covered by 6,685 years. Add to this, 660 years B. C. when the vernal equinox was at zero degree of the lunar zodiac. So the commencement of Aditya period can be put in this way in circa 7,350 B. C. The Mrigahira or Orion period began when the vernal equinox was at $66^{\circ}40'$, that is to say in 5440 B. C. So we may say that this primitive period of Vedic history began from 7,350 B. C. I call this a Vedic period, because it was during this time that the Vedic gods, the children of the Adityas were born. Moreover during this period too we have several Rigvedic Rishis. Among the Brahmanic Rishis, we had Brihaspati, Angira, Vasishtha, Agastya, Marichi, Kashyapa, Atri, Bhrgu, Chyavana, Puloma, and Prachetas. We have also during this period such Vedic Raj Rishis as Vivasvana, Yama, Yami, Manu, Nabhanedhista, Saryati, Pururava, Nashusha, and Yayati. Most of the hymns ascribed to these Rishis are in the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda, which is considered by the Western scholars to be later additions. But it is significant that the mantras in all these hymns do not mention any geographical names, or the names of persons belonging to ruling families which became well-known in later periods of the Vedic Age. No sufficient reasons have been given to show that most of the hymns in the first and the tenth Mandalas of the Rigveda belong to later periods. They may have been added later to the collection made by Krishna Dwaipayana Vyasa, but the subject matter ascribed to the Rishis mentioned above seem to belong to a very much earlier age. Merely because the subject matter of these hymns is in a later style, and is difficult and obtruse, is no reason why they should be considered later. There are some Rishis

in the tenth Mandala such as Chakshu, Dhruva, Vena, and Prithu, which seem to belong to the ante-deluvian period. So it was during this primitive period of the Vedic Age, 7350-6400 that the earliest Rishis, who were mostly Brahmanas, and Suryavanshi Kings lived, the gods and goddesses, whom the Vedic Aryans worshipped, were found and discovered; and again it was during this early period that a persistent struggle against the non-Aryans, who may have been Indo-Sumerians, and between the Suryavanshis and the Chandravanshis, was carried on.

The Linguistic Survey of India Supports Indian Tradition.

The linguistic survey of India made by Sir Grierson, shows that there is an inner ring of language, the Suraseni, which is surrounded by concentric circles of other allied languages. Towards the east of this innermost ring are Oudhi and Bagheli, in the south we have the Chhatisgarhi, and Bundheli. In the west we have the Malawi, and the Rajasthani, and in the north we have the Panjabi and the Pahari. All these languages in the first concentric circle are allied to one another, and are yet different from the innermost Suraseni. Beyond this first concentric circle there is another concentric circle of languages, Bihari and Uriya in the east, Marathi in the south-west, and Sindhi, Multani, Kekayi, Pothowari, and Kashmiri in the north-west and north. There is however an opening in Gujrat-Kathiawar in the west. This can be explained by the fact that the Suryavanshi kingdom of the Saryatis in this area was destroyed by the Chandravanshi Yadavas at a very early date. Beyond the second concentric circle of languages, there is Pashtu in the extreme north-west, and Bengali and Assamese in the east. This state of affairs can be explained satisfactorily, only when we accept the view that the people speaking the languages in the outer rings were the earlier inhabitants of the country, and that the people speaking the language in the innermost ring came into the country like a wedge. This people in the innermost ring could not have come from the north-west, because these areas are inhabited by people speaking languages of the outer rings, but from the mid-Himalayan regions, where the people speak Pahari languages, very much allied to the language in the innermost ring. The state of affairs exhibited by the linguistic survey of India supports the Indian tradition as exhibited in the Puranas. The primitive and the first period of Vedic history may be said to have ended with the conclusion of the Deva-Asura wars in the time of the Chandravanshi king Nahusha, in about 6400 B. C.

II. EARLY VEDIC PERIOD 6400 B. C. TO 5450 B. C.

Early Chandravanshi kingdom.

The early Vedic period may be said to have begun in 6400 B. C. with Nahusha and ended in 5450 B. C. with the victories of Sagar, the Suryavanshi king of Ayodhya. In the Ayodhya dynastic list given in Pargiter there are from Kakustsha to Sagar as many as 37 reigns. Kakustsha was a contemporary of the Chandravanshi Nahusha. Yati the brother of Yayati, and the son of Nahusha was married to Go, the daughter of Kakustsha. It appears that the kingdom of Yayati was divided among his five sons. His eldest son Yadu obtained Malwa. His second son Turvasu received Bundhelkhand, which seems to have been conquered from the Suryavanshi Karushas. His third son Anu received territory in the north, probably in between Pratishtana and Kanyakubja, belonging to the Amavas branch. The fourth son Druhyu may have obtained territories in between the Jumna and the Aravalis. So, Druhyu

were towards the north of the Yadavas. Puru, the 5th and the youngest son of Yayati inherited the home territories of Pratishtana.

The Rise of the Yadavas.

It is evident the first Chandravanshi power to rise into prominence was that of the Yadavas in Malawa. This kingdom is soon divided into two, that of the Yadavas and of the Haihayas. They seem to have first destroyed the Rakshasa power in Gujrat-Kathiawar, who are supposed to have overthrown the Saryati kingdom there. They then turned their attention towards the north, and drove their cousins the Druhyus across the Aravalis into the deserts of Marwar. From here they seem finally to have gone through Sind to Qandahar. Here they displaced the Suryavanshi Narishyantas, who were driven across the deserts of Seestan and the mountains of the Hindukush. Having reached the Middle Eastern countries the Narishyantas became divided into the four sections of the Parthians, the Kambohs, the Pahlavas and the Ionians. Having driven the Druhyus out of Eastern Rajputana, the Yadavas then turned their attention towards the east. Here they seem to have overthrown the power of their cousins the Turvasus in Bundhelkhand, and of the Pauravas in the midlands, near about Allahabad. Matinara, the Paurava king was a contemporary of the Yadava king Chitraratha. Gauri the daughter of the Paurava king Matinara was married to Yuvanashwa II the Suryavanshi king of Ayodhya. Their son Mandhatri of Ayodhya was married to Bindumati, daughter of the Yadava king Sasabindu, who is No. 20 in Pargiter's dynastic lists. The Yadava king Chitraratha, and his son Sasabindu were great kings. It is significant that after Tamsu the son of Matinara, who is also 20th in the list, there is a great gap in the Paurava list. Probably Sasabindu had destroyed the Paurava kingdom. We also find that Gandhara, the grandson of Angara, in the Druhyu list are respectively 23rd and 21st in the list. It means that the Druhyu were driven out of Eastern Rajputana either by Chitraratha or his son Sasabindu. In the Turvasu list we find very few kings. They seem to have lost power at a very early stage. Then again in the Anavi list we find that in the time of the sons of Mahamanas, 24th in the list, they are divided into two branches. Usinara, one of the sons of Mahamanas is found in the Panjab, and from his second son Titikshu, is descended the Anavi dynasties of Bengal. The only inference we can draw from this is that the Anavis who were established in the mid-Gangetic Doab, in between Kanouj and Allahabad were after their defeat at the hands of the Yadavas, split up into two sections. One proceeded northwards into the Panjab, and the other was driven to seek their fortunes in Bengal. In the Panjab, the Anavas displaced the Dharshakas, the Suryavanshi descendants of Dhṛishta.

Anavi kingdom in the Panjab.

Usinara the Anavi king, after his arrival in the Panjab, probably established himself at Multan. We are told that after the death of Usinara, his Anavi kingdom was divided among his five sons. His eldest son Sivi succeeded to the throne at Multan (Moolasthan), His other son Nrga established a separate kingdom in the present district of Montgomery, and northern parts of modern Bikaner State. This State was later on known by the name of the Yaudheyas. Their modern representatives the Panjabee tribe of the Joyas, still live in this part of the province. They were known to the Greek authors of the time of the Macedonian invader Alexander the Great. They were also known in the

time of the Guptas, as a Republican State. The third son of Usinara, founded the State of Navarashtra. It is not known where this Navarashtra was. The fourth son of Usinara, Krimi, founded the State of Krimila. The location of this State is also not known. The fifth son of Usinara was Suvrata, who is said to have founded the State of the Ambashthas. This State was probably in Eastern Punjab. Sivi Aushinara, king of the main branch of the Anavi kingdom in the Panjab, is a well-known Vedic king. King Sivi son of Ushinara is said to be a Vedic Rishi. Sukta 179 of Mandala X of the Rigveda is ascribed to him. But it appears the Anavi kingdoms did not remain strong military and political powers for long. With the rise of the Haihayas, under the leadership of Kritvirya and Arjuna—Sahasrabahu, and with the subsequent victories of Sagar of Ayodhya, the military strength of the Anavas was destroyed. It seems after this the Anavi territories in the Panjab and Sind, continue to be split up into a large number of small monarchical and republican States. That continues to be the state of affairs right up to the time of Alexander the Great, and even after that. On his death his kingdom was divided amongst his four sons. The home territories of Multan seem to have remained under his eldest son Vrishadarbha, whose descendants continue to be called the Sivis. They were found in these parts right up to the time of Alexander's invasion. His second son Suvara established a separate kingdom in Sind, which was called by the name of Sauvira. His third son Kekaya established himself in the northern parts of the kingdom, now represented by the Panjab districts of Gujrat and Shahpur in between the Jhelum and the Chenab. Madraka the fourth son of Sivi Aushinara founded still another kingdom, with its capital at Sakala, on the banks of the river Apaka. This town still exists under the name of Sialkot (Shalyakot). This Madraka kingdom comprised the central districts or Lahore Division of the present day Panjab, and the Jammu province of Jammu and Kashmir State. The State of the Madrakas was a well-known Vedic kingdom. Madri, a princess of this country was the mother of the Pandava brothers, Nakula and Sahadeva.

The Gandharvas and the Gandharas.

It appears that the territories of Kashmir Valley, together with the Panjab districts north of the Salt Range, the present Frontier Province, and eastern districts of modern Afghanistan, formed the ancient land of the Gandharvas. I should think that the Gandhara of the classical times was not the Gandhara kingdom founded by the descendants of the Chandravanshi Druhyu, but the country of the Gandharvas of Vedic times. These Gandharvas were neither Suryavanshis, nor Chandravanshis. The Gandharvi, Urvashi, is said to have married Pururava, the first Chandravanshi king of Pratishthana. The kingdom of Gandhara, founded by the descendants of Druhyu, was more to the south, south-west of Ghazni, near about modern Qandahar and Quetta. They seem to have arrived in these parts, after they had been driven out of Eastern Rajputana across the Aravali hills, into Western Rajputana and Sind, by the Yadavas, and later on driven from Marwar and Sind by the Anavi Sauviras. Many of these Anavi and Druhyu kings are mentioned in the Rigveda.

Struggle between the Suryavanshis and the Chandravanshis.

Turning back towards the Yadavas, it appears the Yadava power decayed after the death of Sasabindu. But now Ayodhya under king

Mandhatri, who was son-in-law of Sasabindu, became the most important king in Upper India. He seems to have taken possession of Kanyakubja and Paurava kingdoms, and then proceeded through the Vindhya-chals to the banks of the Nerbuda. He is said to have fought also against the Anavas and the Drhyus, in the north-west. Purukutsa, the son of Mandhatri seems to have continued the conquests of his father. But being connected by matrimonial alliances with the Yadavas they do not seem to have touched their dominions. Mandhatri had another son, Ambarisha, whose descendants known by the name Harita Brahmanas, are known as Hymn makers. After the death of Purukutsa, the sons of Mandhatri, lose their paramountcy in Upper India, and then the Chandravanshi kingdoms in the west again rise into prominence. Among the Yadavas, now the Haihayi branch, rises into prominence. They re-occupied Malwa, and Mahishmanta 23rd in Pargiter's dynastic list, founded the city of Mahishmati on the banks of the Nerbuda. Having taken possession of Malwa, the Haihayas, under the leadership of Bhadrashrenya son of Mahishmanta turned his attention towards the east, took possession of the Paurava kingdom, round about Allahabad, and then invaded the kingdom of Kashi. The ancient Saryati kingdom of Anarta, in Gujrat-Kathiwar, was also, included in the Haihaya empire.

The Wars of Parashurama and Sagar.

The Rishis of the Bhargava family who were residing in Anarta, being dissatisfied with the state of affairs there, left the country, and took up their residence in the territories of Kanyakubja. But some time after this the Haihaya king Kritavirya and his son, Arjuna Sahasrabahu invaded the kingdom of Kanyakubja also. We find that after this, the dynastic list of Kanyakubja State suddenly stops. The last king of Kanyakubja was Gadhi, and his son, Vishwaratha, becomes now a Vedic Rishi under the title of Vishwamitra. Harishchandra seems to be a contemporary of Arjuna Sahasrabahu and Vishwamitra. At length the Haihaya kings attack even Ayodhya, and king Bahu of this State is driven out of his kingdom, and is compelled to take refuge in the forest Ashrama of Jamadagni Aurava, belonging to the Bhargava family, in the Kanyakubja territory. King Bahu died in this Ashrama, and his widowed queen gave birth here to a posthumous son, known by the name of Sagar. In this old kingdom of Kanyakubja, Parashurama, the son of Jamadagni Bhargava organised a strong opposition against the Haihaya kings. The Bhargavas had at first been compelled to leave their ancestral home in Anarta, and now in their new home in the kingdom of Kanyakubja too they were not left in peace. So they now tried to strengthen their position by matrimonial alliances with ruling families. Richika Aurava, a Rishi of this family married Satyawati a daughter of king Gadhi of Kanyakubja. Their son was Jamadagni, who married a princess of the royal family of Ayodhya. As I have stated Sagara the son of ex-king Bahu of Ayodhya was born in their Ashrama. Talajangha a successor of the Haihaya king Arjuna-Sahasrabahu had in the meantime, conquered Ayodhya, overrun the kingdom of Kashi, and was contemplating the invasion of Videha in the east. It was at this time that Parusharama son of Jamadagni formed a combination of Vaisali, Videh, Kashi, and Ayodhya, which put up a fight against Vitihavya the successor of Haihaya Talajangha. The Haihaya king was defeated, and compelled to take refuge with another Bhargava Rishi. After this the dynastic list of the Haihayas practically stops. Vitihavya, the king, now becomes Vitihotra the Brahmana. Gritsmada, and his descendants,

the celebrated Rishis of most of the hymns of the second Mandala of Rigveda, belong to the family of the Haihaya king Vitihavya. After the destruction of the power of the Haihayas, Yadava imperialism ends. King Vidarbha of the Yadava family retires into the Deccan, and there founds the kingdom of Vidarbha. The whole of Northern India, now acknowledges the sovereignty of Sagar. The Puranas tell us that the victories of Sagar and Parusharma conclude the Kritayug, or the early period of Vedic Age. After these wars the older kingdoms of the Drhyus, the Panjab Anavas, the Turvasus, the Pauravas, and Kanyakubja, all disappear. The Yadavas retire into the Deccan. But in the east the kingdoms of Bengal Anavas, Vaisali, Videh, Ayodhya, and Kashi continue to exist. The wars of Sagar were really a victory for the Suryavanishis, and a defeat for the Chandravanshis. The most important Vedic Rishis of this period were Jamadagni (*Rigveda*, VIII, 101; IX 62, 65, 67; and X 110, 138, 167) Vishwamitra, (3rd Mandala of Rigveda), his son Ashtaka (*Rigveda*, X 104) Ayasya (*Rv.* IX 44-46; and X 67-68); Gadhi of Kanyakubja (*Rv.* III 19-22); Gritsmada son of Sunahotra, king of Kashi (*Rv.* II 17-27; and 30-33); Madhuchhanda, son of Vishwamitra, (*Rv.* I 1-10; and IX 1); Sunnasepa son of Ajigarta (*Rv.* I 24-30; and IX 3).

This early Vedic Period, called the Kritayug, lasted from 6400 B.C. to 5450 B.C. It was towards the end of this period that the list of Nakshatras which was headed by Punarvasu had to be revised. With the end of the Aditya Period also ended Kritayuga.

III. MEDIEVAL VEDIC PERIOD 5450 B.C. TO 4000 B.C.

The Bharatas and the Panchalas.

After the victories of Sagara there was the beginning of a new order in India. On the destruction of old kingdoms new kingdoms came into existence. In the east, the Titikshu branch of the Anavas, who had been driven out of the Mid-Gangetic Doab, came and settled in Anga, modern Bhagalpur in Bihar. One of the descendants of Titikshu, known by the name of Bali founded a kingdom in these parts. On his death his kingdom was divided among his five sons. They formed the five eastern states of Anga (Bhagalpur), Banga (Bengal), Kalinga (Orissa), Pundra (Rajshahi), and Suhma (Chhota Nagpur). These kingdoms carry on their existence right up to the close of this Vedic Medieval period. After the death of Sagara, the Paurava kingdom near Pratishtana (Allahabad) was revived. It appears that on the destruction of the Paurava kingdom in the previous period by the victories of the Yadava king Sasabindhu, and the subsequent occupation of their territories by the Haihayas and the Ikshwakus, the royal family of the Paurava kings took refuge in the hilly regions of Bundhelkhand. One of these princes Dushyanta was an adopted son of the Turvasu chief Marutta. After the death of Sagara, the hold of the Aikswakus on the Paurava territory became weak. Dushyanta got an opportunity to take possession of his ancestral kingdom which had been lost by his remote ancestors, more than twenty generations back. He was married to Sakuntala, who appears to be a daughter of Vishwamitra, and was brought up in the forest Ashrama of one Rishi, Kanwa, belonging to the family of Kashyapa. Bharata was the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala. This king was a great conqueror. He extended his dominions northwards and the frontiers of his state extended right up to the banks of the Saraswati. From this time onwards the Pauravas begin to be called the Bharatas. One of the most important

kings in this dynasty was Hastin, who is said to be the founder of Hastinapur, whose ruins still exist in Meerut District. He is No. 51 in Pargiter's list. After the death of Hastin, this kingdom of the Bharatas became divided amongst the different members of his family. One of his sons, Ajamidha, continued to rule at Hastinapur. His other son, Dwimidha, established his kingdom probably in Kumaon Division of present day United Provinces. This kingdom of the Dwimidhas seems to have continued throughout this Medieval Vedic period. But there is very little known about this kingdom. After the death of Ajamidha, his kingdom seems to have been divided into three parts namely, North Panchala, South Panchala, and Hastinapur. So according to the Pauranic tradition, the Panchalas, were separated out of the Bharatas. It appears that the kingdom of North Panchala comprised the territories of modern Rohilkhand in the United Provinces. The territories of South Panchala took the place of the old kingdom of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) and consisted of the districts of Agra Division in the Gangetic Doab, and of present day Cawnpore. The kingdom of Hastinapur consisted of Meerut Division of the United Provinces, and Ambala Division in the Panjab, together with the district of Delhi. But it seems the kingdom of Hastinapur was soon eclipsed by the more powerful kingdom of North Panchala. The most important kings in the North Panchala dynasty were Mudgala, Vadhryashwa, Divodasa, Srinjaya, and Sudas. Divodasa appears to have been the contemporary of Dashratha of Ayodhya. It appears that the Hastinapur kingdom was split up into a number of small principalities. Most of the princes in this Hastinapur dynasty take to literary pursuits. After Ajamidha, for about twenty generations there is hardly any king mentioned in the Hastinapur line. The Kanwa family of Vedic Rishis is supposed to have descended from Ajamidha. Probably they belonged to the Hastinapur line, which is practically blank so far as their political power in this part of the country is concerned.

The Yadavas and the Deccan.

. The Yadavas after the victories of Sagar had withdrawn into the Deccan, and founded the kingdom of Vidarbha. But after the death of Sagar the Yadavas again spread out towards the north, and become masters of the territory which afterwards comes to be known by the name of Chedi. The most important king of Vidarbha was Bhimaratha. He was father of the celebrated Damyanti, who was married to Nala, king of Nishadha. Their daughter Indrasea was married to Brahmishtha son of the North Panchala king, Mudgala. Some ten generations after Bhimaratha, we find the Yadavas to have spread out so far to the north that they are now masters of Mathura, which was founded by Madhu, who is 61st in Pargiter's list. But in the time of Rama, son of Dasharatha, it seems Mathura was taken away from the Yadavas. So it appears the Chandravanshi Aryans had occupied some parts of the Deccan some twenty-five generations before the time of Rama. It means that the Chandravanshis were in occupation of Vidarbha more than 800 years before Rama of Ayodhya goes to the Deccan. The kingdoms of Sugriva and Ravana must have therefore been south and west of the Yadava kingdom.

The Wars of Sudas.

After the death of Rama, the power of Ayodhya again declined. The North Panchala kings again come into prominence.

Some four or five generations after Rama, Sudas, the North Panchala king, undertakes great military operations. He fights against a confederation of ten powers. They are the five Chandravanshi powers of the Yadavas, the Turvasus, the Pauravas, the Anavas and the Druhyus, and the five trans-Indus powers of the Pakhtas (Pathans), the Alinas, the Bhalanas, the Shavis, and the Vishnanins. These five latter tribes may have either been the remnants of the Suryavanshi Narishyantas, who in the earliest times occupied the trans-Indus regions, or they may have belonged to the Indo-Sumerian people. In these wars king Samvarana belonging to the Bharatas was defeated. He was compelled to give up Hastinapur, and take refuge on the banks of the Indus in the west. The confederate armies of the ten powers were defeated by Sudas on the banks of the Parusini (modern Ravi river in the Panjab). Kavasha Ailusha, the purohit of Samvarana was drowned in the Ravi. Sukta 33 of Mandala X is ascribed to this Kavasha. After many years' exile in Sind, Samvarana was able with the assistance of Samvarchas Vasistha, to recover his kingdom from Sahadava a successor of Sudas. Kuru was the son of Samvarana. Kurukshetra is known after this king Kuru. His son Parikshita I succeeded to the throne of Hastinapur; and his son Janamejaya II was consecrated by Tura Kavesheya, who was very probably a descendant of Kavasha Ailush the prohit of his great grandfather, Samvarana.

Date of the Wars of Sudas.

The wars of Sudas bring to a close the Medieval Vedic Period, or Treta-yuga. These wars also bring about a new order of things in India, in the same way as the wars of Sagar had brought about a new order of things at the close of the previous Satya-yuga period. The dynastic list of Pargiter exhibits some 30 generations between the time of Sagara and Sudas. It appears that soon after the beginning of this Medieval period the Vedic Aryans discovered the different Nakshatras, and a regular Lunar Zodiac was formed. It may be calculated that in 5400 B.C. the Sun was in the Vernal equinox at the end of Mrigshira Nakshatra that is to say at $66^{\circ}-40'$ of the lunar ecliptic. In 4250 B.C. the Vernal equinox was at the end of the third quarter of Mrigshira, the winter solstice was at the end of the Purva Bhadrapada, the autumnal equinox was at the end of the 1st quarter of the Mula Nakshatra, and summer solstice at the middle of Uttara Phalguni. At that time the year began with the autumnal equinox, when the Sun was in the Mula Nakshatra. Hence the Mula Nakshatra was the first Nakshatra in the list of Nakshatras. That is why it was called "Mula." But when the Sun was in Mula, the full moon must have been in Mrigshira, that is to say, the first month in the year was Mrigshira, and it was called Agrahayana (Aghana of Hindsutani). So this list of Nakshatras with Mula Nakshatra at the head must have been drawn up between the years 4,250 B. C. and 4000 B. C. As this year began with the autumnal equinox, it was called the Sharada year.

Separation of Parsis from the Aryans.

There is another point to be noted in this connection. At this time when the year began with autumnal equinox, the Sun was in the Mula Nakshatra and the moon in the Mrigshira. Since at this time the Sun at the Summer solstice was in Purva Bhadrapada, it is clear, the Dakshanayana, or the Pitriyana began with the Purnima of Bhadrapada. The Shraddha ceremonies of the Hindus even to-day start with

the Purnima of Bhadrapada. It is understood some sort of Shraddha for the ancestors is performed among the Parsis also. This shows that the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians were still living together, at the time when Shraddhas were instituted. The Iranians must have therefore separated from the Indo-Aryans after the wars of Sudas, at the end of Treta-yuga. I would allot about 1,450 years to the 30 generations from Sagar to Sudas, that is to say 5,450 B. C. to 4,000 B. C.

IV. LATER VEDIC PERIOD, 4000 B. C. TO 3000.

New Order after the Wars of Sudas.

After the wars of Sudas, new Chandravanshi kingdoms come into power. The old Suryavanshi kingdoms of Videha and Koshala continue to exist. The old Chandravanshi kingdoms of the Eastern Anavas, the Bharatas, the Dwimidhas, the North Panchalas, and South Panchalas, remain in existence, but in decayed conditions. The Yadavas become split up into the Andhakas and the Vrishnis. The Yadava kingdom of Chedi ceases to exist. The kingdom of Kashi is heard no more after the wars of Sudas. The most prominent kingdom that rises into prominence after Sudas is that of Kuru. After the wars of Sagar the ancient Pauravas recover their position under the name of the Bharatas. After the wars of Sudas, the Bharatas reappear as a great power under the name of the Kauravas. We are told that Kuru had three sons, or branches, known after Parikshit I, Jahnu, and Sudhanwan. Parikshita I was succeeded by his son Janamejaya II. But he and his brothers, and their descendants, for some sins, mentioned in the Vedic literature, lose all political power. The Rishi Yajnavalkya deplores the fate of this Janamejaya and his descendants. So his line suddenly ends. But this Janamejaya is by some of our historians mixed up with a later Janamejaya, who is a Post-Mahabharata king. This later Janamejaya, whom we may call Janamejaya III, lived some 20 generations after Parikshit I the son of Kuru. I have discussed this matter in a paper I read before the Second Indian History Congress held at Allahabad. It has been published in the proceedings of this Congress.

Kingdoms of the later Vedic Period.

After the sudden ending of the line of Janamejaya II, Jahnu, the line of the second son of Kuru succeeded to the throne of Hastinapur. The line of the third son Sudhanwan, divided into two. One branch, of the Brihadrathas, become master of Magadha, and the other of the Vasus, takes possession of Chedi, formerly in occupation of the Yadavas. The most important king of the Brihadratha line, towards the end of this period was Jarasandha; and the most important king of the new Chedi line towards the end of this period was Shishupala. The most important king of the Eastern Anavas was Karna. Ugrasena, and his son Kansa, who was a son-in-law of Jarasandha of Magadha, belonged to the Andhaka branch of the Yadavas, and Sri Krishna, son of Vasudeva, belonged to its Vrishni branch. It seems that during this later Vedic period the great rival of the parent Hastinapur power was the Chedi power, founded by Vasu. The descendants of Vasu had become masters of Magadha, Karusha, Kausambi, Chedi, and Matsya, countries. Under Jarasandha, the Magadha rulers, came into conflict with the Vrishnis, under the leadership of Krishna, son of Vasudeva. The Vrishni Yadavas were connected in matrimonial alliance with the Kauravas, through Pandu, the younger brother of Dhritrashtra, the Kaurava king of

Hastinapur. The Vrishni branch of the Yadavas, and the Pandava branch of the Kauravas combined against the new imperial power of Jarasandha, who had now extended his empire right up to the banks of the Jumna in the west.

Mahabharata War.

The Vrishnis had been forced to retreat from the neighbourhood of Mathura, and taken refuge in Dwarika, the ancient Kushasthali of Saryati kingdom of the Suryavanshis. With the help of the Pandava brothers, the Vrishnis were able to overthrow Jarasandha and his imperial power. As a result of this the Pandavas now became the paramount power in Northern India. In the Medieval Vedic period, there was rivalry between the two branches of the Pauravas, the Bharatas and the Panchalas. In the later Vedic period the Kuravas, the representatives of the ancient Bharatas became split up into the two rival branches of the Kauravas and the Chaidyas. The rise of the Brihadrathas a section of the Chaidyas, to an imperial position, and their conflict with the Vrishni branch of the Yadavas, and their allies the Pandavas, led to the Mahabharata War. In this war the Chaidya power was destroyed, the main Kaurava branch disappeared, and one of their sections, the Pandavas, who became allied with the ancient Panchalas, came out victorious. It seems after this war the Pandava section of the Kaurava branch of the Bharatas became combined with the ancient Panchalas, and after this they are mentioned together.

Waves of Aryans Emigrants from India.

It is probable that after the Mahabharata War, the Kauravas, the main branch of the Bharatas, left the country, and they became another wave of emigrants to the west. It seems at the commencement of each new order in India, there was an outflow of Aryans from India. The first outflow took place when the Suryavanshi Narishyants spread out beyond the trans-Indus regions. The second outflow took place during the Deva-Asura Sangrama, the struggle between the Aryans and the Sumerians. The third outflow from India took place when the Chandravanshis displaced the Suryavanshis in Northern India, in the territory in between the Ganges and the Hindu-kush, and the Himalayas and the Nerbudda. It was after this that this whole region occupied by the Chandravanshi or Induvanshis, began to be known as Indu-desh, or India, or Hindu-Sthana. The fourth outflow of the Aryans from India took place after the wars of Sagar; the fifth after the wars of Sudas, and the sixth after the wars of Mahabharata. There may have been some other subsidiary outflows also. There are five Aryan linguistic units in Europe, and the sixth in Iran, and Persia.

Introduction of animal Sacrifices.

On the conclusion of the Mahabharata War, Yudhishthira and Parikshita, grandson of his brother Arjuna, became kings of Hastinapur. I have discussed in my Paper, "Two Parikshitas and Three Janamejavas in the Kaurava line of Hastinapur," and published in the Proceedings of the Second History Congress held at Allahabad, that there was an interval of 1000 years between Kuru and the Post Mahabharata Janamejava III. So the fourth period of Vedic Age beginning after the Wars of Sudas and ending with the Wars of Mahabharata lasted from 4000 B. C. to 3000 B. C. It seems animal sacrifice began among the Chandravanshis, during this period. Vasu Chaidya seems to have been its advocate. We are

told sacrifices or Yajnas, with fire, were originally introduced by Pururava, the first Chandravanshi king. The Suryavanshis, who were advocates of Ahinsa, remained at first content with Tapasya.

Construction of the Rigveda.

It is interesting to note that the members of those royal families, which lost political power, subsequently became known as Hymn makers. A large number of royal families had lost political power as a result of the wars of Sagara. The descendants of Vitihotra, the Haihaya king, became the well-known Hymn makers, the Gritsmadas or the Saunakas. After Ajamidha, when the Bharatas at Hastinapur became eclipsed, their family gave rise to the Kanwa family of Hymn makers. The Maudgal-yas, a well known priestly family, rose from among the descendants of Mudgala, the famous king of North Panchala. The Gargyas belonged to the royal Paurava line. The Medieval Vedic period is distinguished with the greatest activity in Hymn making. The greater portion of the Rigveda was constructed during this period. This hymn making activity continues during the later Vedic Period which is concluded by the Mahabharata War.

V. DECAY OF VEDIC PERIOD, 3000 B. C. ONWARDS.

4th Mahabharata Kingdom.

After the battle of Kurukshetra, which on astronomical grounds I fix in October 3140 B. C. begins the decay of Vedic Age. The date given in the Mahabharata for the death of Bhishma Pitamaha enables us to fix the date of the battle of Kurukshetra. We are told that he died on 8th Shukla paksha Magha, at noon, about 12 hours after the Uttarayana had begun in the preceding midnight, in the Rohini Nakshatra. At the present moment the Uttarayana begins in the Mula Nakshatra. So there has been precession of the Equinoxes from Shatabhija to Mula since the time of Mahabharata. The coronation of Yudhishtira took place in January 3139 B. C.; and the Pandava brothers retire to forests after the destruction of the Yadavas, 37 years after assumption of power, that is to say in 3102 February. From this time is supposed to begin the Kaliyuga. At the commencement of this period there is another new order in India. The Yadavas retire from Dwarika, The most important kingdoms of this period are those of Magadha, Koshala, Kausambi, Panchala, Surasenas, Avanti, and Chedi. The dynastic lists are given in Pargiters dynastic lists of the Kali Age. From the birth of Parikshit to the destruction of the Vedic kingdoms by Mahapadma Nanda, the years of reigns of the kings of Magadha, added together give 1,504 years. The other dynastic lists do not give the periods of individual reigns.

Growth of Vedic Rituals.

It appears that the Kauravas after the battle of Kurukshetra begin to be called the Pandavas. But the 5th king after Parikshit seems to have abandoned Hastinapur, and fixed his headquarters at Kausambhi, a few miles west of Pratishthana, the ancient capital of the Pauravas and the Bharatas. During this period there are three dynasties in Magadha, the Brihadrathas, the Pradyotas, and the Sisunagas. The great Buddha was a contemporary of Bimbisara the fifth king of this last dynasty, and of Udayana the Pandava king of Kausambi, and of Prasenajit of the Koshala kingdom. It was during this period that the sacrificial ritual

of the Aryans developed. The Brahamana granhas were composed, the Aranyakas or Forest Books, and the Upanishadas were produced, and then after this the Sutra literature grew up. On astronomical grounds the date of the Satapatha Brahmana can be fixed at 3000 B. C. The date of the Chhandogya Brahmana can be calculated at 2500 B. C. We know that the Sutra literature was contemporaneous with the time of Buddha.

Reaction against Ritualism.

It was about the time of the Upanishadas, that the list of Nakshatras was again revised. The old Mrigshira list gave place to Krattika list in about 2500 B.C. There was soon a reaction against animal sacrifices, and the creed of non-violence gained ascendancy with Parasnath, the Jain leader and Siddhart, the Buddhist teacher. It is significant to note that both the Jain and Buddhist teachers belonged to the countries, where the Suryavanshis were predominant. As I have already stated the fire sacrifices and animal sacrifices were a peculiarity of the Chandravanshis. But it seems such practices had been adopted by the Suryavanshis also. But under the Jain and Buddhist reaction, they were given up. The period of animal sacrifices seems to have lasted from about 3500 B. C. to 1500 B. C. After 1500 B. C. the more important object of worship became the Surya, the presiding deity of Ashwini. Among those who did not turn Jain or Buddhist, Surya worship was the most popular. With the end of the period of the sacrifices, ends the Vedic Age.

Conclusion.

In this rapid sketch, I have tried to point out the existence of five distinct periods in the Vedic Age. We have so far neglected the information contained in the Puranas. But those statements in the Puranas which find corroboration in the Vedic, Jain, and Buddhist literature, should be accepted as trustworthy. I have tried to give above a connected and rationalised story of our political history of the Vedic Age as gathered from the Puranas. We can in this rationalised story trace not only our political, but also social, religious, and intellectual history of the Vedic Aryans. We can with the aid of the Puranas fill up the gaps, and reconstruct the entire history.

VII

“SAMATSI AND HIS NOTED PREDECESSORS”

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THE PREDECESSORS OF SAMATSI :—Before we take up the history of Samatsi, we shall try to deal with some of his noted predecessors.

GUHILA.—The dynasty to which Samatsi belonged is known in history as the Gahloti Dynasty of Mewar. The founder of the dynasty is spoken of as *Guhila* who started his dynasty approximately about 623 v.s. It seems that Guhila had been an independent prince round about

Agra because a number of silver coins were discovered at Agra, on which the words "Sri Guhila" were stamped.¹

The Chatsu inscription of Chatsu of 11th century A.D., not far from Agra, also gives a list of Guhila's descendants for 10 generations from Bhatttripatt I (Bhatttribhatt I) to Baladitya. This inscription gives the idea that the early Gahlots ruled in the districts contiguous to Chatsu near Agra.²

The Nasun inscription of v.s. 887 (830 A.D.) has been found in the village Nasun of Kharba circle in the district of Ajmere. Historians are of opinion that Dhanik and Isanbhatt mentioned, therein, as Mahamandalesvaras had connection with the Gohilas of Chatsu (Agra).³

The Samoli inscription of Siladitya,⁴ fifth in descent, from Guhila, has been kept in Rajputana Museum, Ajmere. If we accept 20 years as the average reign period of each of the four predecessors of Siladitya, we then arrive at the date of 623 v.s. (566 A.D.) when Guhila is expected to have lived.⁵

Any one of the three immediate successors of Guhila, namely, Mahendra, Bhoja and Naga, it seems, migrated towards Mewad as it is popularly believed that Nagahrada or Nagadraha and later on, called Nagda, was founded by Naga, the fourth prince from Guhila.⁶

The fifth prince of the Gahlot dynasty of Mewad named Sila or Saliditya in his Samoli inscription near Badnagar or Basantgarh or Basantpur in the Sirohi state speaks of the well-being of the people in general.

The sixth and seventh kings of the dynasty, Aparajit and Mahendra II were succeeded by Kalabhoj, popularly known in history as Bappa, according to Dr. Ojha. Many stories are current about the heroic exploits of Bappa, the 8th prince of the dynasty but they are to be taken at a discount. It is, however, certain that he succeeded in capturing Chittore from the Mauryan King Man of Mewad⁷. It is asserted that Bappa had built the temple of Eklingaji and through the blessings of Haritrshi succeeded in raising the status of Mewad in the political world. His date, according to Ojha, can be fixed 761 v.s. to 810 v.s. (704 to 753 A.D.) because the Eklinga-Mahatmya composed in Maharana Kumbha's time (1460 to 1525 v.s.) gives the date of Bappa as 810 v.s. Two coins of Bappa have been found, one has been noticed by M. M. Ojha and the other by Dr. Altekar as stated in a paper of the seventh Oriental Conference at Baroda.

The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th princes of the Gahlot dynasty were Khumman I, Mallat, Bhatttribhatt I (Bhattripat I) Sinha and Khumman II. The first four deserve no notice but the last one Khumman II has been given some prominence. Todd says that in the time of Khumman II, the Khalif of Bagdad, named Almamun (v.s. 870-890) had made an attack on Chittore and for his assistance numerous other princes of India flocked at Chittore to fight with the invader. At this time, the Muslims had conquered Sind and it is likely that the Khalif might have made an attack on Chittore. This account is based on

1. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. IV, p. 95.

2. E. I. Vol. III, pp. 13-17.

3. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report A.D. 1920-21, p. 31.

4. Nagari Pracharini Pustika Vol. I, pp. 311 to 324.

5. Ojha's History of Udaipur, pp. 402.

6. Ojha's History of Udaipur pp. 402.

7. Todd's Rajasthan Vol. I pp. 283-96.

Khumman Raso of the poet Daulat Bijoy of the seventeenth century and hence much reliance cannot be placed on it. Many of the kings and royal dynasties which have been mentioned in the poem did not exist at all.¹

We then pass on to the 14th, 15th, and 16th princes of the dynasty, *e.g.*, Mahayak, then Khumman III and Bhartipatt II and then take up Allat, the 17th prince. From the broken inscriptions, it seems that Allat might have fixed Ahad as his capital because he stationed himself here for a length of time although the old capital Nagada had been in existence. It might have been due to Ahad or Aghot being a sacred place.² (तीर्थ)

Having passed over Naravahana, we pass on to Salivahana, the 19th prince. In his time, some Gahlots from Kheda migrated to Anhilvad and entered the service of the Chaulukya King. A Gohil named Sahajig (Sejak) who had been appointed as a bodyguard of the Chaulukya King had been given fiefs or Jagirs in Saurashtra.³ Sahajig (Sejak) had two sons named Muluk and Somraj of whom Muluk succeeded to his father's pedigree. The ruling dynasties of Kathiawad, namely Bhownagar, Palitana, Rajpipala and Reva Kanta are all descended from him.³

Salivahana was succeeded by his son Sakti Kumar, the 20th prince of the Gahlot dynasty. Three inscriptions of his time have been found, of which the Ahad inscription⁴ dated v.s. 1034 (A.D. 977) speaks of him as furnished with three powers, *e.g.* power of control, power of spells or charm, vigour or energy and his capital Aghat was regarded as a centre of trade and commerce, hence a place of wealth and splendour. Big merchants had resorted to the city and enriched it with their riches.⁴

The Hasti Kundi or Hathundi inscription of Dhaval and his son Bala Prasad of v.s. 1053 (A.D. 997)⁵ states that when Munja, the famous Malva King, destroyed Aghat, the pride of Mewad, then Dhaval the Rastrakuta or Rathod chief rendered help to the Mewad king.⁵ Munja was a contemporary of Sakti Kumar and hence Munja's attack on Sakti Kumar appears quite possible. Munja had not only destroyed Aghat but had also taken possession of Chittore and the adjoining territories.

The occupation of Chittore is ascertained from the fact that Bhoja, son of Sindhul and nephew of Munja, resided for some time in the fort of Chittore and built a Śiva temple entitled Tribhavan Narayan in order to perpetuate his surname of Tribhavan Narayan.⁶ It is difficult to state how long Chittore remained in the hands of the Parmar princes. It is just possible that Chittore and the adjoining tracts might have passed into the hands of the Chaulukyas under Jaya Simha Siddharaj after the Malva war was over and its conquest was made by him about 1191 v.s. The fort of Chittore also came in possession of Siddharaj. Two inscriptions of Kumarpal predecessor of Ajaipal, have been obtained from Chittore, signifying Chaulukyan possession of Chittore.

During the reign of Amba Prasada, successor of Sakti Kumar, Chittore again passed on to the Gahlots from Ajaipal, an unworthy successor of Kumarpal.

1. Ojha's History of Udaipur, p. 424.

2. Ojha's History of Udaipur, p. 428.

3. Bhawahagar Inscriptions p. 158

4. I. A. Vol. 39. p. 191.

5. E. I. Vol. X n. 20 Slo. 10.

6. See Ojha's History of Udaipur: p. 455.

We then pass on to the 21st prince Amba Prasada. He was slain by the Chauhan king Bakpati Raj II.¹

The 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th princes namely Suchi Verma, Naraverma, Kirti Verma, Yograj, Vairat, Hamsapal and Vairi Singh deserve no notice. It may, however be remarked as a passing notice that Vairi Singh had *built the fort of the new city of Aghat*.

The 29th, prince Vijai Singh, son of Vairi Singh, had important family connections among the Rajput princes of Northern India. Vijai Singh had himself married the daughter of Udayaditya, Parmar king of Malva. His daughter, Alhan Devi was married with the Kalchuri king Gaya Karna Deva and again, the daughter of the Kalchuri king was married with Somesvar, the Chauhan king of Delhi and Ajmere whose son and successor had been Prithvi Raj Chauhan of historic fame. The 30th, 31st and 32nd Gahlot princes namely Ari Singh, Chod Singh and Vikram Singh may be passed over and next we pass on to Rana Singh or Karna Singh, the 33rd prince in whose reign, the main Gahlot line split up into two chief branches, namely Rawal and Rana, from his two sons Ksema Singh and Mahap respectively. Ekalinga Mahatmya composed in Rana Kumbha's time throws sufficient light on the subject. The Rawal branch remained in possession of Chittore and the other branch began to rule in Sisode as Jagirdars or fief-holders. The Rawal branch of Chittore came to an end with Rawal Ratan Singh and was succeeded by the Sisodia line under Rana Hamir who recovered Chittore from the Muslims by v. s. 1383 (A. D. 1326).²

Rawal Ksema Singh is the first Rawal prince of Chittore and was succeeded by Samatsi or Samant Singh or Samarsi of Raso fame.

Samarsi or Samatsi and Marriage with Prthavai :—Samatsi or Samant Singh has been called in the Prthvi Raj Raso of the poet Chand as Samarsi and it is current not only in Mewad but throughout the whole of Rajputana that the marriage of Prthavai, Sister of Prthvi Raj had taken place with Samarsi of Mewad who had been killed along with Prthvi Raj in the second battle of Tarain (1193 A. D.). This currency has been given effect to by the Prthvi Raj Raso and has been referred to in the Raj Prasasti Kavya.³ But the marriage of Rawal Samarsi (Samar Singh) with the sister of Prthvi Raj seems to be an impossibility because Prthvi Raj died in v. s. 1249 (A. D. 1192-93) and Rawal Samarsi (Samar Singh) had been alive up to v. s. 1358 (A. D. 1302).

In the Sambhar and Ajmere Chauhan line, there flourished three Prthvi Rajas and four Visal Devas but the Khyatas of Bhats and the Prthvi Raj Raso mention only one Prthvi Raj and one Visal Deva and the incidents of different sovereigns of the same name have been incorporated under one name in the Prthvi Raj Raso.

The inscription dated v.s. 1224, 1225, 1226 (A. D. 1167, 1168 and 1169) have been obtained of Prthvi Raj II and those of Samant Singh (Samatsi) of Mewad, so far obtainable, have been dated v. s. 1228 and 1236 (A. D. 1171 and 1176) and under such circumstances, it has to be accepted that Prthvi Raj II had, for some time at least, been a contemporary of Samant Singh or Samatsi.⁴ Mewad Khyatas write of Samant Singh as Samatsi and of Samar Singh Samarsi. The names Samatsi

1. Prithvi Raj Vijoy Sarg. 5.

2. Ojha "History of Udaipur" p. 447.

3. Ojha "History of Udaipur" p. 457.

4. Nagri Pracharini Patrika Vol. I p. 413 and note 57 p. 446.

and Samarsi resemble to some extent and the name Samarsi became prominent after the composition of Prthvi Raj Raso and in the days of historical ignorance, it was not important for one name replacing the other i. e. Samarsi taking the place of Samatsi. If any historical significance is to be attributed to the story of Prthavai, it can simply be said to consist in the fact that the sister of Prthvi Raj II of Ajmere was married to Rawal Samatsi of Mewad. In the Khyatas of Dungarpur, too, the marital relation of Prthavai with Samatsi has been stated.

A few Words about Samatsi's History:—We have been able to throw some light on the authentic history of Samatsi or Samarsingh. First of all, we have to take up *his fight with Guzarat*.

The fight between Samatsi and Guzarat cannot be traced from plates, inscriptions or the historical or literary works of Guzarat but the poet Somesvar, the priest of Chaulkya kings and author of Kirti Kaumudi says in the Vastupal and Tejpal Prasasti in the Luna Vasahi temple on Mt. Abu dated v. s. 1287. "The sword of Pralhadon, younger brother of Dharavarsa the Parmar king of Mt. Abu protected the ruler of Guzarat at a time when his strength had been very much reduced by Samant Singh."¹

Dharavarsa had been a vassal of the Solanki king of Guzarat and he might have sent his younger brother Pralhadon Dev to co-operate with the Guzarat king. This inscription, does not, however, clarify the Guzarat king whose power was destroyed by Samant Singh.

Two inscriptions of Samant Singh have been obtained so far, one is from village Jagat in the District of Chhappan of Mewad, contiguous to Madwad engraved on a pillar of the Devi temple dated 1228 v. s. (A. D. 1172)² and another has been engraved on the wall of the temple of Voresvar Mahadeo dated 1236 v. s. (A. D. 1179) and about a mile and half from the village Solaj in the Dungarpur state.³

Kumarpal occupied the throne of Guzarat from v. s. 1199 to 1230 (A. D. 1143 to 1174). After him, his nephew Ajaipal reigned from v. s. 1230 to 1233 (A. D. 1174 to 1177). After Ajaipal his young son Bal Mularaj reigned from 1233 to 1235 v. s. (1177 to 1179 A. D.) and his younger brother Bhima Dev II or Bhola Bhim again reigned from v. s. 1235 to 1298 (A. D. 1179 to 1242).

These four princes were contemporaries to Samant Singh. Of these four princes, Kumarpal had been a powerful sovereign and a supporter of Jainism. Some contemporary or later Jain writers have written on Kumarpal's life, but nowhere a fight between Kumarpal and Samant Singh of Guzarat has been dealt with although much light has been thrown on many of the obscure points of Kumarpal's life. Mulraj II and Bhima II young sons of Ajaipal succeeded him to the Patan throne by turns but both may be considered as unfit for fighting with Samant Singh. For this reason, it can be safely concluded that the fight of Samant Singh with the Guzarat king must have been with Ajaipal.

Somesvar, in his Suratotsava Kavya, 16th Sarga, gives an account of his forefathers and also mentions the services rendered by his predecessors to the contemporary Guzarat sovereigns. He writes in connection with his predecessor Kumar II that having worshipped "Siva Katukesvar" he

1. Abū Prasasti v. s. 1287 E. I. Vol. VIII p. 211.

2. Rajputana Museum Report A. D. 1914-15—p. 3 inscription No. 6.

3. Ojha's Translation of Todd's Rajasthan pp. 434—66, p. 3 inscription No. 7.

cured the intense pain of many wounds of king Ajaipal caused in many battlefields. This makes certain that in the fight with Samar Singh Ajaipal might have been badly wounded. Description of this battle is not found anywhere. The cause of this battle is also enveloped in mystery. It is presumed that Samarsingh might have had recourse to this battle in order to recover Chittore from the Solankis who had taken possession of it for long. The date of this battle may be fixed in v. s. 1231 *i.e.* 1174 A. D. or near about the date.

EXPULSION OF SAMATSI FROM CHITTORE

The inscription of Rawal Samarsingh of v. s. 1342 (A. D. 1285) states, "From him (Ksem Singh) was born Samant Singh more beautiful than cupid who wrested everything from his chiefs (*i.e.* Who wrested Jagirs or fiefs from his chiefs) and this caused a widespread discontent among his chiefs.

After him Kumar Singh, again recovered this earth from the enemy, this earth, which had never undergone separation from the Gohil dynasty and which had now been in the hands of enemies and whose glory had been dimmed on account of the loss of connection with the descendants of Khuman¹

From this version, we can deduce that before the recovery of the Mewad principality by Kumar Singh, it had passed into the hands of some enemy but Kumar Singh later on, recovered it from the enemy (his ancestral kingdom). The Abu inscription is silent over the identity of this enemy but the Kambhalgarh inscription of 1517 (A. D. 1460) of the time of Kumbha makes up the deficiency because it plainly states.² "A prince named Samant Singh was born on this earth, his brother was Kumar Singh who drove out from the country an enemy king named Kitu who had wrested the ancestral kingdom and after satisfying the Guzarat king, took possession of Aghatpur (Ahad) and himself became a real king." From this it is quite plain that the enemy king for whom Samant Singh had to leave his kingdom, was Kitu. Samant Singh had lost much of his power on account of his fight with Ajaipal of Guzarat and then, as learnt from the Abu inscription, he must have lost the co-operation of his chiefs on account of his ill-treatment of them as seen already and these facts must have given a suitable opportunity, to Kitu for wresting the realm from his hands.

THE IDENTITY OF KITU.

This Kitu had been the third son of Alhan Deva, the Chuhan Raja of Nadol (in the district of Godbad in the Jodhpur State). Being a brave and ambitious prince he wrested Jalore (Kanchangiri-Sonalgarh) from the

1. सामंतसिंह नामा कामाधिक सर्व सुन्दर शरीरः ।

भूपालोर्जान तस्माद् पृष्ठतसामंतसर्वस्वः ॥ ३६ ॥

षों (खों) मारण संततिवियोग विलक्षलक्ष्मी ।

मेनामदृष्टाविरहां गुहिलान्वास्य ।

राजन्वती वसुभतीमकरोत्कुमार

सिंहस्ततो रिपुगतामपहत्यभूयः ॥

आबू का शिलालेख, ई. एं. जि० १६ पृष्ठ० ३४६ ।

Kumbhalgarh Inscription unpublished. Ojha's History of Udaipur p. 451.

Parmars¹ and thereby succeeded in starting Sonegarh branch of the Chauhans and separate independent principality of his own.

He had also annexed the fort of Sivana (Jodhpore) to his own state by taking it from the Parmars.

The name of Kitu in the Chauhan inscriptions and plates is found as Kirtipal but he is well known in Rajputana as Kitu as is noticeable in the Khyatas of Mehta Nainsi and others of Rajputana. Only one inscription of Kitu dated v. s. 1218 (A. D. 1161) has been found so far². From this we learn that at that time his father had been alive and that he had received 12 villages as Jagirs, of which the premier village had been Noddulal (Narlal in the Godbad district of Modwad near the Mewad boundary). It is quite possible that Kitu had annexed the Mewad State after he had brought Jalor under his control and had established an independent principality because the Kumbhalgara inscription speaks of Kitu as Raja Kitu. It is gleaned from the Jalore inscription of v. s. 1239 (A. D. 1182) that Kirtipal's (Kitu's) son Samarsingh had been a king of Jalore and hence it can be deduced from it that Kirtipal must have ceased to exist before the date. Under such circumstances it can be stated that Kitu must have annexed Mewad between v. s. 1230 and 1236 (A. D. 1174 and 1175) in some year between the two dates.

MEHTA NAINSI AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE OF BAGAD.

When Mewad had been wrested from Samant Singh by Kitu (Kirtipal), he left for Bagad and there established a new principality afterwards known as Dungarpur and Banswara States where his descendants are still ruling.

Mehta Nainsi says in this connection Rawal Sumati (Samant Singh) had been a king of Chittore. His younger brother had served him very much, pleased with which he had promised to give away the principality of Chittore to him in gift. The younger brother in reply criticised the feasibility of the scheme when he himself remained in possession of the State. Samatsi then reaffirmed his statement whereupon the younger brother asked him to consult his chiefs. The chiefs were consulted accordingly by Samatsi and they all gave their consent to the change. Samatsi, then gave away the Kingdom to his younger brother and himself retired to Ahad. Later on, he left Ahad, too, thinking that the city lay within the gifted kingdom of Mewad.

At the time, the ruler of Bagad had been one Chausimull (Chauri Mal, in the Dungarpur Khyatas) and who had under him 500 Bhomias or fief holders. There resided one Dome, or untouchable whose wife was kept as a mistress by him. He used to make the Dome sing at night and lest he would run away, had mounted guards on him. Once getting an opportunity the Dome escaped from Bagad and having reached Ahad, persuaded Samatsi to take possession of Bagad. Samatsi had been in search of a new principality and the information obtained from the Dome induced him to start with five hundred of his followers for Bagad from Ahad. The place having been reached, the horses were let loose and his men were divided into two parties, one followed him closely and the other accompanied the Dome closely.

1, Kumbhalgarh Inscription unpublished. Ojha's History of Udaipur, p. 451.

2. E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 60—70.

The palace gate being reached, the guards were suddenly overpowered and put to death and the inner portion of the palace, when attacked, Chauri himself was killed while defending it.

Thus the fort of Bagad was captured by Samatsi and later on, he slowly extended his sway over the whole of Bagad.

This account of Mehta Nainsi is about 500 years later than the actual date of occurrence, in which, it is quite possible that there would be some shortcomings but the drift of the whole affair is practically the same. The inscription, also, confirms the statement of Nainsi that after expulsion from Mewad, Samatsi took possession of Bagad but the inscription, however, does not confirm the statement of Nainsi that the principality of Mewad was handed over by Samatsi to his younger brother rather willingly but on the contrary, we obtain confirmation of the fact that when the Chauhan king Kitu had wrested the State of Mewad from the Gohils for some time, the younger brother of Samatsi, Kumar Singh, after much effort, drove away the Chauhan prince Kitu from Mewad and became its ruler as has been recorded in the Abu and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions. Samant Singh or any of his descendants did not, in future, become sovereigns of Mewad and remained rulers of Bagad. The Gahlot state of Bagad was divided later on into the modern states of Banswara and Dungarpur.

VIII

THE KAKATIYAS AND SOUTH INDIAN POWERS

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The Kakatiyas of Warangal are one of the major dynasties of the Andhra country and played a prominent part in the medieval history of the Dekkan. They rose to power about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. The earlier rulers of the Kakatiya family came under the influence of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyan and were their feudatories from the middle of the 11th to the middle of the 12th century. Subsequently, they asserted their independence, emerged as one of the leading powers of the Dekkan and built a large empire. Contemporary inscriptions and literature contain numerous references to conflicts between the Kakatiyas and the rulers of South India. This paper is devoted to a study of these relations.

Beta I, the first known Kakatiya king, is described as "having obtained great wealth by churning the ocean that was the army of the Cola king".¹ This Beta was the ruler of a small tract of land in the Warangal district and could not ordinarily have come into conflict with the Colas of distant South India. Still, however, there was one occasion on which he could have fought with the Cola armies nearer his own principality. It is known that the Cola King Rajendra invaded Western Calukyan territory in 1008 A.D., met the Calukyan armies at Kollipaka and inflicted a crushing defeat on them.² Kollipaka is identified with Kulpak situated within 40 miles from Hyderabad. This

1. See inscription No. 1 of the Appendix of the Kakatiya Samcika edited by me.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—The Colas I p. 236.

place is so near Beta's principality that he could not have been a passive spectator of this invasion. It is not stated anywhere that he was a subordinate of the Calukyas at this time. It is likely that he led a rear attack against the Cola forces returning home after their victory at Kolipaka. Beta's son Prola I (1030—70) is also known to have come into conflict with the Colas. His general Bamma, of the Recerla family, took the lead in this connection. According to one source, "as soon as the bugles sounded, he drew aside the door of the city of Kanci, as if it were a curtain, and arranged for his overlord, the Kakati king, marriage with the goddess of victory."¹ According to another source, this Bamma "carried away the door of the city of Kanci and uprooted the tree of honour of the Coda king having sported in terrific battle."² Though independent under Beta I, the Kakatiyas seem to have come under the sway of the Calukyas of Kalyan in the time of Prola I. Prola is said to have rendered distinct service to the Calukyan king Trailokyamalla and obtained from him the Anamakondavisaya as a gift.³ It is likely, therefore, that Prola and his general were fighting the Colas on behalf of the Calukyas. It is known that the Colas invaded the Calukyan dominion in 1052 A.D. and that in a battle that was fought at Koppam, Rajadhiraja was killed. The Calukyas followed up their victory, pursued the enemy and sacked Kanci. It is probable that Prola and his general Bamma were included in these Calukyan forces and played a prominent part at Kanci.⁴ This Prola is also said to have "straightened the Ca-krakuta-visaya." This exploit too seems to have been achieved by him in opposition to the Colas for, the Cola king Virarajendra is known to have invaded Cakrakuta in 1068 A.D. and encountered opposition from Calukyan forces.⁵ Prola, as a prominent feudatory of the Calukyas, might have taken an active part in opposing the invading Colas at Cakrakuta.

The next generation of Kakatiya kings had no such exploits to its credit. Beta II was busy consolidating the Kakatiya kingdom. His son Prola II followed a policy of aggrandisement and was constantly fighting his neighbours. Ultimately he threw off the Calukyan yoke and founded an independent Kakatiya kingdom. Prola's son Rudradeva consolidated the eastern half of the Nizam's Dominions and even occupied the Draksharama region on the east coast. Meanwhile, important changes took place in the fortunes of both the Vengi Calukyas of the Andhra country and the Colas of South India. Rajendra, the Vengi Calukyan prince, succeeded to the Vengi throne after the death of his father in 1063 A. D. and seven years later ascended the Cola throne. He then began his rule over the Andhra and Tamil countries under the name Kulottunga. Vengi was being governed by his sons as viceroys for a few years and then left in charge of a local dynasty. This led to the rise of a number of minor families on the east coast, most of them acknowledging nominally the suzerainty of the Colas of South India. This was the situation by the beginning of the 13th century. It was also about this time that Ganapatideva, the greatest of the Kakatiyas, began the systematic conquest of the districts on the east coast. Thus he became an intruder into Cola territory. This rendered inevitable a conflict between the Kakatiyas and the Colas of South India.

1. Hyd. Arch. Ser. No. 3 verse 11.

2. Tel. Ins. Kak. No. 11.

3. Kak. Sam. App. Ins. No. 1.

4. Sewell—H. I. S. I. p. 75.

5. MER 182 of 1915.

Kulottunga III (1178—1218) the contemporary Cola king was a weakling and so many of his feudatories became troublesome. The Telugu Codas of Nellore were ruling over parts of the Cudapah and Chingelput districts besides their home province of Nellore as his vassals.¹ An inscription from Pudukottah dated in the 34th year of this monarch's reign states that he sent an expedition to the north which culminated in the subjugation of Vadugu and Vengimandalam, and in the recapture of Kanci.² It is known that this king was in Kanci in 1212 A.D.³ If so from whom did he reconquer the city? A record from the Nellore district, dated 1211 A.D., mentions that Tikka, the Telugu Coda prince of Nellore was in possession of Kanci.⁴ Obviously, the Telugu Codas made a temporary raid on the city in 1211 and Kulottunga reconquered it from them.

This Cola monarch's claims about the subjugation of Vengi seems to have been a mere boast, for, as early as 1209 A.D. Kakatiya Ganapatideva was in possession of part of the east coast and there is no evidence of a Cola invasion of this region subsequent to that date.⁵ Still, however Bhimanayaka, a minister of that monarch, is described in an inscription dated 1213 A.D. as "the plunderer of Kanci."⁶ Since, as stated above, Kulottunga was in possession of Kanci from 1212 A.D. onwards, Bhimanayaka's plundering of that city must have taken place prior to that date. It was perhaps connected with the Telugu Coda occupation of the city in the previous year. Probably, Ganapatideva concluded an alliance with the rulers of Nellore and despatched his minister at the head of an army in order to help them in their enterprise. He must have backed the Telugu Codas with the hope that they would be an effective barrier against Cola expansion from the south, especially in view of his own conquest of their former territories on the east coast. This view is supported by the fact that Manmasiddhi, son of Tikka, helped Ganapatideva in his Kalinga campaigns.⁷

The first half of the 13th century was a period of great confusion and disorder in South Indian history. Owing to the weakness of the contemporary Cola kings, the Pandyas and a later Pallava chieftain called Ko-pperunjinga became aggressive and each of them defeated and imprisoned his Cola overlord. The Hoysalas interfered in these politics, first sided the Cola and then the Pandya and complicated matters.⁸ Tikka, the Telugu Coda ruler of Nellore, who came to power in 1223 A.D. found it profitable to interfere in these tangled politics and held Kanci fighting with the Hoysalas and Ko-pperunjinga, on behalf of the Cola and thus tried to maintain the balance of power in South India.⁹ The ultimate result of these fights was the triumph of the Pandyas about the middle of the century.

The Pandya first turned his attention towards his rivals in South India and succeeded in repelling the Hoysala intruders and subjugating the Pallava chieftain. He then turned towards the north and the Cola

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—The Colas II pt. i. p. 107

2. Pudukottah inscriptions 163 and 165; S. I. I. III. 87.

3. MER 346 and 361 of 1919.

4. NDI p. 1254. Tikka was a prince at this time and did not succeed to the throne till 1223 A.D.

5. MER 803 of 1922.

6. Cf. his title Kanci-curakara in MER 47 of 1929-30.

7. *Ibid* 580 of 1907.

8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—Colas II pt. i. pp. 145—48, 172 and 199-200.

9. Tikkana—Nirvacanottararamayanamua, verses 33 and 34.

dominions in that direction which were then in the hands of Tikka. A number of inscriptions at Chidambaram refer to Sundara Pandya's attempts to conquer the Andhra districts and feudatories of the Colas. One of them ¹ states that he annihilated the forces of the Telingas that surrounded him. Another ² mentions that the Pandya conquered the kings of Venadu and those of the north (*i.e.*, Telugu country) and killed Gandagopala. A third epigraph ³ refers to Sundara Pandya's fight with the Telugus at Mudagur. It is known from other sources that the Pandya defeated Ganapati, conquered Kanci and performed Virabhiseka at Nellore. Evidently, the events mentioned above were parts of a single campaign. The Mudagur, referred to above, may be identified with the village of that name in the Chittore district. The course of events may then be stated as follows: alarmed at the rapid expansion of Pandyan power and worried about his own safety, Tikka seems to have appealed to his friend and ally Ganapatideva for help. The Kakatiya monarch sent an army to his aid. The combined forces marched into the Chittore district and encountered the Pandya while he was still on his way to the north and surrounded him. In the battle that ensued, the allies were defeated and fled to Kanci. The Pandyas pursued them and inflicted a second defeat on them near that city. Once again, the allies were defeated and Tikka died in the battle. The allies then retreated to Nellore but were again pursued by the enemy. Defeating them for a third time, Sundara Pandya entered Nellore, performed Virabhiseka and then returned home. Since it is known that Tikka died in 1249 A.D. and since in June of that year the Kakatiyas occupied Kanci, the exploits of Sundara Pandya, mentioned above, have to be ascribed to the early months of the year 1249 A.D. This Pandyan inroad into the Andhra country and the death of his friend and ally Tikka must have worried Ganapatideva considerably. It must therefore be as a measure of retaliation that he despatched his general Samantabhoja to the south in order to set matters right. This Kakatiya general instituted Manmasiddhi at Nellore, marched to Kanci, occupied that city, restored Telugu Coda authority there also and returned home. His occupation of the city was in June 1249 A.D. ⁴ and he seems to have stayed in it during the early part of the next year also. ⁵

Manmasiddhi was not, however, left in peace for a long time. Ko-pperunjinga seems to have taken advantage of the departure of Samantabhoja and occupied Kanci in 1253 A.D. ⁶ Next year, hostilities broke out between the Pandyas and the Hoysalas and once again Kanci became the objective of these rivals. Manmasiddhi was thus put to the necessity of rescuing the city from the Pallava and defending it against the attacks of the other rivals. He is said to have fought with the kings of Dravida and Karnata and a chieftain called 'Vijaya, ruler of Kongu. ⁷ He does not, however, seem to have fought with these enemies single handed but was aided by the Kakatiyas. Bappadeva, a subordinate of Ganapatideva is described as having shown to Samparaya the dance of the headless corpses of the enemy. ⁸ This Samparaya may be

1. MER 340 of 1913.

2. *Ibid* 354.

3. *Ibid* 361.

4. Ind. Ant. p. 122.

5. MER 2 of 1893.

6. Seweti-Hist. Ins. South. Ind. p. 150.

7. Tikkana—Nirvacanottaramayanamu verse 39.

8. MER 194 of 1905.

identified with Vijaya, the rival of Manmasiddhi and with Vijaya Sambuvaraya of other inscriptions. Since it is known that Ko-pperunjinga was at Kanci till July 1264¹ and since Manmasiddhi figures in the city in September of the same year,² the fights waged by the Telugu Coda chieftain may be ascribed to the intervening period.

There was serious trouble in the Kanci region in 1260 A.D. The rivalry between the Pandyas and the Hoysalas was brought to a close in 1255 A.D. by the triumph of Sundara Pandya. This was followed by the submission of the Pallava to the Pandya. Curiously enough, the Pallava figures at Kanci in 1260 A.D.³ About the same time the Pandyan king is described as an enemy of Gandagopala and Ganapati.⁴ It is said that he marched through the territories of Ko-pperunjinga and Gandagopala, driving the Telugu troops before him, as far north as Nellore, had himself crowned in that town and then returned home.⁵ It is remarkable that Ko-pperunjinga was in Kanci in 1261 A.D. and at Draksharama in the east Godavary district in 1262 A.D.⁶ Manmasiddhi figures in the Nellore and Chingelput districts only in 1263 A.D.⁷ and at Kanci⁸ in 1265 A.D. Obviously, the Pallava fled to Kanci in 1260 A.D. unable to withstand the pressure of the Pandya. Manmasiddhi seems to have been driven out of Nellore and Chingelput by the Pandya and was probably biding his time in the Kakatiya empire. Ko-pperunjinga might have taken advantage of this, entered the coastal districts and pressed on as far north as Draksharama. Ganapatideva retired from active politics in 1260 A.D. and was busy making arrangements for the future succession to the Kakatiya throne. For this reason, the Pandyan aggression into the Telugu Coda territory went unchallenged for the time being. Ko-pperunjinga, however, was taught a lesson and made to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ganapatideva and allowed to retire to his province.

Even in the time of Rudramba, the daughter and successor of Ganapatideva, the Kakatiyas had considerable trouble from the South Indian rulers. Several enemies were present at Tripurantakam during the early years of her reign obviously in order to create trouble. One of these rivals was the Cola king Rajendra, who seems to have been in the southern part of the Kakatiya empire in his fifteenth year. Another was Ko-pperunjinga, who also figures at Tripurantakam. These rivals were given a hot reception. Ambadeva, the Kayastha feudatory of Rudramba, is described as "the worster of Kadavaraya."⁹ Another subordinate of the Kakatiya queen, Gona Gannaya Reddi, is described as "Cola-gajala-vira."¹⁰ Probably, the Pallava reached Tripurantakam soon after leaving Draksharama and wanted to avenge himself on the Kakatiyas by creating trouble in the region. Ambadeva met him and drove him away from the empire. The Cola king too was similarly defeated and driven away by Gannaya Reddi. These two South Indian

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1. Sewell—Hist. p. 150.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. MER 38 of 1890.
 4. *Ibid* 32 of 1891.
 5. Sewell—His. p. 151-155.
 6. S. I. I. IV. 1341, 1342 and 1342 n.
 7. MER 239 of 1922 and NDI p. 442.
 8. MER 27, 35 and 36 of 1890.
 9. MER 268 of 1905.
 10. See ins. No. 33 of the Kakatiya Samcika edited by me.

rulers seem to have made bold to invade the Kakatiya empire because of the succession of a woman to the throne.

There was comparative peace till 1285 A.D. The next five years witnessed remarkable happenings, Vikrama Pandya who came to power in 1283 A.D. is said not to have invaded the Andhra country because there was a woman with the name of a man ruling there. But he was an enemy of Manmasiddhi alias Gandagopala.¹ This enmity developed into a serious conflict and soon the Kakatiyas were also involved in it. Sundara Pandya is said to have suppressed a number of local risings in the Chingelput district in 1288 A.D. The injured appealed to Pottapiraja who may be identified with Manmasiddhi. This brought the Pandya once again into the Chingelput district. His inscriptions are to be found in large numbers at this time in that district and the Cuddapah district also.² Curiously, no records of Manmasiddhi are to be found in this region or at Kanci between 1288—90 A.D. Probably, he lost all these territories once again to the Pandyas and went into exile in the Kakatiya empire. Thus, the Kakatiyas had to interfere once again on behalf of their Telugu Coda allies. An inscription from Tripurantakam of Ambadeva indicates the nature of this interference. This record states that Ambadeva "churned the ocean of enemies and obtained therefrom the wealth of horses and elephants, the Pandyas that were the Kalpaka trees and the nectar of glory." He is also said to have restored at Vikramasimhapura, Manmagandagopala, who had lost his kingdom. Ambadeva's brother Tripurantaka is described in the same record as "having ruled the earth between the sea and Kanci." Obviously the Pandyas captured both Kanci and Nellore in 1290 A.D. Tripurantaka seems to have recaptured Kanci while Ambadeva marched against Nellore, occupied it and restored Manmasiddhi in the city. This justifies his title "Rayasthapanacarya." So far matters were all right but very soon there was a change in the situation. Ambadeva suddenly changed his front, entered into treacherous negotiations with the Pandyas and Yadavas and threw off the Kakatiya yoke. All these enemies were concentrated on the southern border of the Kakatiya empire. The sequel to this critical event may be gathered from a number of Kakatiya records. An inscription dated 1291 A.D. describes Prataparudradeva, the yuvaraja of Rudramba, as "the lion to the Pandyas."³ Adidamma, one of the generals of this monarch, is described in a record of 1295 A.D. as "the cutter of the head of Manmagandagopala."⁴ Rudrayapeddi, another general is called "the rescuer of his overlord's kingdom."⁵ One Manmagandagopala figures as a feudatory of Prataparudradeva and is described in an inscription of 1297 A.D. as "the burner of the capital of the Seuna king" and a fire for the crying up of the ocean of Dravida forces."⁶ Obviously, Manmasiddhi also was induced by Ambadeva to join the hostile confederacy. The Kakatiyas seem to have lead three campaigns to the south in order to put down these troubles. Prataparudradeva himself led one section of the army against the Pandyas and defeated them. Adidamma marched against Nellore, met Manmasiddhi and killed him in an encounter. Manmagandagopala, proceeded

1. MER 123 of 1888, 32 of 189; and 336, 365 of 1913.

2. Cf. MER 173 and 268 of 1905.

3. MER-32 of 1929-30.

4. *Ibid* 179 of 1905.

5. *Ibid* 82 of 1929 30.

6. SII IV. No. 661.

into the Ceded districts and attacked the Yadavas. The arms of the Kakatiyas were successful everywhere and the mischief created by Ambadeva and the rulers of South India was put down.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a civil war in the Pandyan country and so the southern border of the Kakatiya empire was comparatively safe. In 1311 A.D. Malik Kafur, the celebrated general of Allauddin Khilji, invaded South India and this brought in another period of disorder and confusion. In 1313 A.D. Ravivarman the ruler of Kerala, invaded the Pandyan country, pushed up to Kanci drove away the Telugu Cudas from there and occupied the city.¹ Soon after this, rivals in the Pandyan country made up their differences and put pressure on the home province of the Kerala ruler. Ravivarman had to leave Kanci as a consequence and the Pandyas occupied the city. These developments perturbed Prataparudradeva, the contemporary Kakatiya ruler. He therefore led a grand campaign to the south in order to put down this Pandyan aggression. The Arulalperumal inscription of this monarch's general Muppidi nayaka states that this general vanquished the rulers of the south, conquered Kanci and instituted therein Manavira.² According to a Draksharama inscription recently published,³ Pedda Rudra, son of Muppidi nayaka defeated two chieftains called Srirangaraja and Kota Tikka, vanquished numerous rulers in the neighbourhood of Narayanavanam, entered the Hoysala territory and defeated the Ballala. He is then said to have conquered many rivals at Ginjee. Finally, he went to Kanci and joined Prataparudradeva.⁴ A fragmentary inscription from Jambukesvaram mentions that Devarinayanimgaru a famous Kakatiya general, encountered Vira Pandya at Tiruvadikundram and defeated him. He next met Sundara Pandya and inflicted a crushing defeat on him also. Erradaca nayadu of the Padmanayaka family of Kakatiya subordinates, claims to have fought a battle at Nellore and instituted in that town a Teluga Coda chieftain. He is also credited with having defeated the elephant forces of the Pandyas.⁵ Annayadeva of the Induri family is also described as having fought with the Pandyas while his nephew Rudradeva is said to have defeated the five Pandyas.⁶ Prolaya Vema, another Reddi subordinate, had the title "Cencu-mala-curakara." In the light of these references, the course of events in this campaign may be stated as follows: Prataparudradeva instructed Muppidi nayaka to invade Kanci and himself moved in that direction. Immediately after the departure of this general, Ranga, probably a scion of Telugu Coda family, raised a rebellion at Nellore aided by the chiefs of Narayanavanam and the Hoysalas. Then the Kakatiya monarch dispatched part of his army to Nellore under the lead of Pedda Rudra, Prolaya Vema, Devarinayanimgaru and Erradaca. These generals vanquished the enemies and restored Manmagandangopala to his ancestral throne, at Nellore. About this time, Muppidi nayaka drove away the Pandyas and occupied Kanci. A number of Tamil chiefs, obviously Pandayan subordinates, must have attempted to send reinforcements to Kanci, whereon the Kakatiya generals besieged Ginjee and prevented this attempt. While the

1. MER 34 of 1890.

2. E. I. VII. pp. 128—32.

3. Jour. Or. Res. XII. pp. 213—16.

4. SII IV. No. 432.

5. Mack. Mss. 15-4-40 p. 37.

6. See verses 44 and 45 of the Introduction of the Sivayogasaumu published in the Appendix of my *Kakatiya Samcika*.

Pandya were retreating through the South Arcot district, Devarinayanagaru encountered Sundara Pandya and vira Pandya and defeated them. These events have to be assigned to 1318 A.D. the year of Muppidi nayaka's gift in the Arulalperumal temple at Kanci.

Very soon after this incident, the Kakatiyas were engaged in a critical struggle with the Muhammadans in the north and their empire finally succumbed to the consistent invasions of the Sultanate in 1323 A.D.

IX

MINISTERS AND SOME OTHER OFFICERS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF ANHILVADA

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SOURCES.—The Chaulukyas or Solankis of Anhilvada had succeeded in establishing a vast empire extending over Gujrat, major portion of Rajputana and parts of Malwa. It is no exaggeration to say that they had succeeded in evolving an elaborate machinery of Government but unfortunately we do not find any work in politics and administration of the time which have dealt with it. Popular tradition states that Arhan-niti of Hemchandra, the famous Jain scholar and the spiritual guide of Kumarpal, which deals with politics and administration, serves the purpose, but its authenticity is doubted by some modern scholars.

We shall, however, try to deal here with the names and work of some Chaulukyan officers, specially ministers, which we have been able to pick up from literary and epigraphic sources. Pt. Durga Shankar K. Sastri's Gujrat History on Medieval Rajput period of Gujrat had been of considerable help in supplying us with the necessary data and we acknowledge our debt to him. The original sources referred to have been mentioned in their proper places.

MULRAJ AND HIS OFFICERS.—(i) Beneficence (Dana). The Prabandhakaras speak highly of Mulraja's beneficence. Although only three plates dealing with his gifts (दानम्) have been found, still they do not show that his gifts were so few in number. Many plates might have been lost. Hemchandra says "Mulraj had been a worshipper of Brahmins and a fulfiller of the desire of those seeking help."¹

Somesvara in his Kirti Kaumudi says, Mulraja's acts of charity had vanquished poverty.²

Prabandha Chintamani says "The creeper of charity planted by Bali, bore fruits under Mulraj, the noted bestower of gifts."³

The plate of v. s. 1043 states that Mulraja's hands had been moistened through the water of gifts.⁴

(ii) OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITY AND RELEVANT BRANCHES.—The Sridhar Prasasti of Prabhas Patan dated

1. Dva. Sar. 1, Slo. 181—184.

2. दानोपहृद्-शरिद्र शौर्यनिर्जितदुर्जनं । Kirti Kaumudi Sar. 2, Slo. 5,

3. Parabandha Chintamani, p. 51, Slo. 27.

4. 'दानतोयाद्रीकृतकरः' Plate of 1043 v. s.

v. s. 1273, states that through the help of Udyabhata, the primordial ancestor of Nagar Brahmins and a predecessor of Sridhar, Mulraj had succeeded in carving out a principality for himself after vanquishing his enemies and had given charge of supervision of the Department of Public Charity and relevant branches to his three sons, Madhav, Lool and Bhav, *e. g.*, inspection and supervision of wells, tanks, reservoirs, temples, monasteries and others.

It is likely that the account given in a Prasasti composed after many years may contain exaggerated facts but the concluding portion states that Madhav had been a friend of Mularaj and occupied the position of a premier or Mahamatya and he gave away in gift, the village of Kanhesvara to one Chamund who had been his father's friend.¹ It may be surmised that Madhav had been minister of Public Charity (धर्मदाय).

The plates are, however, silent about the ministers. Their names have not been given. The writer of the plate of v. s. 1030 has been mentioned in the last as "Kel." The same functionary has been mentioned in another plate as 'Kanchan,' son of Jejjan.

One plate mentions the name of Dutak as Mahattam Sivaraj. The plates do not mention the name of Sandhi Vighraha along with the Dutak. They, however, contain the signature of Mulraj according to the traditional practice.

(iii) PUROHIT OR THE PRIEST.—Somesvar, an earlier poet than Sridhar, while narrating his genealogy states that his primordial ancestor Sola (सोल), a Nagar Brahmin was selected as a priest by Mularaj.²

The Purohit occupied an important position in Medieval as well as early Hindu polity. He was in charge of all religious functions and was regarded as the spiritual co-adjutor of his sovereign from the early Hindu times. We shall be able to trace in the course of this paper, the part played by the Purohit in Chaulukyan polity.

(iv) MINISTERS.—Vira Mahattam had acted as a minister of Mulraj in various departments as learnt from the Abu Inscription of 1202 v. s.³

According to the commentator of Dvasryaya, Jambak and Jehul had acted as Mahamantri (Premier) and Ranak of Kherahu respectively.⁴ The names may not be correct but there is no harm in accepting them as titles.

As the founder of a new dynasty Mulraj cannot be expected to have planted a complete machinery of Government but there is no harm in accepting that it consisted, at least, of the following functionaries, namely, the Purohit (priest), दानाध्यक्ष (Superintendent of Public Charity) लेखक (Writer of plates and state Documents), सान्धि-विग्रहिक (Minister of Peace and War or Foreign Minister) and one or two nobles known as Ranakas *e. g.* The Ranak of Kheralu.

Mulraj in his plates simply speaks of "all royal officers" and it is likely that the Chaulukyan system of Government might have been laid down on the Ballabhi model supplemented by the Pratihara and Rastrakuta innovations.

DURLABH RAJ AND HIS PUROHIT.—Munja, grandson of Sola Varma acted as the priest or Purohit of Durlabh Raj and Lalla, father of Munja, served as a priest to Chamund, son of Mulraj.

1. E. I. Vol. II p. 437.

2. Suratsava-Sarg. 15 Slo. 8.

3. Prachin Jaina Lekh Samgraha, p. 145.

4. Deva. Sar. 2 Sl. 56.

From the Jain sources, we learn that the Jain Acharya Jainesvar Suri used to attend the court and help in the general administration of the State with his sage counsel.¹

BHIMA DEVA I AND HIS OFFICERS.—The copper-plate of 1086 v. s. states that Batesvar, son of Kanchan, was the writer and Chand Sarma, the Samdhi Vighrahik.

Mantri Bimal had been the Dandpati (Governor of Chandravati) and had built the famous temple of Lunavasahi on Mt. Abu.²

The Prabandhas state that Damar or Damodar had been a Samdhi Vighrahik who had acted as an ambassador in the court of Bhoja I of Malva. The history of Jain Literature of Mr. M. D. Desai of Bombay states that Jahilla was the minister of finance.³

The Priest of Bhima Deva I had been Some, son of Munja, the priest of Durlabh Raj.⁴ Bhav, the grandson of Madhav, the Nagar minister of Mulraj had been a friend of Bhima Deva I according to Sridhar Prasasti⁵. An inscription of the minister Bhav dated v. s. 1119 has been obtained from Mt. Abu.⁶

KARNA I, HIS MINISTERS AND PUROHIT.—The Sunak plate of Karna I of 1148 v. s. states that Kayastha Batesvar was writer and Kekkak had been the Akshapatalik and the Samdhi Vighrahik was Sri Chahil, and Dhavalake son of Nedh, brother of minister Bimal, had been a minister of Karna I according to Mall Charit, a Prakrit poem, written by Hari Bhadra Suri, a contemporary of Kumarpal.⁷

Minister Munjal who has been referred to in Prabandha Chintamani as a minister of Karna I has been definitely stated as holding the post of premier or महामात्य in the Pushpika of a Jain work.⁸

Bilhana in his Karna Sundari Natika speaks of Sampatkar as Mahamatya (Premier) and he again, is spoken of in Prabandha Chintamani as Santu.⁹

The priest of Karna I had been Am Sarma, a descendant from the priestly line of Mulraj I. It is said that when Malva was attacked by Karna I and was filled with Solanki forces, the priest of the Malva king created a Kritya (a spirit) through the force of spell or charms and thereby wanted to destroy the Malva forces but Am Sarma, the Solanki priest retracted this effort by the force of his Mantra or charms and made the spirit, on the contrary, slay the Malva priest.¹⁰ Thus ultimately the forces of Guzrat became victorious.

JAYA SINIHA SIDDHARAJ, HIS MINISTERS AND OFFICERS.—Bilhana gives the name of Santu or Sampatkar as Mahamatya (premier) in the time of Karna I as well as in the early part of Siddharaj's reign¹¹ and from

1. Apabhramsa Kavyatrayai, Introduction pp. 10-13 original, p. 108.

2. Bharat Ka Prachin Raj Vans Book I, p. 288.

3. आसीत्तत्र विचित्र श्री मज्जाहित संज्ञया ।

व्याकरण पदामात्यो नृपतेः श्री भीमदेवस्य ।

History of Jain Literature of M. D. Desai note, p. 233.

4. Suratotsava Solo. 15-16.

5. Sridhar Prasasti Slo 24—E. I. Vol. II., p. 437

6. E. I. Vol. IX, p. 148.

7. Buddhi Prakas Jan. 1929, p. 10.

8. The Mahamatya Munjal got a copy of योगदण्डि समुच्चय of Haribhadra Suri written in v. s. 1176 Peterson's Report Vol. V. App. I, p. 29.

9. History of Jain Literature, p. 220.

10. Suratotsava Prasasti, Sl. 20.

11. Prabhabak Charit, p. 216.

a Jain work we find the name of Munjal as Mahamatya (premier)¹. It seems from both the versions that the two ministers were present in Siddharaj's time as holding the post of a minister. If we take it for granted that the post of Mahamatya (premier) could be held by one person only at a time, we find then that minister Santu had been called Mahamatya (premier) in the beginning of the reign of Siddharaj and then Munjal might have held the post of Mahamatya in the time of Karna I and after Siddharaj's accession, when Santu held the post of Mahamatya, he might have reverted to some other post.²

During the latter part of Siddharaj's reign, Nagar Dadak occupied the post of Mahamatya as found in Bhadresvar Inscription (Cutch) of 1195 and Ujjain inscription of this year.³

The Puspika of a manuscript informs that the post of Mahamatya was held by Asuk in 1179 v. s.⁴ Through the inspiration of the premier or Mahamatya Asuk in 1179 v. s.⁴ Siddharaj started for Satrunjay. At the time of Kumad Chandra's disputation, the Mahamatya Asuk had been present.⁵

Jain Prabandhas generally mention the name of Jain ministers and this is the reason why the Prabandhas are silent about Dadaḥ who had not been a Jain. But we, however, find the mention of the Nagar minister Gangil⁶ in connection with the disputation between Deva Suri and Kumud Chandra which took place in v. s. 1081.⁶ If this fact be true, minister Gangil might have been अक्षपटलाध्यक्ष at the time (The officer in charge of the Secretariat Department). The existence of the minister is proved from the Puspika of a Prakrit work named 'Puspavati Katha'. The minister Udayana is referred to in many Prabandhas.

We surmise from the account given in the Prabandhas that the governors in charge of Saurashtra, Lata, and other Mandals were spoken of as Mantris. According to this practice or custom, Minister Sajjan was appointed as the governor of Saurashtra. Sri Chandra Suri, author of Mun Subrat Charit before his hermitage stage, i.e. in the household life had adorned the post of Mint-minister or minister of the Exchequer.⁸ Kesava had been the governor of Godhra and Madhava, governor of the newly conquered province of Malwa and Udayana, for some time during the reign of Siddharaj, occupied the post of the governor of Khambhat, according to the various lives of Kumarpal⁹. It is to be borne in mind in this connection that the officers of the Royal Treasury, those of the Royal Secretariat, etc., holding high or low ranks, were designated as Mantris or ministers. The commentator of Simha Deva Gani of the Baghbhattalankar speaks of Baghbhatta as महामात्य.¹⁰ Mr. Desai also mentions the names of Anand and Prithvipal as Jain minister of Siddharaj.¹¹ The Prasasti of a Jain work states that Prithvipal held the

1. Prabandh Chintamani, pp. 118, 120, 123, etc.

2. Sastri p. 264.

3. Archaeological Survey of Western India No. 2 appx., p. 15

4. History of Jain Literature, p. 247.

5. History of Jain Literature, p. 247.

6. Prabhabak Charit, p. 270.

7. History of Jain Literature, p. 252.

8. History of Jain Literature, p. 221.

9. Prabandh Chintamani, p. 165.

10. Baghbhattalankar, Sl. 148.

11. History of Jain Literature, Sl. 148.

post of minister even in Kumarpal's time.¹ One inscription of Prithvipal states that his father Anand had been a Mahamatya.²

The Prabhandhas state that ministers Santu and Munjal had built in Patan two premises named Santu Vasahika and Munjal Vasahika.³

The Prabandhas also state in detail how a merchant Uda came to Karnavati, enriched himself and later on held the high posts of a governor and minister in the name of Udayana during the successive regimes of Siddharaj and Kumarpal.⁴

THE PUROHIT OR PRIEST.—The priest of Siddharaj had been Kumar, a Nagar Brahman descended from Sole of Badnagar whose line had been acting as priests from the time of Mulraj. Somesvar says that the priest had performed many sacrifices and had excavated many tanks.⁵

The Sridhar Prasasti says that Sobh, descended from the Nagar Brahman Udyabhatt of Badnagar, had been a friend of Siddharaj.⁶ Sastri thinks that one Bhav who had been a supporter of Deva Suri in the disputation with Kumud Chandra might have been the father of Sobh.⁶

KUMARPAL, HIS MINISTERS AND OTHER OFFICERS.—Prabhandh Chintamani states that King Kumarpal in return for the services rendered to him by Udayana made his son Bagbhatt, his महामात्य (premier).⁷ But Jaya Sinha Suri, Jin Mandan Gani and other later writers contend that Udayana was given the post of Mahamatya and his son Bagbhatta was made simply a minister but at the same time was vested with the right of exercising his powers in all government affairs.⁸ Prabhandh Chintamani being the oldest work, we regard its version as quite correct and consider the statement of Udayana being the prime minister in Kumarpal's time as incorrect.

The above question requires rather a detailed study of Bagbhatt. The later Prabhandhas hold Bagbhatt as prime minister or महामात्य in the same breath. Not only this but in Dvasraya also, we find Bagbhatt mentioned as a minister.⁹ Here, however, Bagbhatt is not mentioned as the son of Udayana. This silence signifies the existence of a second Bagbhatt in the time of Jaya Sinha Kumarpal. This second Bagbhatt had been the son of Some. He had written a small work on Rhetorics named Bagbhattalankar.¹⁰ Its commentator Sinha Gani speaks of Bagbhatt as a महामात्य or premier.¹¹ The Bagbhattalankar refers to Siddharaj in connection with Bagbhatt.¹² The Prabhabak Charit alludes to one Bahad alias Bagbhatt who had built a Jain

1. Apabhhransa Kavyatrayi, p. 79 and History of Jain Literature p. 279.

2. Prachin Jain Lekh Sangraha, p. 381.

3. Pravandh Chintamani, p. 118, 120.

4. Pravandh Chintamani, p. 118, 119.

5. Suratotsava Sar. 15, Sl. 21—22.

6. शोभामिथः प्रिय सुहृद् जयसिंह नाम्नः Sridhar Prasasti, Sl. 25 E. I Vol. II.

7. Pabandh Chintamani, p. 167.

8. Kumarpal Ch. Sar. 3, Sl. 476 (Jaya Sinha Suri) and Kumarpal Pravandh, p. 34 which says “राजनीति विदा राजा पूर्वोपकारेण उदस्यनाय महामात्य

पदं दत्तं । तत्पुत्रो वाग्भटः सकलराजकार्यव्यापारेषु व्यापारितः ।

9. Dvasraya Sar. 20, Sl. 91-92

10. This work has been published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay.

11. Bagbhattalankar, Sl. 148 Commentary.

12. Baghbattalankar, Sl. 45, 76, 81, 85, 125, 129, 132, etc.

temple in v. s. 1179.¹ and it is guessed that this Bahad can be identified with the Bahad or Baghbhatt of Baghbhattalankar because in this work the religious measures of Bahad, son of Udayana, have been given a separate treatment. Taking everything into consideration, it has to be taken as a settled fact that a Bahad or Baghbhatt flourished as a poet in Siddharaja's time. This too, is certain that in the time of Kumarpal there was a Bahad who held the position of his Mahamatya because the statement of Dvasraya has been supported by the copper-plate of Nadol of v. s. 1213.² This contemporary record (copper-plate), however, does not mention the name of Bahad's father and hence it is difficult to identify the Bahad of the plate either with the son of Some or with the son of Udayana. It is likely that there might have been a third Baghbhatt or Bahad and the Bahad of the plate can be identified with him. The question of identification is thus beset with difficulties.

The Prabhandhas give a detailed account of the measures adopted by Baghbhatta, son of Udayana, in order to carry out his father's last wishes. They are :—

(i) The temple of Adinath in Satrunjay formerly made of wood, was repaired and a temple of stone made in its place. A flag staff was placed on its spire in 1211 v. s.

(ii) A town named Baghbhattpur was planted in the valley of the Satrunjay hill.

(iii) The Tribhavan Vihar was constructed in the town and for the worship of the Deity in the Vihar, gardens were laid out. The entire expense of the temple, repair and other connected work, amounted to one crore and sixty lacs of rupees.³

As the commander of the royal forces, Baghbhatt's brother Ambad or Amrabhatt had displayed splendid courage in fighting with Mallikarjun in Konkan (Cocan). He had built the Sakoni Vihar in Bharuch (Broach) in 1211 v. s.⁴ and is also differently dated in 1222 v. s. by another writer. This Amrabhatt might have been the governor of Bharuch (Broach).

The third son of Udayana named Chahad was sent as the commander of the royal forces against the ruler of Sapad Laksa. The Udaipur inscription (Gwalior) of v. s. 1222 records the gifts of a village in Bhangari Chatusasthi by one Chahad whom we identify with the Chahad, the son of Udayan. It is also stated in the inscription that this Chahad had been the governor of Malwa.⁵

This Chahad had seven sons as ascertained from a broken inscription at Girnar which states that the eldest of the seven named Kumar or Kumar Singh had been the officer in charge of the Kostagar (Royal Treasury),⁶ and this, too, we learn that this officer, later on, held the post of Mahamatya from the Prasasti of a Jain work.⁷

The fourth son of Udayana named Solak who acted as a Mandalik received the surname of Satragar and hereby, it seems that he had been in charge of sacrificial institutions.⁸

1. Prabhabak Charit, Sl. 67 to 73.

2. I. A. Vol. 1912, p. 203.

3. Prabhandh Chintamani, pp. 183 to 184.

4. Prabhandh Chintamani, pp. 185 to 187.

5. E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 344 Gurjar Aitihasik Lekh No. 151,

6. Prachin Jaina Lekh Sangraha, pp. 92 to 94.

7. Jessalmere Catalogue, p. 11.

8. Prabandh Chintamani, p. 198.

THE MAHAMATYAS OR PREMIERS OF KUMARPAL.—We have already noted the names of two Mahamatyas or premiers, *e. g.*, Bahad and Kumar Singh. Besides, we find other names also. The Kiradu inscription of v. s. 1209 and the Bali inscription of v. s. 1216,¹ mention the name of one Mahadeo as Mahamatya. We have noted already in the chapter on Siddharaj one Mahadeo, son of Mahamatya Dadak of the Nagar line as governor of Malwa as mentioned in the Ujjain inscription of v. s. 1195². This Mahadeo might have been promoted to premiership in the time of Kumarpal. If this identification be correct, then Mahadeo might have remained as Mahamatya from the beginning of Kumarpal's reign up to 1216 v. s. because we have noted above that Bahad had been Mahamatya somewhere in the interim in 1213 v. s. Later on between 1218—23 v. s. Yasodhaval held the post of Mahamatya as mentioned in the Puspika of a Jain work as well as in the Udayapur (Gwalior) inscription of 1218-20 v. s.³

Later on Kumar or Kumar Singh acted as Prime Minister or Mahamatya in 1224 v. s. and Bayughana managed the affairs of the Exchequer. This fact is learnt from the Prasasti of different Jain works.⁴

From the Prasasti of a Jain work we find the name of the Mahamatya Prithvipal⁵.

This Prithvipal had repaired the temple of Vimal Vasahi⁶. The other noted premier is Kapardi who has been spoken differently by different authors.⁸ Prabandh Chintamani states that he had been instrumental in setting up an incentive for Kumarpal to learn Sanskrit.⁸

Prabandh Chintamani also mentions an old minister named Alig.

During the period under survey, the officers in charge of the different branches of administration and Heads of Departments were designated as ministers. They used to go to fight as commanders of forces and were also appointed as governors of provinces and they were all included in the ministry.

THE GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES IN KUMARPAL'S TIME.—Sajjan had been the governor or Dandnayak of Chitod as is ascertained from a Chitod inscription.⁹

It is difficult to identify this Sajjan, whether he had been the Sajjan of Siddharaj's time who had been governor of Saurashtra or whether he had been the potter who according to Jaya Simha Suri, had helped Kumarpal in his troublous days and had saved him from arrest by concealing him amidst heaps of earthen pots. Pt. Sastri, however, doubts this identity as he argues that a potter had no chance of being appointed as the governor of Chitod.¹⁰

1. Puratatva Book IV Ch. 1-2.

2. Puratatva Book Ch. 12 p. 248.

3. History of Jaina Literature, p. 279 and I. A. Vol. XVIII, p. 343.

4. Jessalmere Catalogue, p. 17—39.

5. Prasasti of Malli Nath Charit (Apabhramsa Kavyatrayi, p. 79).

6. Prachin Jaina Lekh Samgrah, p. 157.

7. Prabhandh Chintamani p. 187, 188, 190 and others.

8. Prabandh Chintamani, p. 193 and 167.

9. E. I. Vol. II, p. 422.

10. Sastri, p. 320.

11. Mangrol Sothdi Inscription Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, p. 246.

The inscription of Bhatunda of 1210 v. s. and the inscription of Sevadi of 1213 v. s. as well as the inscription of Bali of 1216 state that Chahad was the governor of Malwa. One Sahajig, son of Sahar, who had been a bodyguard of Siddharaj, had been appointed Dandnayak or Governor of Saurashtra by Siddharaj and had founded the Gohil Dynasty of Kathiawad. His son Some had succeeded his father and had built the temple of Sahajigesvar in memory of his father (Mangrol Sothdi inscription. Revised list of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency p. 246).

In v. s. 1222 Ambak class of the Srimal clan, son of Ranig, had been the governor of Saurashtra and constructed the roads leading to Girnar as learnt from the Girnar inscription of 1222 and 1223 v.s. (Prachin Jaina Lekh Sangraha, inscription Nos. 50, 51).¹

THE PUROHIT AND SOME OFFICERS OF THE RELIGIOUS DEPARTMENT.—The first Purohit of Kumarpal seems to be Amig and later on Sarva Deva. Somesvar is silent about these priests. Prabhandh Chintamani, on the other hand, simply gives the name of Amig. The genealogy of Somesvara confirms this fact because after the death of Kumarpal, Sarva Deva, son of Amig, was entrusted with the duty of depositing the bones of the dead sovereign in the Ganges and this he might have undertaken on account of being a priest (*see* Suratotsava Sar. 15, Sl. 26—29).²

Sridhar Prasasti³ states that Balla, son of Sobh, who had been a friend of Jay Sinha Siddharaj and who belonged to the line of Nagar Udyabhatt, had been a minister as the Head of the religious department of Kumarpal for long. Sastri presumes that Balla had been conversant in the religious rites and observances of Brahmanism. A Brahman named Rudra had been the chief astrologer of Kumarpal.⁴ The Kumarpal Pratibodh states that Abhoy Kumar, son of Nemi Nag was appointed to supervise the work of Jain charitable institutions, Posadhalaya and others (Jain Sahitya Itihas—282).⁵

AJYA PAL DEVA, MINISTER AND PUROHIT.—The Udaypur (Gwalior) inscription of 1229 v. s. speaks of the Dand Nayak (Governor) Luna Pasak, governor of twelve mandals. He gave away in gift a village named Umartha in the Bhiringarika Chatusstika to bear the expenses of the temple of Baidyanath in Udayapur. (I. A. Vol. XVIII—Gurjar Aitihasik Lekh No. 156.)⁶

The Unjha inscription of v. s. 1231 speaks of Mahamandalesvar Baijal Deva who from the town of Brahman Pathak, on the bank of the Narbada, gave away in gift the village of Albid for the sacrificial mansion of Khandoha. This inscription gives the name of Mahamatya Somesvara. The Baijal, here referred to, may be the Baijal who had been appointed Governor of Nādol by Kumarpal. (I. A. Vol. XVIII, p. 81 and Gurjar Aitihasik Lekh N. 147).⁷

PRIEST.—Priest Kumar of the line of Sola had been the priest of Ajay Pal and it is said that on a day of solar eclipse he did not accept vast riches which the king wanted to give away in gift to his priest (Suratotsava, Sar. 15. Sl. 31.)⁸

1. Prachin Jaina Lekh Sangraha, inscription, nos. 50, 51.

2. *See* Suratotsava, Sar 15, Sl. 26—29.

3. *Epigraphic Indica* Vol. II.

4. *History of Jaina Literature*, p. 882.

5. *History of Jaina Literature*, p. 282.

6. I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 344, Gurjar Aitihasik Lekh No. 156.

7. I. A. Vol. XVIII, p. 81 and Gurjar Aitihasik No. 147.

8. Suratotsava Sar. 15. Sl. 31.

MULRAJ II BHIMA II—PRIEST. Kumar also acted as a priest to Mulraj II. Suratotsava states that he was instrumental in lightening the burdens of the famine-stricken people of Guzrat by persuading the king to remit the rent.¹

It has been inscribed that Ranakas Chachik Deva, Ratnapal and Thabhu were Bhima Deva's important Mahamatyas and Some Sinha and Bajjal Deva were Sandhi Vighrahik and Aksapatalik. (Peterson, Vol V. and Jain Sahitya Itihas, p. 342 and note 371.)²

THE BAGHELS.—They were a branch of the main Chaulukya Dynasty of Anhilwada which came to an end with Bhim Deva II. Their history too has been treated along with the main dynasty as a part of it.

LAVANA PRASAD AND VIRADHAVALA.—Their ministers. Vastupal and Tejpal played a very important part in the latter part of the Chaulukya rule in Guzrat and succeeded for a time in stemming the tide of decay. They were able soldiers and administrators. Their splendid work on behalf of Jainism is still remembered in Guzrat. The temple of Lunavasahi on Mt. Abu built by them still stands there as a splendid specimen of Medieval Guzrati Architecture (The inscription of Tejpal and Vastupal as well as many Jain Prabhandhas on their life.)³

VISAL DEVA. MINISTERS AND OTHER OFFICERS.—The plate of 1317 v. s. mentions the name of the Mahamandalesvar Samar Sinha of Bardhi Pathak as well as Maha Sandhi Vighrahik Sridhar. The Maha Akshapatalik was Govind.

We also find the name of Nagad who had been Mahamatya in 1294 or 1303 v. s. from the concluding portions of two works (Jessalmere Catalogue, p. 80 and Patan Catalogue, No. 80 Sandhavi Bhandar).⁴

A Girnar inscription mentions the name of Salakhan Sinha as Mahamatya and he had also acted as the governor of Saurashtra and Lata. He was a descendant of Udayana. Salakhan Sinha died on the bank of Narbada.

Salakhan's younger brother Samant Sinha was appointed as governor of Saurashtra by Visal Deva. He carried on certain repairs specially in Dvarka (Kantella inscription, Budhi Prakas Vol. 62 part I).

ARJUN DEVA—1. The Veravel inscription of 1320 v. s. speaks of Mahamatya Ranak Sri Maldev who allowed a mosque to be built in the outskirts of the city of Somnath in Kathiawad.⁵

2. The Kantella inscription of v. s. 1320 mentions the name of Samant Sinha, a descendant of Udayana, governor of Saurashtra.⁶

3. The Girnar inscription of 1330 v. s. speaks of Palha as governor of Saurashtra.⁷

SARANG DEVA. MINISTERS AND OTHER OFFICERS.—(i) The Khokhra inscription of v. s. 1332 speaks of Mahamatya Sri Kanha; who got a Jain work copied out.⁸

(ii) The inscription of Amaran (Kathiawad) of v. s. 1333 speaks of Palha as governor of Saurashtra.⁹

1. Suratotsava, Sar. 15 Slo. 33.

2. Peterson, Vol. V. p. 50 and History of Jain Literature, p. 342 and note 371.

3. The inscription of Tejpal and Vastupal as well as many Jain Prabhandhas on their life.

4. Jessalmere Catalogue, p. 80 and Patan Catalogue no. 80 Sandhavi Bhandar.

5. J. A. Vol. XI, p. 241.

6. Buddhi Prakas of 1915, Vol. I.

7. Mythical Society Journal, Vol. XIV, p. 243.

8. Jessalmere Catalogue, p. 42 and J. A., Vol. XXI.

9. Purintantva, Vol I. Part II, p. 37.

(iii) The Banathali inscription of v. s. 1348 speaks of Mahamandalesvara Bijayanand.¹

(iv) The Anavada inscription of v. s. 1348 refers to Mahant Pethod, an officer engaged in monetary transactions in Palhanpur. It speaks of the name of Mahamatya or premier as Madhusudan who is also called Mahasandhivigrahik.²

(v) The Vimal Vasahi inscription of 1350 v. s. gives the title of Abhinava Siddha Raj (अभिनव सिद्धराज) to Sarang Deva and mentions the names of Mahamatya Bayudha and Mahamandalesvar Arjun Dev.³

(vi) The name of the royal priest mentioned in a Mss. is Jayant Bhatt, son of Bharadvaj. The priest is spoken of also as Mahamatya. He wrote a commentary called Dipika on Kavya Prakas.⁴

(vii) A Nagar Brahman Pandit Chanda of Dholka wrote a commentary of Naisadh Kavya entitled Dipika. He gives in the Prasasti of the commentary; the date of composition as 1343 v. s. and mentions the name of Mahamatya Madhava.⁵

KARNA DEVA II AND HIS MINISTERS.—Madhav had been the prime minister of Karna II who had conspired with the Muslims and had brought the generals of Alauddin Khilji in Guzrat, specially Ulagh Khan and Nasrat Khan, who brought the Rajput rule in Guzrat to an end.⁶

Udaypraya Suri in his Tirtha Kalpa mentions that Alauddin sent Muslim forces from Delhi through the instigation of the Guzrati minister Madhav. Merutunga also states⁷. 'यवना माधवनागर विप्रेणानीता'

We have been able to trace in the foregoing pages the names and work of some ministers and some other royal officers as far as possible. We would like to state here that the ministry went by selection as well as a matter of hereditary right. There had been certain families who secured the post of ministers as a matter of birthright. The geneology of the minister, Prithvipal has been given in the Prasasti of Chandra Prabha Charit of Haribhadra Suri who wrote his work in v. s. 1223 on palm leaves. The family of ministers traces its geneology from the time of the Chavadas to the time of Kumarpal. Ninnak and Lahar had been ministers in the time of the Chavadas. During the Chaulukyan period, a descendant of Ninnak named Vira acted as minister from Mulraj I to Durlabh Raj. Nedh, Lahar and Vimal served as ministers to Bhima I. Dhaval was a minister of Karna I and Anand of Jaya Sinha Prithvipal had been a minister in the time of both Jaya Sinha and Kumarpal.⁸

It is also to be remarked in conclusion that a hereditary line of priests had descended from Sola who worked under Mulraj I.

1. Annals of Bhandarkar Institute Vol. 5, p. 174.

2. Peterson's Report, Vol. V. p. 50.

3. I. A. 1992 p. 21 and Prachin Jaina Lekh Samgrah no. 133.

4. Bhandarkar Report 1883—8 p. 17-18 and 326.

5. Buddhi Prakas 1910 p. 111.

6. See Elliot and Dowson Vol. III pp. 174 & 167.

7. Merutunga states in Vicharsreni 'यवना माधवनागर विप्रेणानीताः ।

अहं तेरहसयछपपणं विकर्मवरिसे अल्लावदीणं सुरताणस कणिट्टो भाया उलुघखाननामाधिज्जो दिल्ली पुराश्चो मेतिमाह वपेरिश्चो गुज्जर घरं पट्टिश्चो ।

Tirtha Kalpa—Jain vijoy, Sindhi Series p. 30, and Bibbo theca Indica p. 95-96.

8. The report of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference Guzrati Section, p. 1157 to 1163.

X

THE KINGS OF MAGADHA FROM THE BRHADRATHAS
TILL THE MAURYAS

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बृहद्रथं समास्थाय क्षीणीरूपं य ईश्वरः ।
अमघ्नात्तृपुरं यस्य मयूरवाहनः सुतः ॥
तं नत्वा शङ्करं देवं बृहद्रथकुलात् परम् ।
आमौर्यं मागधान् राज्ञो यत्नेन निर्दिशाम्यहम् ॥

It is well known that the succession of the kings of Magadha between the Brhadrathas and the Mauryas, as given in the Puranas, differs very much from the list given by the Pali chronicles of Ceylon, the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa*. The Puranas give the list as follows :—

Sisunaga	...	...	40 years
Kakavarna	...	...	36 (or 26) years
Ksemadharman	...	...	20 years
Ksemajit or Ksatraujas	...	...	40 (or 24) years
Bimbisara	...	...	28 years
Ajatasatru	...	...	25 years
Darsaka	...	...	25 years
Udayin	...	...	33 years
Nandivardhana	...	...	40 years
Mahanandin	...	...	43 years

CHANGE OF DYNASTY

Mahapadma and his eight sons ... 100 (or 40) years¹

But the *Mahavamsa* (Chapters II—V) which closely follows the *Dipavams* (Chapters III—V), gives the following list :—

Bimbisara	...	...	52 years
Ajatasatru	...	...	32 years
Udayabhadra	...	...	16 years
Aniruddha and Munda	...	...	8 years
			(omitted in the <i>Dipavainsa</i>)
Nagadasaka	...	...	24 years

CHANGE OF DYNASTY

Sisunaga	...	...	18 years (10 years in Dpv.)
Kalasoka	...	...	28 years
Ten sons of Kalasoka	...	...	22 years

CHANGE OF DYNASTY

Nine Nandas ... 22 years
(not named in the Dpv.)².

We have thus differences in the order of the kings and in the periods of their reigns and also omission of some names in the Puranic list, with insertion of names not found in the *Puranas*. The next three

1. F. E. Pargiter, *the Purana's text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 21—26.
2. W. Geiger, *the Mahavamsa, translated into English*, p. xli.

names, however, *i. e.* of the first three Maurya Kings, Chandragupta, Bindusara and Asoka, agree in both the lists in order and also practically in the reign periods.¹ This makes the discrepancy about the earlier kings rather surprising. W. Geiger, who has edited and translated the *Mahāvamsa* for the Pali Text Society, accepts the correctness of that text and rejects the Puranic list where it differs from the Ceylonese chronicle.² He has, however, not given us very adequate reasons for preferring the evidence of the Pali chronicle and rejecting that of the Puranas. He says that "the tradition as to individual names is very unstable in the different Puranas."³ But this is clearly due to the fault of the manuscripts and not of the original text. He expresses a surprise that the Puranas assign to two successive Kings Nandivardhana and Mahanandin a total reign of 85 years⁴ but do not the Pali chronicles which he prefers give a total of 84 years for Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru? He has overlooked this latter point when objecting to the inclusion by the Puranas of a name *Darsaka* between *Ajatasatru* and Udayin. He asserts, "That is certainly an error. The Pali canon indubitably asserts that Udayibhadda was the son of Ajatasattu and probably also his successor. Otherwise the reign of the father and son would extend over eighty-three years."⁵

The most important discrepancy is in the position in the list of Sisunaga and his son Kakavarna-Kalasoka. Geiger has pointed out that the tradition of the Ceylonese chronicle placing them *after* (and not before) Ajatasatru and Udaya is confirmed by the Northern Buddhist text, the *Divyavadana* (p. 369).⁶ He then adds "I believe then that with respect also to the series of Indian kings before Asoka, the Ceylonese tradition is more valuable than that of the Brahmanas and the Jainas. The last-named is certainly defective. But as to the Puranas I am compelled to think that when the dynasty before Chandragupta had once received the name Saisunaga, then in order to exalt its greatness and antiquity, the eponymous and his immediate successors, including Bimbisara and his successors, were placed at the head of the whole series of kings. This would end in a reversal in the order of the first and second half."⁷ This explanation of the reversal is without any basis and is extremely unconvincing. Geiger concludes his proof of the superiority of the Pali account with the statement: "At the present time greater stress is laid, and with justice, on the importance of research in Northern Buddhism. It is most important for the understanding of the development of Buddhism. Still I believe that if we wish to learn the origins of Buddhism, and especially the history of those origins, we shall have to draw chiefly upon the Pali sources."⁸ This we may accept. The Pali sources may be our best authorities for the early history of the Buddhist religion. But that does not entitle us to accept them unquestionably as our best help for the political history of India.

	Puranas	"	Mahāvamsa
1. Chandragupta	24	"	24
Bindusara	25		28
Asoka	36		37
2. <i>Op. cit.</i> pp. xl—xlv.			
3. <i>Ibid.</i> p. xlii.			
4. <i>Ibid.</i> p. xlv.			
5. <i>Ibid.</i>		"	
6. <i>Ibid.</i> p. xlv i.			
7. <i>Ibid.</i>			
8. <i>Ibid.</i>			
9. <i>Early History of India</i> , 4th ed., pp. 32—42, See particularly p. 39, note 1.			

If Geiger has been a prejudiced supporter of the Pali chronicles and unfairly sceptical about the Puranic tradition, Vincent A. Smith took the exactly opposite view." Smith's attitude is as dogmatic as Geiger's. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures for 1918* (Lecture II)¹ has followed the Pali account. He has, however, given some real arguments against some of the statements in the Puranas. He has pointed out that the Puranas cannot be right in making Sisunaga a supplanter of the descendants of Pradyota and at the same time making Bimbisara, who we know from the Pali canon was a contemporary of Buddha and therefore of Pradyota, the fourth king of the Sisunaga dynasty! He has also criticised the Puranas for assigning to ten consecutive kings a reign of 363 years. He has pointed out some other difficulties created by the Brahmanical traditions. He has identified *Nagadasaka* of the Pali chronicles with *Darsaka* of the Puranas. H. C. Raychaudhuri has followed in the footsteps of Geiger and Bhandarkar and has placed Bimbisara, Ajatasatru and Udayin before Sisunaga and Kakavarṇa.²

Bhandarkar and Raychaudhuri have definitely settled that Sisunaga and Kakavarṇa belonged to a group distinct from Bimbisara, Ajatasatru and Udayin and that the former group has to be placed *after* the latter, and not *before* as the Puranas would have it. The contemporaneity of Bimbisara and Pradyota cannot be doubted. The Puranas give to the Pradyotas five reigns.³ If Sisunaga is the destroyer of the fame of the Pradyotas, he must come some four or five generations after the first king of the Pradyota dynasty, Pradyota Candamahāsena, and that is exactly where the Pali chronicles place him. The Pali tradition must be right on this particular. It is perhaps the known fact that Sisunaga had his capital at Rajagrha, the old capital of Magadha before Udayin removed it to Pataliputra, which made the Puranic chronicles to place him before the Bimbisara-Ajatasatru-Udayin groups.

But Bhandarkar and Raychaudhuri leave unexplained the other differences between the Puranic and Pali lists. I am attempting here a solution of some of these problems.

We should keep in mind that the Puranas are based on royal chronicles or succession lists actually preserved in the state archives. We should, therefore, ordinarily expect them to preserve correct traditions about dynastic successions in India. Their mistakes ought to be mistakes of "editing" their sources. But the Ceylonese chronicles which are based on incidental synchronisms in the old Atthakathas,⁴ cannot be expected on *a priori* grounds to be correct in all particulars about the political history of India. We should, therefore, take their statements with more than ordinary circumspection. The political references in the old Atthakathas must have been very limited. When later historians had to bolster up complete history from these references much imagination had to be spent on "filling up the gaps."⁵

We should bear in mind another point when studying these chronicles. Where periods of rule are given in complete years without

1. *Carmichael Lectures for 1918*, p. 67.

2. *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, pp. 166—133.

3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

4. See Geiger, *Dīpaṃśa and Mahāvamsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung*, pp. 57, 69, for the sources of the Pali chronicles.

5. One way of filling up of gaps is to omit altogether the names of intervening kings which are not found in ecclesiastical records. The Jaina chronicles have often been guilty of this mistake about non-Jaina kings.

adding months and days, there is sure to be some mistake in the total. The conclusions of reigns of successive kings hardly all synchronise with the conclusions of calendar years. Consequently either some months have been added to or omitted from the actual periods of rule to give us complete years. The settled Indian practice in this matter seems to have been to consider a broken year as a whole year. We would thus add on an average one whole year for every two reigns. When, therefore, we find that the total of the reigns from the death of the Buddha till the coronation of Asoka as given by the *Mahavamsa*, as exactly 218 years, we should suspect that there has been some amount of "editing" in the individual reigns. The interval of four years placed between Asoka's accession and coronation, which is unsupported (*sic*) by Asoka's own edicts and is otherwise unlikely, is probably due to this "editing," to an attempt to fill up a gap of still four years. The Puranic tradition of an interval of 1015 (or 1050) years between the birth of Pariksit and the coronation of Nanda or the Jaina tradition of a space of 255 years between Chandragupta Maurya's accession and the start of the Vikrama era, or of this Buddhist tradition about the coronation of Asoka 218 years after Buddha's *Parinirvana*, may all be correct, being based on actual era reckonings.¹ But the way these years are filled up may not be all correct. It will not be, therefore, safe to accept *in toto* the names or the figures given in any one list. We should carefully scrutinise all the particulars that are given by the different sources, without bias for any one source. The Puranas must have made mistakes but the reign periods given by them are likely to be more correct than those in the Pali chronicles.

Let us now come to the actual names. I have already said that the Bimbisara group has to be placed definitely before the Sisunaga group. Ksemadharman and Ksemajit (or Ksatraujas) are omitted altogether in the Pali list. Bhandarkar has suggested that they are not the names of two kings, but of one single king.² This is not likely for *Ksatraujas* seems to be the better authenticated names for the second king than *Ksemajit* or *Ksemavit*.³ Even if the name is *Ksemajit* (or *vit*) it may well be the name of a person other than Ksemadharman. We have many instances of father and son or brothers having closely agreeing names. We should, therefore, take Ksemadharman and Ksatraujas as two successive kings. But where are we to place them? The Puranas place them before Bimbisara. So long as no circumstance arises which makes us suspect the accuracy of a Puranic statement we should not hesitate to accept it. We may, therefore, tentatively place Ksemadharman and Ksatraujas just before Bimbisara. Ksemadharman may, therefore, have started a new dynasty in Magadha after the last Brhadratha king, Ripunjaya. As regards the period of reign, we may accept the Puranic figure of 20 years. As regard the reign of Ksatraujas, there are some difficulties. First of all there are two different readings in the different manuscripts of the Puranas, *Catvārisat* or *Caturvimsati*, 40 or 24, of which the former seems to be better authenticated.⁴ We may therefore, accept the former. The Pali chronicles say that Bimbisara ruled for 52 years, whereas the Puranas give the figure as 28. We should accept the Puranic figures except when we find any defects in them. If the

1. Compare Geiger, *Mahavamsa*, translation, p. xxxv. "I now believe that we ought to attach special importance precisely to those dates which state generally the interval between two important events."

2. Carmichael *Lectures*, p. 68.

3. Pargiter, p. 21, note 19

4. *Ibid*, p. 21, n. 17.

Dipavamsa and *Mahavamsa* figure for Bimbisara has got any basis in fact, it is possible that the compilers wrongly added up the correct figure of Bimbisara with the reign period of some other king. The *Mahavamsa* says that Bimbisara was crowned by his father *himself* at the age of fifteen.¹ What is the meaning of crowning himself? The hypothesis which I wish to frame is that Bimbisara's father associated with himself in the rule of the land his son Bimbisara as a *yuvaraja*. If Ksatraujas was Bimbisara's predecessor, he may have been the father meant in the *Mahavamsa*. Thus Ksatraujas may have ruled independently for some time, say for 16 years, and in conjunction with his son, the *yuvaraja* for 24 years.

We are told by Buddhist tradition that Bimbisara abdicated in favour of his son Ajatasatru, finding him greedy for the throne and even ready to kill his father for this.² In spite of this favour, Ajatasatru ultimately starved him to death. The intervening period of 7 years may have been officially part of Bimbisara's rule with Ajatasatru as *yuvaraja*. Thus Bimbisara may have ruled with his father for 24 years, independently for 21 years and in official association with his son (but actually in a helpless state) for 7 years. The last seven years of his *de jure* rule may have been added to the *de jure* rule of 25 years of Ajatasatru as given in the Puranas to form the figure 32 for his reign given in the Pali chronicles.

Coming to the successor of Ajatasatru we are faced with a tough problem. What are we to do with Darsaka? That Udaya or Udayin or Udayin is Ajatasatru's successor is fairly well authenticated. The tradition recorded in the *Svapnavasavadatta* (not of Bhasa) of a king of Magadha, Darsaka by name, contemporary of Udayana of Vatsa, cannot be also lightly set aside. To explain this tangle I frame the hypothesis that Darsaka was another name of Udayin, as the latter's immediate predecessors Ajatasatru and Bimbisara, had other names Kunika and Srenika respectively similarly ending in *ka*. This Darsaka—Udayin may have reigned for 25 years, the figure given by the Puranas as for Darsaka. The eight additional years in the figure against Udayin's name may possibly represent the reigns of Aniruddha and Mundu given by the *Mahavamsa*. *Darsaka* in Sanskrit would become *dassaka* in Pali and not *dassaka*.³ Hence we cannot equate Darsaka with Nagadasaka as proposed by Bhandarkar.

Munda is another well authenticated name. Who is this Munda? I have another hypothesis here. The *Parisistaparvan* tells us on the basis certainly of older texts of a prince whose father had been killed by Udayin. The boy turns to the king of Ujjayini the traditional enemy of the king of Magadha for support. He then comes to Pataliputra, becomes a false novice with a Jaina saint highly honoured by king Udayin. Coming to the royal palace one night with his *guru* the boy murders Udayin, avenging the death of his father.⁴ Can *Munda*, literally shaven-headed be this false Jaina novice? If so, the eight years assigned to Aniruddha and Murda by the *Mahavamsa* would represent a period of confusion and turmoil during some portion of which the murderer may have been able to seat himself on the Magadhan throne. We have then very likely a change of dynasty here.

1. बिम्बिसारो पञ्चदशेति पितरा संयं ।

२. अभिसिक्तो महापुञ्जो..... ॥

2. G. P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I. p. 31.

3. Of the names *Priyadassi*, *Priyadassana* etc. in the *Mahavamsa*.

4. *Parisistaparvan*, Ch. VI, A. no. 189—230.

Nagadasaka probably another usurper is another problem. Why do not the Puranas mention him? Are we to find his reign within the long period of 40 years ascribed to the next king Sisunaga. I tentatively assign to him the reign of 24 years as given in the *Mahavamsa*. It is probably this state of confusion which was availed of by Sisunaga, the Magadhan governor at Benares, who, the Puranas tell us, placing his son on the *gaddi* of Benares, himself came and occupied the Magadhan throne. He changed the capital to the old Girivraja probably because he thought Udayin's choice of Pataliputra was ill-fated; or he may have thought it more prudent to keep away from Pataliputra where the partisans of Udayin's family must have mustered strong. It is unlikely that the Puranic figure of 40 years for his rule at Magadha is correct because he must have already spent several years as the governor at Benares—Otherwise he could not have dared make the *coup* he did or been chosen by the people, as asserted by the Pali chronicle. The *Dipavamsa* figure of 10 years or the *Mahavamsa* figure of 18 years for his rule at Magadha is likely to be more correct than the Puranic figure of 40, particularly when his successor is also given a long reign—36 or 26 years. That Kakavarna of the Puranas is identical with Kalasoka of the Pali chronicles may be taken as established. *Kakavaini* (*Kakavains* in the *Divyavadana*) clearly correspond to *Kala*. The king's name may not have ended with *Asoka*, but popular Buddhist memory (in Ceylon?) may have endowed him with that epithet because like the later Asoka he is said to have held a Buddhist Council (the second), through the same confusion which makes Yuan Chwang call the two Asokas (?) by the same name. The different Puranic Texts assign to Kakavarna 36 or 26 years¹ and the Pali chronicle gives to Kalasoka 28 years, which comes very near the shorter date of the Puranas. We may prefer the shorter date of the Puranas.

Bana tells us about the tragic manner of Kakavarna's death. The Puranic Nandivardhana, we need not doubt, is one of the ten sons of Kalasoka or Kakavarna of the Pali texts. The Pali chronicles place the Nandas immediately after these sons of Kalasoka. The first Nanda king was Mahapadma or Mahapadmapati according to the Puranas but his name was Ugrasena according to the Pali *Mahabodhivamsa*. *Mahabodma* is probably an abridgement of *Mahapadmapati* the lord of immense riches and was Ugrasena's epithet on account of his fabulous wealth. The Greek name *Agrammes* appears to be the equivalent of *Ugrasena* and not of *Angrasainya* as Raychaudhuri supposes.² It is extremely unlikely that when Alexander and his followers enquired about the king of Magadha they would be told not his actual name but his father's. *Dasarathi* may occur in literature as a name for Rama but it does not find favour with common people. Consequently the following description of Agrammas' father in Curkas must refer to the father of the first Nanda king. "His father was in fact a barber, scarcely starving off hunger by his daily earnings, but who, from his being not uncomely person, had gained the affections of the queen, and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot

1. Pargiter, p. 21, n. 11.

2. Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed., p. 188. He ought to have given the patronymic as *Agraseni*.

the present king.¹ The princes to which the barber is said to have posed as a guardian appear to be Nandivardhana and the other sons of the murdered Kakavarna. He can clearly recognise that barber guardian of the princes as the *Napita* whose son Nanda was born of a courtesan according to the *Parisista Purvan*.² If that barber regent was interested in furthering the interest of his own family, naturally enough he got the princes quietly removed from his path one after another. It is not likely that Nandivardhana and the other princes should have been allowed to sit on the throne for as long as 40 years. Consequently the figure *Catvarimsat*, 40, given as the period of Nandivardhana's reign in the Puranas must be wrong. Is it an emendation for the grammatically wrong *Caturvimsat*, 24? That comes nearer the *Mahavamsa* figure (22) for the reign of the 10 sons of Kalasoka. I therefore, accept 24 years as the period of the rule of the helpless sons of the Nandikakam, the make-belief regency and as *de facto* rule of the barber paramour of Kakavarna's queen.

The Puranas name after Nandivardhana one Mahanandin with a reign of 43 years. Then came the succession of the Nandas, which covered 28^2 (or 88) + 12 = 40 (or 100) years. The shorter period of 40 covering nearer the Pali period of 22 seems to come nearer the truth. Taranatha, Raychaudhuri as pointed out,³ has assigned to Nanda, i.e., the first Nanda king reign of 29 years. The *Parisista purvan* speaks of Nanda having been chosen as king by the royal elephant, etc., after the demise of the king and from its account it appears that Nanda's *upadhyaya* has some hand in the matter. We may, therefore, safely infer that the barber regent after disposing of the princes one after another got his own son begotten on a courtesan selected as the king through some trickery. Consequently there is no room for a Mahanandin with a reign of 43 years between Kakavarna and Mahapadma Nanda, as given in the Puranas. I feel tempted to suggest that the reign of Mahanandin 43 years really stands for that of Mahapadma and the other Nandas (40 years). We should therefore take this as another case of duplication in the Purana.

The Puranas, as I have just assigned to the first Nanda king a rule of 28 or 88 years, of which the former appears to come nearer the truth. His eight sons had between themselves a reign of only 12 years. If Agrammes, about whom Alexander heard in 326 or 325 B.C. was Ugrasena, the first Nanda king, the Nanda rule must have come to a close at least 12 years after that. Consequently we are forced to accept the Jaina date for Chandragupta Maurya's accession 313 B.C., a date also likely on other grounds. If we accept 313 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession and assign to him and his son Bindusara the reign of 49 years, as given by the Puranas and refuse to place Asoka's coronation four years after his accession, of which the Puranas know nothing, we get 264 B.C. as the date of Asoka's accession, which was almost exactly 218 years after 483 B.C., probably the best authenticated date of Buddha's *Parinirvana*.

To sum up, my tentative scheme of the Magadhan succession between the Brhadrathas and the Mauryas is as follows :—

1. McCrindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 22.
2. p. 196.
3. Pargiter, p. 25 n. 17.
4. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 189.

	Approximately
Ksemadharman ...	20 years
Ksatraujas or Ksemajit father of Bimbisara, independently	16 „
Ksatraujas or Ksemajit jointly with his son	24 „
Bimbisara, independently of his father	21 „
Bimbisara, in association with his son Ajatasatru	7 „
Ajatasatru, independently of his father	25 „
Udaya or Udayin or Udayin=Darsaka	25 „
Munda and others during a period of turmoil and confusion	8 „
CHANGE OF DYNASTY (?)	
Nagadasaka	24 „
CHANGE OF DYNASTY	
Sisunaga	10 „
Kalasoka = Kakavarna	26 „
Nandivardhana and other sons of Kakavarna	24 „
CHANGE OF DYNASTY	
Mahanandin – Mahapadma Nanda = Ugrasena	28 „
His eight sons	12 „

Buddha's *Parinirvana* took place 8 years after Bimbisara's death. According to this scheme we get an interval of 174 years between the *Parinirvana* and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, and $174 + 49 = 223$ years between the *Parinirvana* and the accession of Asoka. The latter is only 5 years more than the traditional interval, which is but a right and proper error for more than 10 generations.

XI

NEW LIGHT ON THE DATE OF NAHAPANA

By Dr. V. R. Deoras, M.A., Ph. D. (London).

INTRODUCTORY.

The downfall of the Mauryan empire in c. 200 B.C. seems to have opened the gates of India to foreign invasions.¹ The Greeks in Bactria declared their independence in c. 250 B.C. and separated from the Seleucid empire. Antiochus the Great of Syria invaded India in c. 206 B.C. and defeated Subhāgasena, the king of Kabul. The example of Antiochus was followed by his son-in-law Demetrius, who made himself the master of Kabul, Sindh and the Western Panjab. The absence of

1. See Dr. Vincent Smith; E. H. I., p. 233.

Demetrius in India prompted his provincial governor Eucratides to revolt and declare his independence. After the death of Demetrius, Eucratides marched into the Indian dominions of the former and annexed them.¹ But Eucratides did not live long to enjoy his conquests. He was brutally murdered by his own son Apollodotus in c. 156 B.C. Meanwhile the Sakas were forced by the movements of the Yuechi tribe to migrate south of the river Jaxartes. The Greeks in India could not hold their own against the invasions of the barbarian Sakas. The cities of Pushkalavati and Kapisa were occupied by the Sakas, who finally settled in Seistan, *i.e.*, Sakastana. Branches of the Saka tribe ultimately established themselves at Taxila and Mathura. Dr. Vincent Smith believes that another section of the Sakas again invaded India in c. 50 A.D. and occupied Surashtra or Kathiawar.² This hypothesis seems unnecessary; the Sakas who established themselves in Kathiawar may have emigrated from Mathura or Southern Sindh.

In c. 140 B.C. the Parthians, *i.e.*, the Pahlavas of the Indian writers, appear on the scene. The Parthian emperor Mithradates I established his hegemony in India as far south as the Indus. The incursion of the Parthians naturally resulted in a considerable mixture of the Sakas and the Parthians. It is difficult to state precisely whether Maues (moga) was a Saka or a Parthian. The coins of Maues "are found all over Afghanistan and the Western Panjab."³ He was succeeded by Azes I, who ruled over Taxila as a viceroy of Mithradates II, the Parthian emperor. Azes II, a grandson of Azes I, was succeeded by one Gondophares in c. 20 A.D.⁴ The latter conquered Sindh and Arachosia, and made himself master of a large part of the Panjab.

BHUMAKA.

It is probable that Bhumaka, who founded the Kshaharata dynasty in Central and Western India, was one of the generals of Gondophares.⁵ Copper coins of Bhumaka have been discovered near Ajmer and in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Malwa;⁶ but it does not follow that Bhumaka's kingdom was so extensive. Two statues of his reign have come to light at Bheraghat, near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. The inscriptions on them are nearly illegible, but suffice to prove that they were installed by his daughter.⁷ The find-spot strongly suggests that the region around Jabalpur was in the possession of Bhumaka. The aggrandisement of Bhumaka in this part of Central India must have been carried out at the expense of the Satavahanas. On his coins Bhumaka calls himself a Kshaharata and a Kshatrapa. The Indian title *rajan* or king is conspicuous by its absence. Prof. Rapson writes that "considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, leave no room for doubting that Bhumaka preceded Nahapana."⁸

Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that Bhumaka and Ysamotika the father of Chashtana are identical.⁹ This suggestion does not seem

1. Banerji; Hindu India, p. 110.

2. E. H. I. p. 241.

3. Banerji; Hindu India, p. 123.

4. Smith; E. H. I., p. 244.

5. *Ibid*, p. 220.

6. Catalogue, p. cvii.

7. Hiralal; Inscriptions in C. P., p. 38.

8. Catalogue, p. cviii.

9. C. I. I., Vol. II, p. lxx.

feasible. First, Bhumaka ruled and issued coins; but we have no evidence that Ysamotika ever ruled. Secondly, Bhumaka was a member of the Kshaharata family, while we do not know to which family Ysamotika belonged.¹ Thirdly, Dr. Konow's argument that Bhumaka is a translation of the Scythic Ysamotika has no force. It is improbable that Ysamotika consulted an authority on comparative philology and then changed his name into Bhumaka. They are essentially two different persons.

NAHAPANA.

The next prince of the Kshaharata family known to us is Nahapana. It is uncertain whether he was a son or other relative of Bhumaka. It is probable that the surname Kshaharata has some connection with "Karatai," a Saka tribe alluded to in Ptolemy's Geography.² An inscription at Ganeshra near Mathura reveals the name of Ghataka, a Kshaharata.³ This suggests that Nahapana and Ghataka belonged to the same family. The Taxila copperplate of Patika reveals that Liaka Kusulaka and his son Patika were members of the Chhaharata (Kshaharata) family.⁴ They were both subordinate to Maharaja Moga (Maues). I am unable to agree with Mr. Bakhle when he says that Kshaharata is a Sanskrit form of the word Kharaosta occurring in the Mathura lion-capital inscription.⁵ Professor Rapson has shown that Kharaosta is the personal name of the son of Rajula.⁶ Kshaharata is a family name, and I can see no evident connection between Kharaosta and Kshaharata. A variant form of the name Kshaharata is Khakharata, which is met with in the Nasik inscription of the Satavahana king Pulumayi.

The name Nahapana is not Indian. It is certainly an Iranian name, naha—people, pana—protector.⁷ Thus Nahapana means a protector of the people, corresponding to the Indian janapala. We do not know from what part of Iran Nahapana came. He may have been either a Saka or a Parthian by race. His son-in-law Ushavadata probably bears an Iranian name. It has been generally assumed by scholars that it is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Rishabhadatta. But this appears to be a mistake. In the inscriptions we come across only two forms, Usabhadata and Ushavadata. If Ushavadata had been a Prakrit form of Rishabhadatta, we should expect the form Ushabhadata, and not Ushavadata. Moreover, the Nasik inscription No. 10, which is almost wholly in Sanskrit, gives the name as Ushavadata, and not Rishabhadatta. It is evident that the Sanskrit Pundit here gave the correct form of the name as known to him. The long vowel in 'data' definitely precludes an Indian name. Above all 'data' is well known as a termination in old Persian, Parthian, Sogdian and Khotanese. Although we cannot explain the word Ushava, Ushavadata seems to be a genuine Saka name. The Nasik inscription No. 14 distinctly says that he was a Saka.⁸ His father Dinika also bears a Saka name. Dinika may be derived from Middle Persian dnyk, which is from a lost old Iranian Dainiyaka.

1. J. B. O. R. S., 1930, p. 230.

2. P. H. A. J., p. 390.

3. A. S. I.-A. R., 1911-12, p. 128.

4. E. I., Vol. IV, p. 54 f.

5. J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, p. 61.

6. J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 549 f.

7. J. R. A. S., 1906m, p. 181 f.

8. E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 86.

Dinika may be taken meaning faithful or godly. Ushavadata's wife Dakshamitra, the daughter of Nahapana, has a purely Indian name. This suggests that Nahapana had married an Indian lady and adopted the Indian style of living.

Nahapana ruled over an extensive empire, and had a long and glorious reign of nearly fifty years. His empire included Malwa, Gujarat, parts of Rajputana and Kathiawar, Northern Konkan, the districts of Poona, Nasik and Ahmadnagar. It seems probable that he held the Khandesh division too; otherwise it is difficult to understand his domination of Malwa from Broach, one of his capitals. Ujjayini, Bharukachchha, Sopara, Govardhana, Dasapura (Mandasor in Malwa) and Pushkar near Ajmer are mentioned in his inscriptions, and appear to have been towns of prime importance.¹ In c. 85 A.D. Nahapana suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni. An old Jain gatha states that Bharukachchha is famed for the religious teachers Jinadeva and Kunala, Satavahana the king of Paithan, and Nahavana.² This gatha is explained by two commentaries, one in Sanskrit and the other in Prakrit. The Sanskrit commentary gives the name of the Satavahana king as Hala, apparently because Hala was the only Satavahana king remembered by the later pundits. According to the commentaries Nahavana had amassed great wealth and was staying at Bharukachchha, his capital. King Satavahana at Pratishtana (Paithan) was famous for his powerful army. The latter invested Bharukachchha for two years, but was unable to subdue it. He then retired to Paithan. After some time one of the ministers of Satavahana went to Nahapana and said that he had been turned out. This was of course a clever ruse on the part of Satavahana. Nahapana, believing the minister, took him in his service. The minister then advised Nahapana to gain religious merit by spending his money on charities and secure a place for himself in the next world. Nahapana spent a large amount from his treasury on religious benefactions. The next time Satavahana besieged Nahapana's capital, it fell owing to lack of funds, and Nahapana himself died during the siege.

The historical value of the above tradition should not be underrated. It proves that Nahapana himself suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Satavahana king. The Nasik inscription No. 2 states that Gautamiputra Satakarni "uprooted the Khakharata family and destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Palhavas."³ Khakharata, as I have already pointed out, stands for Kshaharata, the family name of Nahapana. Gautamiputra recalled the currency of Nahapana and restruck the coins with his own name and insignia. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has conjectured that Gautamiputra killed all the heirs of Nahapana.⁴ But it is not impossible that at least some of his heirs if not all, escaped. Gautamiputra's success was so complete that he was able to annex almost all the provinces of Nahapana's empire.

DATE OF NAHAPANA.

The date of Nahapana is one of the most interesting but intricate problems of Indian history. Two outstanding theories have been advocated. The first is the one which places Nahapana in the first century

1. *Ibid.*, p. 78 f.

2. J. B. O. R. S., 1930, p. 283, f.

3. E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 60.

4. E. H. D., Section VI.

B.C. and refers his inscriptions to the Vikrama era.¹ Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, Dr. Dubreuli and Mr. Bakhle are the chief exponents of this theory. The second theory is maintained by Professor Rapson, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, his son D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri. According to this view Nahapana has to be assigned to the second century A.D. and his inscriptions referred to the Saka era.

Let us now consider the first theory. It has been argued by Nilakantha Sastri and others that all the known events of Satavahana Saka history cannot be compressed within the short period of five years from 124 A.D. to 130 A.D. The last known date of Nahapana is 46, which if referred to the Saka era corresponds to A.D. 124.² The Andhau inscriptions of the conjoint reign of Rudradaman and Chashtana are undoubtedly dated in the year 52 of the Saka era, i. e. 130 A.D.³ Moreover, it has been argued by Dubreuil and Bakhle that a reign of 46 years is rare and therefore the inscriptions of Nahapana are dated in the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.⁴ Further the palæography of Nahapana's inscriptions and the style of his monuments suggest a date earlier than the second century A.D. But this argument is not conclusive by itself to establish that Nahapana flourished in the first century B.C. Again, a reign of 46 years is by no means rare. Numerous examples may be cited to refute the suggestion. Suffice it to quote the names of Amoghavarsha, Akbar, George III, Louis XIV and Queen Victoria. It is quite possible that Nahapana came to the throne at about 25, and then ruled for nearly fifty years. Finally, we have to consider the evidence furnished by the coins of Nahapana. Dubreuil and Bakhle argue that as the Jogaltembhi hoard of Nahapana's coins exhibits four different portraits, they could not all belong to one and the same person. The Rev. H. R. Scott suggests that "various members of the family caused their own likenesses to be engraved on them while keeping the inscription of Nahapana unchanged as he was the founder of the dynasty."⁵ But the fact that among the restruck coins of Nahapana there was not a single one belonging to any other prince than Nahapana, indicates that no other ruler intervened between Nahapana and Gautamiputra Satakarni. Besides, what was there to prevent Nahapana's successors from inscribing their own names on the coins if they could have their own features represented? Again, the ancient Jain tradition, cited above leaves no room for doubt that Nahapana himself was defeated by Gautamiputra Satakarni. Moreover, how is it that Nahapana's successors, if they ruled for about a century, have left not a single inscription of their own in the caves at Nasik and Karle? The inscriptions there prove that the rule of Nahapana was immediately followed by that of the Satavahanas.⁶ Some other explanation regarding the diversity of portraits has to be sought. It is unreasonable to suppose on this ground, only that several princes of the Kshaharata family succeeded Nahapana. The silver coins of Heliodorus clearly show two different portraits of the king.⁷ Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar

1. J. R. A. S., 1926, p. 643 f.

2. A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, p. 103.

3. E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 19.

4. A. H. D., p. 20 f.

J. B. B. R. A. S., 1927, p. 66 f.

5. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, p. 223 f.

6. E. I., Vol. VII, Karle Inscriptions.

E. I., Vol. VIII, Nasik Inscriptions.

7. Smith : Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 13.

also informs us that every ruler in the Sarvania hoard is represented by two or three different types of portrait.¹ Hence the Jogonaltembhi hoard of coins may very well belong to Nahapana alone.

The theory that Nahapana's inscriptions are all dated in the Saka era cannot be maintained. The discovery of the Andhau inscriptions shows that we have only a period of six years within which we have to condense the following events :—

- (1) The fall of Nahapana ;
- (2) The defeat of Gautamiputra Satakarni by Chashtana ;
- (3) The annexation by Chashtana of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa ;
- (4) The death of Chashtana's son Jayadaman after his association in his father's government for at least four years ;
- (5) The association of Rudradaman in the government of his grandfather ;
- (6) We know from Ptolemy's Geography that Chashtana was ruling at Ujjayini and Pulumayi at Paithan. Thus they were contemporaries. Now we know that Gautamiputra Satakarni reigned for at least 24 years, *i.e.* up to 130 A. D.² Therefore Chashtana and Pulumayi could not be contemporary in 125 A.D. Further, there would be no point in mentioning with pride the conquests of Gautamiputra Satakarni 20 years after his death if they were so short-lived. A defeat of king Gautamiputra Satakarni, and such a crushing defeat, is inconceivable.
- (7) Finally, the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman, dated 72 Saka=150 A.D., demonstrates that one Satakarni related to him was his contemporary.³ Pulumayi, the son of Gautamiputra, was not a Satakarni. It is a mistake to assume that the surname Satakarni was borne by every member of the Satavahana family. It was borne only by particular members of the family. I have shown in the last chapter that the Satakarni of the Girnar inscription was Vasishthiputra Sri-Satakarni. The chronology of the Satavahanas, if we refer the dates of Nahapana to the Saka era, will then be—

Gautamiputra Satakarni c. 107—131 A.D.

Pulumayi c. 131—159 A.D.

Vasishthiputra Satakarni c. 159—188 A.D.

But Vasishthiputra Satakarni, the son-in-law of Rudradaman, was already on the throne a few years before 150 A.D., according to the Girnar inscription. Moreover, the above chronology would make Pulumayi a son-in-law of Rudradaman. This is improbable, as Pulumayi was a contemporary of Chashtana, the grandfather of Rudradaman.

Hence, we must give up the theory that Nahapana has to be placed in the second century A.D. I shall however suggest a different date for him. He may very well have lived in the first century A.D. First, we have the contemporary evidence of the author of the Periplus on this point. The Periplus mentions 'Mambanos' as the king of Ariaka and the country around Barygaza (Broach). "The metropolis of this country

1. A. S. I. A. R., 1913-14, p. 229.

2. J.R.A.S., 1926, p.646.

3. E.I., Vol. VIII, p.47.

is called Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza."¹ Ariaka may possibly be equated with Aparanta. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Minnagara with Mandasor may be accepted for the present. Boyer and Fleet have shown that Mambanos stands for Nambanos (Nahapana).² According to Dr. Vincent Smith the author of the *Periplus* composed the work in c. 70 A.D. Next, the Nasik inscription No. 12 of Nahapana states that 35 karshapanas were equal to one suvarna.³ Prof. Rapson remarks that "the reference here must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kushans."⁴ There is no denying the fact that Wima Kadphises was the Kushan king who introduced gold currency in India for the first time.⁵ Nahapana may have been nominally subordinate to Wima Kadphises. Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, Bakhle and Dubreuil have all failed to take note of this important reference to gold currency in the Nasik inscription No. 12. Moreover, the occurrence of the word 'Kusanamula' in the Nasik inscription No. 12 of Nahapana is not without significance. Senart's explanation of the word 'Kusanamula' as 'money for outside life' does not seem satisfactory. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's translation of it as 'value of the Kusanas' is probably correct.⁶ He further suggests that the word Kusana denotes the silver coinage issued by Nahapana in honour of his Kushan suzerains. If we accept this suggestion, we have further evidence that Nahapana was a contemporary of the Kushanas, which seems to support our view of his date. Sir John Marshall has shown that the conquest of Taxila by Wima Kadphises probably took place in 64 A.D.⁷ Prof. Rapson's theory that Kanishka ascended the throne in 78 A.D. may be accepted provisionally. As the coinage of Wima Kadphises was prevalent in the empire of Nahapana, we may assign Nahapana to c. 37—85 A.D. This view seems very plausible, as we have seen that Nahapana's inscriptions can neither be referred to the Vikrama era nor to the Saka era. Moreover, according to our scheme of chronology we have then a long period of 45 years to account for the rise of Chashtana, the death of Jayadaman, the association of Rudradaman in the government, the reverses of Pulumayi and other events.

XII

A NOTE ON THE EMPEROR MAHIPALA OF THE PRATIHARA DYNASTY

By Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (Calcutta University).

Mahipala is one of the most famous kings of the Pratihara line. The Haddala Inscription gives for him a date in Saka Samvat 836, that is A. D. 914, and points to his supremacy over eastern Kathiavad, while the Asni record of v. s. 974, that is, A. D. 917-18, implies control over Fatehpur in the United Provinces.⁹ Rajasekhara, who refers to this

1. Schoff: *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Para 41.

2. J.R.A.S., 1907, p.1043.

3. E.I., Vol. VII, p.82.

4. Catalogue, p. clxxv.

5. J.A.S.B., Vol. XXIX, p.7, n.

6. I.A., 1918, p.76.

7. A.S.I.—A R., 1929—30, p.55 f

8. *Ind. Ant.*, XII., 193-94.

9. *Ibid.* XV., 173 ff.

prince as the sovereign of Aryavarta, ascribes to him in the *Prachanda-pandava* extensive conquests in the Deccan as well as in North Western India. The king figures also in the *Vikramarjunavijaya* of the Kanarese poet Pampa as an antagonist of Narasimha,¹ a feudatory or general of Indra III Rashtrakuta, who is known to have ruled from A. D. 915 to 917.

The prevailing view amongst scholars is that he bore at least three other names—Kshitipala, Vinayakapala and Herambapala. The ascription of these names to Mahipala rests primarily on the theory, first adumbrated by Kielhorn,² that *Hayapati* Devapala, the son of Herambapala mentioned in a Chandella Inscription, was identical with Devapala of Mahodaya or Kanauj, the successor of Kshitipaladeva mentioned in the Siyadoni Inscription of v. s. 1005, i. e., A. D. 948-49, and partly on the equations Mahi—Kshiti and Vinayaka—Heramba. The identification of Mahipala with Vinayakapala extends the period of his reign to v. s. 988, i. e., A. D. 931-32 and possibly to v. s. 1,000 (A. D. 942-3) if not to v. s. 1011 (A. D. 953-54).³ It further makes him the step-brother and successor of Paramavaishnava Maharaja Sri Bhojadeva (II) mentioned in the so-called Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Paramadityabhakta Maharaja Sri Vinayakapala deva.

The only dissentients from this view, so far as I know, are Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha,⁴ Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray,⁵ and the present writer.⁷ It was pointed out⁸ that "*Hayapati* was never the accepted title of the Pratihara kings of Mahodaya and is not met with in their inscriptions" and that the dates of Mahipala and Vinayaka do not overlap. The attitude of the Chandellas towards the *Hayapati* and his father Herambapala is certainly different from the reverential way in which Vinayakapala is mentioned in the Khajuraho record of A. D. 953-4. It is further to be noted that the Asni record of Mahipala (A. D. 917-18) makes no mention of Bhoja II for whom Vinayaka evinces great regard in the Asiatic Society's Plate of A. D. 931-32 :

"*Mahendrapaladevastasya putrastatpadanudhyatah Sri Dehanagadevyam utpannah Paramavaishnavo Maharaja-Sri-Bhojadevastasya bhrata Sri Mahendrapaladevaputrastayoh padanudhyatah Sri Mahidevidevyam utpannah Parmadityabhakto Maharaja Sri Vinayakapaladevah.*"

The anomaly of ignoring a brother and predecessor in one record and honouring "his feet" equally with those of the royal father himself in another has not been satisfactorily explained by upholders of the older view. Furthermore, the name *Mahipala* is invariably applied to the Pratihara monarch of the years 914-17 not only in records of the family and its feudatories but in also in those of antagonists as well and, as pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁹ the name Vinayakapala is not met with till a later period. Professor V. V. Mirashi quotes in the *K. B. Pathaka Commemoration Volume* a passage from the drama *Chandakausika* of Kshemisvar

1. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 380.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., 171; Vol II. 124; Majumdar, *Gurjara-Pratiharas*, 59. Ray, DHNI, 572.

3. Cf. Pakhetra Ins. DHNI, i, 585; Khajuraho, *Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p. 54n.

4. *Ind. Ant.* KV., 138ff.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. 80.

6. *Ind. Ant.* LVII. 230 ff.

7. *Gurjara-Pratiharas* (1923), 54n6.

8. *Ep. Ind.* XIV. 180.

9. Cf. *Gurjara-Pratihara*: 62.

in which Sri-Mahipaladeva is styled Kartikeya.¹ Now if, as suggested by some scholars, Vinayakapala is to be equated with Herambapala on the ground that the words *Heramba* and *Vinayaka* are synonymous, may it not be urged with equal cogency that the person in question must be distinguished from Kartikeya? Is it not permissible to hold that just as the divine Kartikeya is a brother of the divine Vinayaka, the king Kartikeya, that is, Mahipala is a brother of, and not identical with king Vinayakapala? The point certainly requires further investigation.

As to the identity of Mahipala with Bhoja II preferred by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray there is much that can be urged in support of this view. This may satisfactorily explain the non-occurrence of the name Mahipala in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate. While epigraphic evidence clearly distinguishes Vinayaka from Bhoja there is no such evidence to distinguish Mahipala from the same prince. Records mentioning the name Mahipala omit the name Bhoja and the inscription that refers to Bhoja II omits Mahipala. The omission of Bhoja II in the Asni record has been sought to be explained by an eminent scholar² "either by the extreme shortness of Bhoja's reign, or by the assumption that there was a war of succession and at first the victorious claimant did not think it prudent to recall on stone the existence of one whom he had overthrown. But when with the lapse of time his memory had faded away, he felt no scruples in mentioning the name of his rival in the genealogical list." Both the alternative theories—the shortness of Bhoja II's reign and a war of succession—lack proof. If Bhoja's name is omitted in the Asni record because of the shortness of his rule why was it mentioned so prominently in the Asiatic Society's Plate? Not only does the so-called vanquished rival figure in the last mentioned record but he is referred to in a way which leaves no room for doubt that Vinayaka had almost the same regard for him as for his father Mahendrapaladeva.³

In this connection attention may be invited to an extract from Masudi noted by Mr. Hodivala in his "*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*."⁴ The extract in question is usually translated thus:—

"The king of Kanauj is Bauura. This is a title common to all kings of Kanauj."

In commenting on this passage Mr. Hodivala observes that the right reading seems to be not Bauura but Bozah, Bozoh or Bodzah, i. e., Bhoja. Masudi, it may be remembered, visited India in the years c. 300-04 A. H. A. D. 912-16.⁵ If the reading suggested by Mr. Hodivala turns out to be correct the identification of Mahipala with Bhoja II cannot be dismissed as altogether implausible. Bhoja II was a Parama Vaishnava and a son of Queen Dehanaga, the question of his identity will be finally settled when the name of Mahipala's mother is revealed to us and we have fuller details about the religious proclivities of that king. The epithet *Srinidhi* applied to Bhojadeva in the Bilhari Inscription⁶ recalls, however, the eulogy of Sri-Mahipaladeva in the *Chanda-Kausika Samara-Sagarantar-bhramad bhujadanda-mandarakrishna-Lakshmi-svayamvara-pranayi*.⁷

1. p. 36 n; Jivanada Vidyasagar's ed. pp 4, 173. *Adisht'o'smi.....Lakshmi svayamvara pranayina Sri Mahipaladvena.....tasya Kshatrapasuter bhramatu jagadidam Kartikeyarya kirtik pare kshirakhyasindhorapi Kaviyasasa Sardhamagre sarena.*
2. Dr. R. S. Tripathy, History of Kanauj, p. 255.
3. Cf. the passage *tayoh padanudhyatah etc.*
4. p. 25.
5. J. R. A. S., 271; *Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p. 64, DHNI, i, 578 n 1,
6. *Ep. Ind.* I, 256.
7. Jivananda's ed., p. 4,

XIII

TEMPLE OFFERINGS AND TEMPLE GRANTS IN SOUTH INDIA

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The village temple occupies a very important part in the social history of medieval South India.¹ In fact the numerous South Indian inscriptions are in one way or other connected with the temple and its manifold activities. We hardly come across any Cola inscription in which there is no mention of the temple. It was so on account of the fact that in the early medieval period in South India there was a tremendous upheaval in the field of religion. Hinduism as fostered by such saints as Sri Sankaracarya, Ramanuja and host of other religious reformers received a new impetus in its life which also caught the imagination of people resulting in the ascendancy of this neo-Hinduism at the expense of Buddhism and Jainism and its firm establishment in the religious life of the people.²

The centre of this neo-Hinduism was the village temple. Numerous temples were erected throughout the country in honour of the various deities of the Hindu pantheon. The variety of the deities again in these temples testify the eclecticism of the people and the religious toleration prevailing amongst them. The deity who was the most popular was Siva in his various aspects. He is mentioned in the inscriptions by such names as Adavallar³, Bhairava⁴, Rishavahanadeva⁵, Kalyana-Sundara⁶, Dakshinamurti⁷, Nataraja⁸ Kiraturjuniya, Pancadeva⁹ Umasahita¹⁰, Sri-Kailasa¹¹, Mahadeva¹² and others. Other major gods which were popular with the people were Ganapati¹³, Sri-Krsna¹⁴ Maha-visnu¹⁵, Suryadeva¹⁵, Varahadeva¹⁶, Agniswara,¹⁷ etc. Among the female deities Durga,¹⁸ Parvati,¹⁹ Indrani,²⁰ Brahmani,²¹ Sapta-matrakas,²² Umabhattachari,²³ Mahasata,²⁴ were the most well known in the country.²⁵ Images were often erected in the temple in honour of saints and rsis, such as Agastiswara,²⁶ Parasuramiswara²⁷ and others. Besides these, a host of minor deities were worshipped in the temples whose names are too numerous to mention here.

The variety of deities alone is not the only evidence of the flourishing condition of Hinduism in the Cola country at this period; the temples in which they were placed were suitably endowed by the people of the land in such a way that these temples became the centre round which were gathered all that was best in the arts of civilised existence. A deliberate

1. In this article 'South India' refers almost exclusively to the country of the Colas.

2. The Colas Vol. II P. 472 by A. Nilkantha Sastri.

3. 44 of 1918. 4. S. I. I. II 44. 5. S. I. I. II 46. 6. S. I. I. II 48.

7. 64 of 1916. 8. 222 of 1923. 9. S. I. I. II 48. 10. 254 of 1907.

11. 418 of 1925. 12. 116 of 1926. 13. 98 of 1920. 14. 93 of 1925.

15. 335 of 1917. 16. 272 of 1910. 17. 283 of 1906. 18. 335 of 1917.

19. 333 of 1893. 20. 131 of 1892. 21. 131 of 1892. 22. 705 of 1909.

23. 278 of 1907. 24. 335 of 1917; 369 of 1922.

25. Other oft mentioned deities are Rama Sita, (244 of 1910): Lakshmana (244 of 1900): Hanuman (335 of 1906): Devendra, Saraswati, Subrahmanya (335 of 1917): Bhatari; Bhimeswar; Emalattu-durgaiyer-Omkara—Sundari (207 of 1919).

26. 172 of 1929. 27. 203 of 1912.

desire to bring the temple into intimate touch with several aspects of the life of the people was manifested in all the arrangements made in connection with the temple till it ceased to be merely 'a small structure of brick and mortar providing a centre of simple worship attended by the villagers' but an integral part of the social life of the country exercising influence on almost every aspect of the life of the people.

Temple Endowments :—The endowments were made by every class of people. In fact king and queen, minister and general, rich and poor vied with each other in making grants for the temple. These grants were made for various purposes. The most common were those made for offerings in the temple. These offerings again were sometimes made without any particularisation and sometimes for rendering a particular service to the God in the temple. Thus in several inscriptions we find charities of land and money made simply for offerings.¹ In many cases the particular occasions when these offerings were to be made were mentioned. Thus we find land given in the temple for morning service (559 of 1921), early morning service (61-1920), midday service (47 of 1923), ardhayama service (165 of 1925), evening service (51 of 1918), daily night offerings (160 of 1921) midnight service (105 of 1916), for three daily offerings (181 of 1923; 17 of 1923), for one service every day (99 of 1924). In many inscriptions the particular days in which these offerings were to be utilised were mentioned. Thus in one inscription (262 of 1915) we find offerings made for the occasion when the God Pasupati will be taken out for procession. Some mention that the offering was to be utilised on the day of the donor's birthday (S. I. I. III No. 134). Some were made for special days, such as eclipse days (176 of 1923), new moon days (148 of 1919), Sankranti days (140 of 1918).² These offerings were all food offerings (Sribali). As regards the nature of these food offerings we get some idea from an inscription at Kandiyon, belonging to the ninth year of the reign of Uttama Cola.³ The items in this particular offering consisted of 7 kuruni and 4 nali of paddy for 3 kurunis of rice cleaned 10 or 8 times; 1 padakku of paddy for 1 uri of ghee; 3 ulakku of paddy for 4 nali of curds; 1 kuruni and 3 nali of paddy for 2 nali of dhal; 1 kuruni of paddy for fire-wood. We get more details from an inscription of Tiruvidaimarudur⁴ (4 Yr. of Aditya II) regarding the food offerings from the list of current daily expenses of temple given in the 4th line of the inscription. They were, 12 nali of pounded rice of superior paddy for the sacred rice-offering early morning; 15 nali for midday service; 12 nali for rice offerings for night service; 1 nali for bali at midday; 1 for bali at night; 8 nali for rice-offerings at midnight; 4 nali and 1 uri daily of good dhal. The sundry spices required everyday were—(one) atakku of pepper and (one) ulakku of mustard; 3 vegetables (named); 4½ palam of sugar-offerings daily; 8 nali of curd offering daily; 30 plantain fruits; a daily offering of 80 areca nuts; 3 paruru of choice betel-leaf offerings; chunam offering and salt offering. The last was sometimes granted by donors independently as we find in two inscriptions of Rajendra II (239 of 1925 and 520 of 1919). In the first 10 kasu was granted by the king for a daily supply of a tuni and padakku of salt in the second a salt pan was granted by the king for salt offering to Attiyun-alavar.

1. 99 of 1914 : S. I. I. VI 7 ; 298 of 1908 ; 283 of 1908 ; 289 of 1912 S. I. I. III 50.

2. 275 of 1923—on the day of Ardra in Margali.

3. S. I. I. III No. 134 ;

4. S. I. I. III No. 203 ;

Another common offering found in the inscriptions is that made for the bath of the deity.¹ In one inscription of the reign of Raja Kesarivarman we find a vellala making the gift of some land so that water may be brought from the river for the sacred bath of the deity (238 of 1923).² In an inscription of the reign of R. Rajendra I (year 3) we find a queen of Uttama Cola giving land for the supply of 108 pots of bathing water on Sankranti days (298 of 1908). Provision was also made in some cases for bathing god with larger number of water-pots, as we find in an inscription of Sundara Cola where land was given for bathing gods with 1,000 pots of water on Sankranti days every month.³ Such a huge quantity of water was generally necessary for the bath of the deity on special occasions such as Sankranti days,⁴ Citaru-visu,⁵ etc; on ordinary occasions 3 pots of water for three services were enough for the bath of the deity. Water is not the only thing with which the deities were bathed for in one inscription of the reign of Parakesarivarman (year 14) we find provision made for bathing the deity in a local temple with 108 pots of honey, ghee and curd every month (280 of 1906).

A third kind of temple charity was for the offerings of flowers to the deity. In some cases we find land and money given for flower-gardens; in other cases provision was made for the supply of some kind of flower daily to the deity. Thus in an inscription of the reign of Rajaraja I, we find a merchant granting a flower-garden to the temple for the maintenance of which again he handed over two pieces of land to the local village assembly (S. I. I. III No. 68).⁶ Two ma of land was most probably sufficient for a flower-garden as we find from an inscription of the reign of Rajendra I (49 of 1918). The flower for which provision was made was generally tumbai flower, as we find a private individual making a deposit of gold in the temple-treasury for a daily supply of tumbai flower and an extra quantity of it on Sankranti days (226 of 1921); in another (37 of 1923) 6 kasu were deposited for the same purpose. Besides tumbai flower the other flowers mentioned in the inscriptions were Campaka (18 of 1922), lotus (625 of 1920), red lily (321 of 1905). In many inscriptions the quantity of the flowers, their number and even the size of the garlands to be made of them were mentioned, viz.,—land given for daily supply of a garland made of 2 nali of tumbai flowers (106 of 1895)⁷; land given by a Brahmin for the daily supply of a garland size 6 spans long (517 of 1911); 60 kasu deposited with the headman of Arkkada for the daily supply of 1,000 lotuses (615 of 1910). Provision was made in some cases for the maintenance of the gardens, as for example in inscription No. 184 of 1913, 110 kuli of land was granted for three gardens. A curious inscription in this connection is one belonging to the reign of Kulottunga Cola (499 of 1911) in which a certain Alageya Cola endowed a flower-garden for the benefit of his son and the latter's wife who committed Sati.

It was considered very meritorious those days to feed Brahmins and devotees in the temple. Large plots of land and substantial amount of

1. 383 of 1903; 420 of 1921; 217 of 1911; 217 of 1911 (for the bath during the 3 services).

2. also 276 of 1923.

3. 572 of 1920.

4. E. I. VII 143;

5. 587 of 1920.

6. Other examples:—547 of 1923; 127 of 1919; 120 of 1920; 217 of 1911 S. I. I. III No. 3.

7. Land for the supply of 4 garlands daily; 135 of 1912.

money were endowed for feeding Brahmins, who were sometimes 1,000 in number (230 of 1903). Ordinarily, however, the number of Brahmins fed in the temple was 15 to 215¹; instances of the feeding of individual Brahmins were also not rare.² It will be an interesting thing if we can learn how much did it cost in those days to feed a person daily. The figures, however, which we get in the inscriptions differ so widely that it is not possible to lay down any definite standard as regards the cost of daily or individual feeding. The cause of this difference in figures is most probably the fact that the meals provided varied in nature in the different cases. In one instance (165 of 1911) we find 50 kasu being endowed for feeding two Mahavrtas, in another (S. I. I. III No. 1) we find 200 kasu being deposited for feeding 12 Brahmins. The former figure however, may represent the standard rate for we find another similar instance (19 of 1907) in which a queen of Rajendra I deposited 100 Ilakkasus in a local temple for feeding 5 Brahmins (1 Ilakkasu yielded as interest 15 kasus and taking the standard rate of interest as $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ the annual interest of 50 kasu will be $6\frac{1}{4}$ kasus, i. e., $2\frac{1}{2}$ - $3\frac{1}{4}$ kasu per person). As regards endowments in land we find in one inscription (S. I. I. III No. 106) that 1 veli of land was sufficient to feed one Brahmin daily with 'superior food'. (1 veli of land yielded 150 Kalam of paddy). In another we find $1\frac{3}{4}$ nilam (138 kuli) of land being given for feeding Sivayogins. The feeding was not always done daily; sometimes the Brahmins and others were fed only on special occasions. Inscription No. 57 of 1313 states that devotees. to be fed only during the festival of Sittarai-Tiruvadira of Siraladeva; in another (273 of 1912) we come to know that 12 Brahmins were to be fed during 30 days of the month of Kumbha. Not only Brahmins and devotees were fed other pious persons such as those versed in the Vedas, Vaisnava pilgrims⁴, Sivayogins, etc., were fed. In fact instances were not rare in which we find provision being made for the feeding of even ordinary persons; for example in an inscription of the reign of Parakesarivarman (553 of 1920) we find a woman servant of the temple kitchen depositing 30 kasu for feeding 3 persons everyday; in another (244 of 1925) a gift of land was made for feeding 17 persons. What was the nature of the meals provided for these persons? We come across at least two instances of the kinds of meals provided in the temples. In the first (49 of 1888) there is mention of a meal consisting of 3 curries, $\frac{1}{2}$ pidi of ghee, curd and betel, in the other (S. I. I. III No. 106) a more detailed description is given namely, 'for one man 3 nali of rice pounded 10 or 8 times, 3 vegetables, (one) nali of curd, 2 sevidu of ghee, 12 areca nuts and 2 betel leaves'; 5 plates (talan), 5 cups (vattil) and one ladle were also provided.'

The most common and the most popular of the gifts, however was that of the lamp. Numerous Cola inscriptions testify the popularity of this kind of temple charity, instances of which are far more in number than those made for any other kind of temple charity. Endowments made for the lamps that were to be lighted before the deities consisted generally of gold, land and animals which give milk that can be turned into ghee, such as sheep, cows, buffaloes and goats. Instances of the last, that is to say, gift of animals for lamps are the most numerous. The number of

1. 840 of 1898; 260 of 1900; 627 of 1920; 604 of 1920.

2. 237 of 1915; 273 of 1892; 144 of 1918.

3. 15 Saivas to be fed on 7 days of the Masi Muklam festival (334 of 1904),

4. 255 of 1915.

5. 243 of 1925; 277 of 1911; itinerant Siva devotees (486 of 1907).

lamps that are to be maintained from the produce (*i. e.*, ghee from their milk) of a particular number of animals was not always given.¹ But in many other cases the number of lamps to be maintained was definitely laid down. 90 to 96 was the number in the case of sheep necessary for maintaining one lamp.² In one inscription of the reign of Rajendra I 93 sheep were given for a lamp (286 of 1904), in another (of the reign of Rajendra I) 192 sheep were given for 2 lamps (S. I. I. I No. 51 M) and in a third 900 sheep were given by the King himself (Raja Kesarivarman) for 10 lamps (79 of 1921). Sometimes endowments for half a lamp were also made, and in these cases the number of sheep required was also approximately half, as we find from certain inscriptions of the reign of Rajarja I (S. I. I. II No. 137; 99 of 1925: etc.) In these three cases the number of sheep given for half a lamp were 46, 45 and 48 respectively.

These endowments were made for perpetual lamps, *i. e.*, lamp that should burn day and night. There are inscriptions, however, which mention the time when the lamp should burn and also in some cases the place where they should burn. Thus one inscription of the reign of Rajendra I (13 of 1905) mentions the gift of 45 sheep for a lamp at night at the gate of the temple; another (398 1921) states that the lamp endowed should burn in the natakasalai mandapa of the temple.³ The lamps so far discussed was most probably the standard lamp used in the temple, because when we find only 25 sheep given for one lamp (98 of 1905) or 2 lamps (433 of 1909) they must have referred to smaller lamps, burning less quantity of ghee.⁴ As regards cows, 25 to 30 were considered sufficient for maintaining one lamp⁵; thus in one instance (522 of 1905), 30 cows were given for a lamp, in another (702 of 1916) 75 cows were given for 3 lamps (702 of 1906), in a third 13 cows were endowed for $\frac{1}{2}$ a lamp (328 of 1916). From these instance we can come to the conclusion that approximately 1 (one) cow was regarded as equivalent to 3 sheep, as 25—30 cows were required for the maintenance of a lamp whereas for the same purpose 90 sheep were generally necessary. As in the case of sheep so in the case of cows also we have smaller lamps endowed with smaller number of animals, for example in inscription No. 69 of 1890, 15 cows are given for one lamp. Buffaloes produce generally more milk than cows and so we find the number of buffaloes endowed for one lamp was generally much less than that of cows necessary for the same purpose. The ratio between the number of sheep and buffaloes as regards their ghee-producing capacity is however not the same in the records. In S. I. I. II No. 94, 6 sheep are taken as equal to one buffalo for this purpose, where as in [E. C. X. Kl. 106 (a)] we find 5 buffaloes left with the Siva-Brahmins of the temple for one lamp⁶; in another inscription 6 were endowed for the same purpose (447 of 1917). It may be that the latter furnish instances of the endowment of a smaller lamp. There is mention of goat for lamp in one inscription of Raja-Kesarivarman (586 of 1904) where 30 goats and 30 sheep were

1. S. I. I. V 68 (100 sheep); 98 of 1914 (34 sheep 91 of 1925 (180 sheep); 286 of 1902; 79 of 1893; M. A. S. VI. p. 9.

3. 32 cows were given for burning 10 'bright' lamps during first evening service (84 of 1922).

4. 50 sheep for one lamp (622 of 1916); 25 sheep for $\frac{1}{2}$ a lamp (620 of 1916).

5. 25 cows for one lamp (713 of 1916); 38 cows for $1\frac{1}{2}$ lamp (T. A. S. IV. P. 134-35); 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ cows for $\frac{1}{2}$ lamp (328 of 1916).

6. 50 buffaloes given for one lamp (262 of 1905; TRIPURANTAKAM; 43rd. year of Kulottunga I).

endowed for a lamp. Apparently one goat was equivalent to one sheep for this purpose. When money or gold was endowed for lamp the amount was generally between 15 to 25 Kalanju. Thus in one inscription of Raja-Kesarivarman we find 20 Kalanju given for a perpetual lamp (263 of 1910); 60 Kalanju were given in an inscription of reign of Rajaraja I (78 of 1921) for 4 lamps. Instances in which greater or smaller amount of gold was endowed for one lamp are however common. Thus in two cases (70 of 1920 and 274 of 1920) we find 30 Kalanju being endowed for one lamp. In an inscription of the reign of Parthivendravarman 25 Kalanju were given for 2 lamps (S. I. I. III No. 197); in an inscription of the reign of Rajendra I (80 of 1897) 50 kasu were endowed for 10 lamps.¹ Endowments of land were also made for lamps. In an inscription of the reign of Raja Kesarivarman (249 of 1894) we find 400 kuli of land being given away by a member of the village assembly for a lamp. From the reign of Kulottunga Cola comes another inscription in which 1,100 kuli of land were endowed for 20 lamps which were to burn from sunset to the close of Sribali (470 of 1900). From this inscription we learn further that each lamp required $1\frac{1}{2}$ sevida of ghee per day. Some curious endowments were sometimes made for lamps, such as, when an oil-mill was given by the nagaratta of Iruluyar for lamp (470 of 1911) or when a salt pan was endowed for the same purpose.

Besides these major endowments others were made from time to time for various special purposes. Two inscriptions (484 of 1911 and 181 of 1912) refer to the bali sacrifice in temple. The former, which belongs to the reign of Rajendra I, mentions the sacrifice of a goat every Tuesday to Bhattarika Mundeswari. Some inscriptions refer to endowments made for providing incense, etc., to the deities, e.g., endowment for sandal paste (57 of 1918; 9 of 1914) for incense (15 of 1907; 464 of 1918) for camphor (S. I. I. II No. 27; S. I. I. II 9; 72 of 1882). Many endowments were for the performance of various kinds of festivals in the temple, which were in some case monthly (54 of 1918), and in others yearly (459 of 1918); some were to be performed on special days (140 of 1925); in the last an endowment of 3 ma of land was made for expenses on Sankranti days, others were for some special occasions which were specified (76 of 1919). In an inscription of the reign of Kulottunga I (73 of 1914) the festivals to be performed in the temple of Sri-Kallasa were provided for by a royal order ordaining that every ma of harvested field growing paddy, millet or gingelly was to supply one kuruni of paddy, each areca palm one nut and each vallalor household one ulakku of oil. Provisions were also made for repairing and white-washing the temple (279 of 1895; 174 of 1929; S. I. I. III No. 121).

The devotion of the people often found expression in the gift of rich ornaments for the deities in the temple and various articles necessary for the daily worship. Various kinds of ornaments such as crown, bracelet, ear-ring, gold flower, garlands, umbrellā and articles such as gold vessel, lamp stands, silver salver, fly whisk, spoon, coudi, pot of gold (silver, bronze and bell-metal), etc., were given to the deities. The most interesting point to note in this connection is the minute description of the ornaments given in some of the inscriptions. To give only example

1. Other instances :—5 Kalanju for 'some lamps' (67 of 1895); 8 kasu for lamp (100 of 1914). In some cases the amount of gold was not mentioned at all, e.g., 239 of 1902 and 198 of 1930 where what is stated is simply 'gold for lamp.'

(S. I. I. II No. 7) in one Tanjavur inscription the description and weight of every ornament are given; the crown for instance we learn from this inscription, contained 348 Karanju and $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{3}{4}$ manjadi of gold, 859 diamonds set into it, weighing 3 Karanju; 309 large and small rubies, 669 pearls weighing 35 Karanju; 1 ma, 1 kuruni altogether the crown weighed 407 Karanju and was valued 5,000 kasu.

Some very curious endowments made in the Cola inscriptions were for expiating homicide, voluntary or involuntary. The most common endowment made for this purpose was provisions for burning a lamp in the temple. Thus we learn from an inscription of Rajendra I (S. I. I. I. 1411) that a person was killed in a duel and so a perpetual lamp was endowed in the local temple by the survivor for expiating the sin of involuntary homicide. Another inscription of the same king (No. 227 of 1904) tells us that a lamp was endowed by a chief for atonement for his having stabbed a military officer.¹ Two inscriptions of the reign of Kulottunga I (279 of 1919; 27 of 1919) refer to the endowment of $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ lamp respectively for accidental homicide in a deer hunt.² As the homicide here was entirely involuntary, the endowment was smaller, *i.e.*, for part of a lamp.

Besides these endowments of gold, money and land made for various purposes, land and even whole villages were often granted to the temples by kings and private individual not for any specific purpose but for strengthening the resources of the temple treasury. There are references to the grant of 400 Kuli of land (S. I. I. No. 27), 18 plots (418 of 1921) and 1,000 Kuli . . . in the Cola inscriptions. In one inscription of the reign of Rajakesarivarman $\frac{1}{4}$ share of all lands and tanks was granted by the village assembly (615 of 1920). Besides plots of land whole villages were sometimes made the property of the temple by munificent donors especially by the kings. South Indian inscription Nos. 4, 5, 92, refer to the grant of a large number of villages (16 in inscription No. 4; and 24 in inscription No. 5) both inside and outside the Cola country made by King Rajaraja to the Rajarajeswara temple at Tanjavur. Besides such mass donations of villages, individual villages were sometimes granted to the temple by the King³. Though it was the king who in most cases gave away the villages to the temple other persons and bodies also sometimes made grants of villages. An inscription of the reign of Sundara Cola (S. I. I. III No. 16) refers to the grant of the hamlet of Palikkunram to the Arinjigai-Iswara temple by the citizens of Merpadi. These grants of a village or villages often contain many interesting details which cast important sidelights on land grants in this period of Indian history. Some of the royal grants³ for example (S. I. I. II 4 and 5) give a minute description of the measurement of land in the village as well as a detailed account of the revenue in paddy, gold, and money that can be derived from the village. Incidentally we notice

1. Other examples—67 of 1906; 64 of 1900.

2. 220 of 1904; 157 of 1915; S. I. I. III. 20 (by Virarajendu) S. I. I. III. 73 (by Kulottunga I); 258 of 1910 (by Rajendra Coladeva) S. I. I. III 21 (by P. Rajendra II); 312 of 1901 (by Kulottunga I.)

3. 1. Cf. S. I. I. II. 4—16 villages are mentioned. Detailed description of the area and revenue of each was given. To mention only a few—(a) Village of Arappara—area 111 ma of lands revenue—1674 Kasu; (b) Village of Kirandevankudi—area 22 ma : revenue 2180 Kasu, (c) Nagank—area—22 ma : revenue 2183 Kasu; etc.

here¹ (S. I. I. II 4 and 5) the land in a village which was exempt from the payment of taxes. Some inscriptions² mention the privileges accruing to the donee on account of the grant. South Indian inscription, Vol. 3 No. 151 mentions among others, the right of digging channels, building houses, planting cocoanut, mango and other trees, erecting oil-presses, etc. Now as Hultzsch has rightly remarked in his introduction to inscription No. 205 of S. I. I. III, no licence was possibly required for most of the activities mentioned here. They were most probably not so much privileges granted as only formal clauses in a land grant. Of these, however, the right of irrigation most probably did not belong automatically to the donee but had to be granted by the donor; in an inscription of the reign of . . . we find the Sabha making tax-free devadana grant with particular mention of the fact that the grant included the right of irrigation³ from a tank in the neighbourhood (506 of 1911). Thus the village temple was often a big landlord owning hundreds of acres of land, and in some cases whole villages. But though the temple was a big owner of land, it did not enjoy land free from the ordinary obligation that accompanies ownership of land, *i.e.*, payment of taxes. Like every one else the temple also had to pay taxes to the government for the land that it owned. This is evident from the numerous references in the Cola inscriptions to the remission of taxes due on lands owned by temple made by the village assembly. This exemption from the payment of taxes was granted. Sometimes to the temple by the assembly⁴ voluntarily; sometimes private individuals⁵, deposited with the Sabha large amounts of money as capitalised amount for the taxes due by the temple to the Sabha, and sometimes the temple⁶ itself made the grant of a lump sum for exemption from the payment of taxes in future to the Sabha. Occasionally we find the king making remission⁷ of taxes in favour of temple lands. These taxes most probably referred to those payable by the temple to the central government, whereas the former referred to local taxes due to the village assembly by the temple. This

1. Land in a village exempted from taxation :—the village-site (ur-nattam), the sacred temple (Sri-Koyil), the ponds (Kulam), the channels (vaykkal) passing through the village, the paraich-cheri (the quarter in which the paraiyas live), the Kammanaseri (artisans, including stone-masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and copper-smiths), the burning ground (Sudukadu), the Vannarachcheri (quarter of the washer man), the stone-fold for cattle, the land used as thrashing floor . . . etc. S. I. I. II No. 4 and 5.

2. Privileges accompanying land grants :—digging of channels and wells; planting of trees such as cocoanut, in groves, mango, jack, areca and ors., setting up of oil-presses, building of houses of burnt tile, sinking of reservoirs; 'cocoanut, palmyra and areca nut trees must not be climbed (tapped) by toddy-drawer'. S. I. I. III 151, 205, 20; II 73; Leydan C. P. Grant (A. S. S. I. Vol. IV).

3. S. I. I. III 205; II 73.

4. Remission by the assembly of taxes due on land granted to temple (430 of 1918); Remission by village assembly of taxes due on land granted for a flower-garden (481 of 1925). Decision by the assembly that no taxes should be levied on temple belongings (133 of 1914). Other examples :—61 of 1923, 493 of 1925, 2 of 1927, 94 of 1925, 79 of 1928, 81 of 1928, 101 of 1928.

5. Remission of taxes by assembly for lump amount received from a private individual (187 of 1926). Donor of temple lands deposits 200 kalanju with assembly for securing exemption from taxes for lands given by him (232 of 1923). Other examples :—54 of 1928, 193 of 1911, 72 of 1908.

6. Assembly to pay taxes in return for 50 kasu for 2 veli of land purchased by temple for expenses of Vaigasi festival (186 of 1925). Remission of taxes on temple land after taking 65 kasu from the Kudittittai temple (29 of 1908).

7. Remission of taxes by king in favour of the temple of Kailasamudaiya (619 of 1916). King declared tax-free certain devadana land and had them entered in the register as such (642 of 1916); other instances :—S. I. I. II 123 61.

is evident from an inscription of the reign of Rajarja I (54 of 1928) in which the king and his queen granted land to temple at the same time deposited an amount of 15 kasu with the local Sabha for getting exemption from the payment of taxes for the land granted. This would not have been done had the taxes been central taxes, because in that case no deposit of money would have been necessary, the king himself being in a position to grant that required exemption.

It will be a very interesting thing to know how these grants of gold and money, land and villages, made for various kinds of offerings were utilised by the temple. In most cases we find they were not used in the shape in which they were given because in that case they would have been exhausted and used up soon. The temple used to invest them with various persons and bodies and use for the temple only the interest. The village assemblies in those days acted also as local banks and so the money-grants of the temple were in many cases deposited with the local village assembly. In the South Indian inscription, Vol. II (inscription 13 to 19) we have a number of such instances¹ of money being deposited by the temple with local village assembly. The rate of interest is also laid down. It was generally $12\frac{1}{2}\%$. In these cases the deposit was made by the temple itself, but we also come across a number of instances in which the donor (person or persons) deposited his grant not directly with the temple but with the village assembly directing it to pay the annual interest to the temple.² A Tanjavur inscription (S. I. I. II No. 9) records such a case in which we find the rate of interest, to be paid to the temple by certain villagers for a sum of money, which has been contributed by certain donors and the temple treasury, being fixed. A very curious inscription of the reign of Rajendra Cola-deva (S. I. I. II. No. 37) comes before us in this connection. In this we find the king depositing a sum of money which was lent out to the inhabitants of four bazaars of Tanjavur. Instead of interest people had to supply daily a fixed number of plantains to the temple. Making deposits with the village assembly was only one way of investing temple money, the other which was also frequently resorted to, was lending money at interest to persons, especially to village assemblies.³ Inscription No. 6 and 7 of S. I. I. Vol. II, record two such instances in which certain villages borrowed money from the Tanjavur () temple and agreed to pay an annual interest, either in money or paddy. The interest paid by the depositors of borrowers, thus we see, could be either in money or in kind.⁴ In one inscription of the reign of Rajarja II we find the Sabha unable to meet interest charges on a large loan given by temple during a famine contributing

1. (Inscription No. 13) 800 kasu deposited with the village assembly of Perumbalamardur—annual interest—100 kasu.

(Inscription No. 14) 1,000 kasu deposited with the village assembly of Kalappar—annual interest—125 kasu.

(Inscription No. 15) 500 kasu deposited with the village assembly of Vanganagar—annual interest—62½ kasu.

(Inscription No. 16) 500 kasu deposited with the village assembly of Panaiyur—annual interest—62½ kasu.

2. S. I. I. II. 54.

3. 255 of 1921—this ins. record further that a fine of $\frac{1}{8}$ pon for each day in default was to be paid by Sabha; 244 of 1921; S. I. I. I. 85; 397 of 1913; S. I. I. III. 125.

4. 244 of 1921 (interest in kind). 397 of 1913—interest being 2 tuni and 3-kuruni of paddy per kasu. S. I. I. III. No. 125—assembly pays as interest oil for gold borrowed from temple.

some land for it¹ (5 of 1889). A number of inscriptions² refer to an agreement, made between Sabha and the temple that the former instead of paying interest for the loan taken from the temple should pay taxes on the temple lands in the village in lieu of the interest. In one inscription we find the residents of a village (of Manabur) making an agreement to supply annually 4 cloths in lieu of interest due from them to the temple (15 of 1918). Thus we find that the temple in the Cola country often acted as a bank also and looked after its interests remarkably well, and we must say with great efficiency.

Another kind of grant that was often made to the temple was that of taxes on lands and villages made by the king and in some cases by the village assemblies. Regarding most of these taxes it is very difficult to say whether as granted to the temple by the king they actually belonged to the temple and thus could be realised by it from the villages or whether they formed by themselves only formal clauses in the land grants in which they were made. A good list of such taxes is given in the Tiruvalangadu plates of Rajendra—Cola I (S. I. I. III 205).³ They are as follows:—(Line 426) fee for the administration of the district⁴ (nadatchi), fee for the administration of the village⁵ (uratchi), nali (of grain) on (every) basket, fee on washerman's stones,⁶ marriage fees,⁷ fees on potters⁸ and shepherds⁹ tax on looms¹⁰ brokerage¹¹ tax on goldsmiths¹² nanrupadu, mavirai, tiyeri, virpedi, valamanjadi, fee for the watch of the district¹³ udupokkulan, ilaikkulan water-tax¹⁴, fees on ferries¹⁵ and every other including such as the king can take and enjoy. A few others are mentioned along with many of these taxes, such as, the tax on Ajivikas¹⁶, the tax on oil-mills (S. I. I. I. No. 59), the internal revenue¹⁷, the taxes in paddy and the taxes in money accruing from the external revenue¹⁸ due from fields called Veda-Kandam and Kamujadi¹⁹ the minor taxes, the fines called Kurram and danda²⁰ including the share of the village accountant²¹ and the share and tax of the temple accountant (S. I. I. III No. 61). Though most of these taxes might not have been regular sources of income to the State, some of them at least were taxes in the real sense of the term and thus could be realised by the temple authorities for temple expenses. In an inscription of the reign of Virarajendras²² we find the King granting taxes to temple for the expenses of a particular festival; an inscription²³ of the reign of Rajendra II mentions the gift of taxes due from some villages amounting to 80 kasu per annum for Margali-Tiruvidarai festival to

1. 211 of 1922; 170 of 1908.

2. 121 of 1925; 101 of 1925; 105 of 1925; 211 1922; 521 of 1920.

3. Cf. the kasakudi plates of Nandivarman, (S. I. I. II 73). The Leyden Copper-plate grants.

4. S. I. I. II 73; III 15; A. S. I. IV.

5. S. I. I. III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

6. S. I. I. III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

7. S. I. I. III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

8. S. I. I. II 73; III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

9. III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

10. S. I. I. I 59, 61; III 57, 61, 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

11. S. I. I. III 151; A. S. I. IV.

12. S. I. I. I 59, III 57, 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

13. S. I. I. III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

14. S. I. I. III 151.

15. S. I. I. I 59.

16. S. I. I. III 61.

17. S. I. I. III 60.

18. S. I. I. III 20,

19. S. I. I. III 151; A. S. S. I. IV.

20. S. I. I. I 59; III 61.

21. S. I. I. III 60, 61.

22. S. I. I. III 61.

23. S. I. I. I 64; II 73.

24. 101 of 1926.

temple made by the king. To produce for the expenses of certain festivals would have been meaningless unless they were realisable by the temple authorities. Another concrete and definite example of the grant of a tax is furnished by an inscription of the reign of R. Rajadhiraja (32 of 1919) in which we find a district revenue officer making a gift of the tax on oil-mills to the temple. So after all the doubt which Hultzsch expresses in his introduction to inscription No. 205 in S. I. I. Vol. II by saying that they were not regular sources of revenue to the state, but perhaps were 'services which the king alone could enforce on the people for his personal enjoyment' may not be true after all. We come across several inscriptions in which we find some of these taxes at least granted to temple by the village assembly or other bodies and that for particular services to the temples. They were not given away in a vague way as an accompaniment of a land grant as is the case in S. I. I. III No. 205, etc. Thus we find in an inscription of the reign of Kulottunga I in which the assembly grants the minor taxes on shop in the village, for a perpetual lamp in the temple (197 of 1911)¹. In S. I. I. III inscription No. 60 we find a Sengani chief giving the money accruing from the internal revenue of the temple, the fines called Kurram and danda for repairs of the temple. Another Sengani chief assigns to temple not land but directly and definitely taxes such as:—the internal revenue, the taxes on loom, the tax on Ajivikas, the minor taxes, the fines called Kurram and danda, etc. (S. I. I. III 61)².

Liberal grants (of land and money) were also made to provide for the host of temple servants that were employed to perform the manifold activities and functions of the temple. In a Tanjavur inscription of Rajaraja (S. I. I. II 66) we find the king assigning produce of land to temple servants. Each person received one or more shares, each of which consisted of the produce of one veli of land which was calculated at 100 Kalam of paddy per veli. Thus the temple land was not distributed equally among the temple servants but in proportion of services rendered by them to temple (605 of 1920). It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of such servants here, though we come across a catalogue of temple servants appearing in an inscription of Rajadhiraja (137 of 1928). But in a general way we can say that besides the manager of the temple, the priests, treasurer and accountant the other more well-known servants were musicians, drummers, singers, parasol-bearers, lamp-lighters, washermen, potters, barbers, astrologers, tailors, brazier, carpenter, dancing girls, dancing masters (S. I. I. II No. 66), gardener (111 of 1929) and cooks (182 of 1919).

Thus we see that the village temple in the Cola country was well provided for by grants of money, lands and villages. Every aspect of activity was well looked after and provision made for all kinds of temple offerings. But the Cola temple was as, I have said at the beginning, 'more than a small structure of brick and mortar providing a centre of simple worship attended by villagers,' it was a centre which gathered round itself in intimate business relation the people of the

1. An inscription of the reign of Rajendra Coladeva (24 of 1919) mentions the grant by the king of taxes on a salt pan for two lamps in temple.

2. One very interesting inscription in this connection is inscription No. 90 of S. I. I. III of the reign of Aditya I, in which the assembly of Nalur grants the market fee of the bazaar to temple. The Bazaar fee was as follows:—One nali for 1 kasu worth of goods sold by measuring, such as paddy; one nati from each heap from goods sold by heap, one palam from goods sold by weight, one, parru from each basket of betel leaves, 2 areca-nuts from each basket.

neighbourhood in all the several aspects of their life. In fact as has been well said, 'it was a landholder, an employer, a consumer of goods and services, a school, a museum, hospital and theatre.'¹ In many inscriptions we find grants being made to temple with not so much any aspect of temple worship in view but with an aim to provide for the social and moral upliftment of the people or even for their entertainment.

In those days when public theatres like those we have now did not exist it was in the *nataka-salai* (theatre hall) of the village temple that the people were entertained. We have many Cola inscriptions to this effect.² One inscription of Raja Kesarivarman (S.I.I. II. No. 67) records the assignment by the king of a daily allowance of paddy to a troupe of actors who had to perform a drama entitled *Rajrajeswaranataka* in the *Rajrajeswara* temple on the occasion of a certain festival. In another inscription belonging to Rajendra I we find land given as *Nrtyabhoga*, made over by Sabha to a certain individual for acting seven *ankas* of the *Ariyukkuttu* on festival days (106 of 1895). Endowment for the *nataka-salai* is mentioned in an inscription of Rajendra II (655 of 1893) and the boundaries of land belonging to the same is mentioned in an inscription of Vikrama Cola (67 of 1926). Though the subject matter of the dramas staged in the *nataka-salai* was more or less of a religious nature they provided good entertainment to the people of those times. To the same class can we place those grants which were made for the musicians in the temple and those who were responsible for singing the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns³ and the recitation of the Vedas.⁴ Though their main object was to propagate religion through music and thus make the people religious-minded they provided some entertainment also at the same time.

The temple often served as a school. An inscription of the reign of Parakesari Rajendra I tells us of a grant of 46 *veli* of land made by the king to a temple to serve many purposes one of which was the maintenance of an educational institution in which Vedas, Vyakaranas and Mimamsa were taught (337 of 1917). An inscription of Parantaka I (76 of 1919) mentions a grant of land made by a general which was to maintain an elaborately organised college of higher learning. One kind of temple grant was called *Bharata-Vrtti* the aim of which was to provide for the exposition of the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Puranas. We come across two such inscriptions one belonging to the reign of Rajendra II (48 of 1923) and the other belonging to the reign of Rajakesari Rajamahendra-Deva (50 of 1932).

Besides schools and theatre halls there were attached to the temples, in many cases, hospitals and feeding houses to give relief to the sick and the destitutes. An inscription of the reign of Parantaka mentions the sale of land by assembly to temple for a feeding house (152 of 1919) and

1. The Colas II, page 504 (K. A. Nalakantha Sastri).

2. 250 of 1926—records grant of gold 1½ kasu and paddy 3 kallam to a certain person for enacting 3 scenes of *Sakka-kuttu* on certain occasions; 264 of 1907; 152 of 1925; 253 of 1914; 157 of 1895.

3. Investment of gold and land for the singing of *Tiruppadiyam* only on certain occasions :—336 of 1906; 276 of 1917; 96 of 1923; 373 of 1903. General endowment of gold and land for the singing of *Tiruppadiyam* at temple :—129 of 1894; 275 of 1917; 199 of 1915; 44 of 1918; 12 of 1905. In S.I.I. II No. 65 we find the king (Parantaka I?) making endowment for 48 persons who are to sing the *Tiruppadiyam* in the temple and also for those who had to accompany the former on drums.

4. 52 of 1928; 140 of 1926.

one belonging to the reign of Virarajendra (182 of 1915) tells us of the details of the treatment of a hospital¹ attached to the temple.

Thus the temple grants of the Cola country not only gives us an inside into the details of the various ways in which the people of South India, rich and poor, king and queen, minister and general, merchant and peasant tried to provide for the needs of the temple, but they also tell us a great deal of the story of the social life of South India during the time of the imperial Colas, with the village temple as its centre.

XIV

THE HISTORICAL LITERATURE OF TIBET

By Georges De Roerich, Naggar, Kulu, Punjab.

It may seem that Tibet secluded for centuries behind mighty snowy ramparts, had no history, nothing to help the historian in the reconstruction of the Past of the Middle and Far East. Such an opinion was often expressed and was mainly due to the lack of adequate knowledge of the voluminous literature produced by Tibetan writers, outside of the two great collections of Buddhist texts translated from Indian originals.

In the history of Tibet there had been three epochs during which Tibet's influence spread far beyond the snow-clad mountain barriers forming its natural boundary. The first epoch began early in the VII century A.D., during the reign of the Tibetan king Nam-ri song-tsen (gNam-ri sron-btsan) who succeeded in 607 A.D. to unite the various Tibetan tribes. His son the famous song-tsen gam-po (Sren-btsan sgam-po) (629-650 A.D.,) laid the foundation of the Imperial period of Tibetan history.

Tibetan armies appeared on the borders of the Kansu Province in North-Western China, and Nepal, and vast tracts of the Himalayan region became vassals of the Tibetan king. For almost two centuries Tibetan armies overran the whole of the Tarim basin, pushed as far as the Pamirs, and in 673 A.D. Tibetan cavalry penetrated as far as the province of Shensi in Western China, and even captured the T'ang capital-Ch'ang-an (modern Hsi-an-fu, capital of Shensi Province). The T'ang Empire was forced to mobilise all its military might in order to repel the onslaughts of the warlike Tibetans. In 788-9 the Chinese concluded a military alliance with the Uighur Turks who twice defeated the Tibetans, in 789 near the town of Kuch'eng in Jungaria, and in 791 near Ning-hsia on the Yellow River. In 798 the T'ang Empire concluded a treaty of alliance directed against Tibet with the 'Abbasid khalif Harun ar-Rashid! This period of energetic forward policy came to a close in 821-2 when the Tibetan king Ti-tsuk de-tsen Ral-pa-chan (Khri-tug lde-btsan Ral-pa-can, 814-836-7) concluded with the T'ang Emperor Mu-tsung the famous peace treaty, the text of which has been preserved on a stone pillar in Lhasa, and is one of the oldest historical documents in Tibet. According to the "Chronicle" of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (p. 43b) similar pillars with the text of the treaty engraved on them had been also placed at Gun-ga rMe-ru on the Sino-Tibetan border

1. 97 of 1928 (Vikramā Cola).

demarcated by the treaty, and even in the courtyard of the Imperial Palace at Ch'ang-an.

The second and third periods were characterised by a strong religious and cultural expansion. Throughout the Mongol epoch (XII—XIV centuries A.D.), the lama-hierarchs of the great Tibetan monastery of Sa-skya, were founded in 1073 A.D., and the heads of the karma-Pa sect (a branch of the bKa'-brgyud-pa sect) played an important role at the court of the Mongol Emperors. In 1244 Khan Godan, son of the great Khan Ogedei, invited the Sa-skya hierarch Kun-ga jyal-tsen (Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, 1182-1251) to visit him in Kansu. This Sa-skya hierarch is said to have adapted for the use of Mongols the Uighur script Hor-chos-'byun, ed. Huth, p. 83 (ff) of the Tibetan text. In the reign of the great Khan Mongka (1251-1259) the Mongol Imperial Court was visited by the Karma Pak-shi Ohondzin (Karma Pag-si Ches-'dzin, 1204—1283) and in 1253 the great Khan Khubilai received the Sa-skya hierarch, the famous Phak-pa Lama Lo-to jyal-tsen ('Phags-pa bLa-ma bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan, 1239—1280) the creator of a national script for the Mongols, which was introduced by Imperial edict in 1269. This Sa-skya hierarch was made an Imperial Preceptor (Chinese : kuo-shih) and in 1275 appointed ruler of the thirteen provinces of Tibet (khri-skor bcu-gsum) with the title of on-chen (dbon-chen) or "great nephew," in order to stress the vassalage of the Tibetan hierarch. Until the end of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty in China in 1368, the Mongol Emperors continued to maintain relations with the Sa-skya hierarchs and later with the heads of the Karma-pa sect.

The third period may be said to have begun with the visit of the third Dalai Lama So-nam jyamtshe (bSod-nams rgya-mtsho) to the court of Altan Khan 1532-1585, Khan of the Tumet Mongols, in 1578. Throughout the XVI, the XVII and the XVIII centuries the Lama-rulers of Tibet maintained intimate relations with the various Mongol Khanates of Central Asia. The contemporary of Altan Khan, the Khalkha Mongol ruler Abatai Khan fostered the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in Northern Mongolia, and in 1586 built the first lamasery in Khalkha Mongolia, the large monastery of Erdeni-Dzu, erected on the site of the ancient capital Karakorum. During the reign of the Chakhar Mongol Khan Likden Legs-ldan 1604-1634, the whole of the Tibetan Kanjur (bKa'-gyur) was translated in 1624 into Mongolian. In that colossal work Tibetan translators co-operated with Mongol scholars. There has been a frequent exchange of embassies between Lhasa and the courts of the Western Mongol Khans, and there is reason to believe that the return to Jungaria of the Torgut horde in 1771 was largely due to the influence of the Lamaist Church. The Lamaist Church was also instrumental in bringing the various Mongol tribes under the rule of the Manchu Emperors. This last period of Tibetan cultural and religious expansion reached its apex during the reigns of the Manchu Emperors K'ang-hsi, Yung-cheng and Ch'ien-lung, who prompted by political motives powerfully helped the spread of the influence of the Lamaist Church among the tribes of Mongolia and Jungaria and North-Eastern Tibet. Official support and personal interest shown by the Manchu Emperors resulted not only in the erection of hundreds of large and small monastic establishments throughout Mongolia, China and Tibet, but produced a great revival of Buddhist learning. Indeed some of the best writers and scholars appeared during this period. Tibetans have always been prolific writers, and the number of works which can be classed as historical, containing matters of interest to an historian, is very considerable. In the present paper we shall give a

brief survey of the Tibetan historical literature, as far as known to us, in relation to the three periods in the history of the country.

The vast Tibetan literature remains even now a terra incognita. The difficulties of entering the country and pursuing there scientific studies make it impossible to give an adequate survey of the existing literature. A bibliography of Tibet with a brief description of the contents of each work cannot be attempted at the present stage of our knowledge. In Tibet itself there exist brief lists of literature (so-called *mtshan-tho*) issued by various Tibetan printing presses, but such lists are of little help, since the real titles of works are very often concealed either under flowery phrases or under conventional abridged titles, by which the works are known to the learned men of the country. Some of the Tibetan writers have given us bibliographical lists of Tibetan printed works, and such lists are of considerable help to the student of Tibetan literature. Of special interest and importance are works and documents contemporary with the great Tibetan political expansion of the VII-IX centuries A.D. For a long time the only documents which could be safely treated as contemporary to this period were the treaties concluded by Tibetan kings, the texts of which had been published by Colonel L. A. Waddell and by Sir Charles Bell (Waddell L. A.): *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, JRAS. 1903, p. 923 ff; 1910, p. 1247 ff, 1911, p. 389 ff. Sir Charles Bell: *Tibet Past and Present*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 271 ff. Our chief source for this period have for a long time been the Chinese Dynastic Annals of the T'ang Dynasty, chapters 256th and 257th of the Ch'ien-lung edition which had been partly translated by (E. Bushell) *The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources*, JRAS. (new series, vol. XIII, pp. 435 ff), and by W. Rockhill (*Tibet, a Geographical, Ethnological and Historical Sketch*, derived from Chinese Sources). JRAS. vol. XXIII (1891), pp. 1 ff; pp. 185 ff, as well as the important T'ung tien by Tu Yu, composed between 766 and 801 A.D. We know that from a comparatively early date Tibetans possessed brief historical chronicles, allusions to which are found in later historical works. We know that king Song-tsen gam-po received books on chronology and time-reckoning from China and the country of the Mi-nag, that is the Tangut tribes of North-Eastern Tibet on the borders of the Kansu Province (Bushell: *The Early History of Tibet*, p. 11) At present we are in a much better position to reconstruct the History of Tibet in the VII, VIII and IXth centuries A.D., for we possess fragments of authentic contemporary Tibetan chronicles discovered in the walled-up library of the Ch'ien Fo Tung Cave Temples in Tun-huang (Western Kansu Province), and in the ruins of Tibetan forts in the Tarim basin, brought back by the expeditions of Sir Aurel Stein 1906-8, and of Prof. Paul Pelliot (1906-8). Among the numerous fragments of Tibetan texts, containing Buddhist sutras, official correspondence, important for the reconstruction of the history of the Tibetan occupation of the Tarim basin, were found several "rgyal-rabs" or "Royal Chronicles" which permit us to reconstruct the history of Tibet in the reigns of king Song-tsen gam-po and of his father Nam-ri song-tsen, and give a vivid picture of the Tibetan feudal society of the VII-IX centuries, usefully supplementing the accounts contained in the Chinese Dynastic Annals. Among the manuscripts brought back by the Pelliot Expedition from Tun-huang there were found two chronicles. Manuscript No. 250 of the Tibetan Collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, contains a chronicle, probably written in the IXth century, which gives an account of the reigns of seven Tibetan kings, predecessors of king Song-tsen gam-po

(629—650), an account of the latter's reign and an account of the reigns of his three successors. The second chronicle, No. 252 of the Paris Collection, was found to be incomplete, but later the beginning of the manuscript was discovered among the Tibetan manuscripts brought back by Sir Aurel Stein from Tun-huang, and is now preserved in the Library of the India Office in London. The chronicle gives a detailed account, year by year, from 650 to 747 A.D., and moreover contains a brief account of the last nine years of the reign of king Song-tsen sgam-po. (J. Bacot: *Le Mariage de Sron-btsan sgan-po*, p. 6, note). Among the Tibetan documents of the Paris Collection there was also discovered a most interesting Tibetan translation of a Report made to the Khan of the Uighur Turks, describing the various tribes of Central Asia, situated between the Ural Mountains and Korea. The report gives the names of forty tribes, as well as valuable information on the military organisation of the various tribes, tribal territory, food supplies and commerce (J. Bacot, *J. As.* 1937, p. 140).

The Tun-huang chronicles prove the important fact that in the reign of king Son-tsen gamg-po, Buddhism had only penetrated into the immediate entourage of the Tibetan king, and that the masses of the Tibetan people continued to profess the ancient shamanistic faith, the so-called Bon. It was only in VIII century, in the reign of king Ti-song de-tsen (Khri-sron lde btsan, 755-780) that Buddhism began to spread among the masses. Chinese texts discovered in the walled-up Library of Tun-huang also indicate that Buddhism began to spread in Tibet in the second half of the VIII century, and even contain an account of a religious debate between Indian and Chinese Buddhist monks held in Tibet at the end of the VIII century, and presided over by the king of Tibet, thus proving the authenticity of the story found in Tibetan historical works (Demieville, *J.As.* 1937, p. 503).

Manuscript No. 254 (Fonds Pelliot-Tibetan in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris) contains a "History of Buddhism in Khotan" (Li-yul chos-kyi lo-rgyus). The text is related to the well-known Li'i-yul-gyi lun-bstan-pa and the Li-yul-gyi lo rgyus. "The Prophecy of the Li country" and "The Annals of the Li country" (bsTan-'gyur, vol. 94, mDo, pp. 420b-4442), has been now translated by Professor F. W. Thomas in his "Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan," vol. 1, London, 1936, pp. 303-327. All this rich and highly important material was being edited and translated by Professor Jacques Bacot of Paris, and Professor F. W. Thomas. The edition of the Tibetan texts from Tun-huang by Professor Bacot was almost ready, if it were not for the tragic events of June, 1940.

Most of Tibetan historical works containing chapters on this period of Tibetan history, appeared after the year 1027 A.D., when the sexagenary cycle was introduced into the country from Central Asia. There exists a number of purely historical works known as Gyal-rabs (Rajavamsa) or "Royal Chronicles" which form a class by themselves. A number of these rGyal-rabs are known to science and some of them have been translated into European languages. The West Tibetan Chronicle or the La-dwags-kyi rGyal-rabs has been translated by E. Schlangintweit under the title "Die Koenige von Tibet" (Adh. D. Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, 1kl. vol. X. 111. Munich, 1866). A new edition of the same chronicle was published with a translation and notes by the late A. H. Francke, of the Moravian Mission in his "Antiquities of Indian Tibet", vol. 11, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 20-59. Well known is the rGyal-

rabs Chos-byun, gsal-ba'i me-lon or the "Clear Mirror of the Royal Chronicle and Origin of the Doctrine." The book is said to have been written by the monk So-nam rgyal-tshen (bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan), of Sa-skya at the Monastery of Samey in the earth-male-dragon year, which according to Dr. B. Laufer, (*T'oung Pao*, XIV 1913, p. 588,) corresponds to the year 1328 A.D. But the rGyal-rabs quotes on 33a the "Blue Annals" or Deb-ther snon-po, which work had been written in 1476, and thus must be later than the end of the XVth century. The chronicle gives an account of the reigns of the early kings of Tibet up to the assassination of the apostate king Lang Darma, (gLan Dar-ma,) in 841 A.D.

A chronicle worth translating is the rGyal-rabs composed by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama Nga-wang Lobzang rgyamtshe, (Nag-dban bLo-bzan rgya-mtsho, 1617—1682,) included in volume 19th of his "Collection of Works" or gSun-'bum (vol. 19, pp. 1-113, and written in the year 1643,) water-sheep year of the 11th Tibetan cycle or rab-byun). It is a very popular work among Tibetans and contains interesting material on the period following the assassination of king Lang Darma.

A brief list of Tibetan kings from the legendary Nya-ti tscn-po (gNa'-khri btsan-po,) to king Lang Darma, is to be found in the "Collection of Works" (gSun-'bum) of the well-known Long dol Lama Nga-wang Lobzang, kLon-rdol bLa ma Nag-dban bLo-bzan, born in Amdo in 1791 (earth-female-hog year); there exist two editions of his "Collection of Works": one at the (Kun-de ling, Kun-bde glin,) Monastery in Lhasa, and another at the Printing Press of the Sung Chu Su Temple in Peiping.

The "White Lapis Lazuli" (Bai-du-rya dkar-po,) a well-known work on astronomy and chronology composed in 1687 by the Tibetan Regent Sang-gye rgyamtshe, (Sang-rgyastmtsho) also contains a list of Tibetan kings arranged chronologically.

Tibetan writers and historians have long ago observed the authoritative character of the Chinese Dynastic Annals, and at an early date portions of the Annals had been translated into Tibetan. Thus we know of the existence of a rGya'i Yig-tshan or "Chinese Records" translated into Tibetan by the Lama Rin-chen tak-pa, (Rin-chen graps-pa), and arranged in the form of a book by the Mi'i bdag-po Kun-dga' rdo-rje, (Deb-ther snon-po, I, p. 23b). This work is probably identical with the rGya'i Deb-ther or "Chinese Annals" compiled by one Su Byi-han, the Tibetan text of which had been corrected by the Gu-sri Rin-chen graps, (Gu-sri, Chinese kue-shih or State Preceptor). Babu Sarat Chandra Bas in his Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. XXXLL, lists a rGya-Bod Yig-tshan or "Chinese and Tibetan Records," but does not give any particulars as to the contents or scope of the work. A Csoma de Koros, (Historical and Grammatical Works in Tibet) in the A. Csoma de Koros Memorial Volume, J. and P. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, VII 1911, p. 82, also mentions a Bod-kyi Yig-tshan or "Tibetan Records". This work by Rin-chen tak-pa was held in high repute and some of the best Tibetan historical works are based on it. In his "Contributions to the History of Tibet", JASB, 1882-3, B. Sarat Chandra Das made use of a sNon-gyi Yig-tshan rnin-pa or "Old Records of the Past", but again gives no particulars as to the author and date of the work.

To the class of historical works belongs also the well-known Ma-ni bKa'-bum (complete title: Chos-skyon-ba'i rgyal-po Sron-btsan sgam-po'i bKa'-bum) said to have been composed by the king Song-tsen gam-po, but probably written by one of the first Dalai Lamas, The

book contains the history of Song-tsen gam-po interwoven with the legend of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, whose incarnation the Tibetan king was popularly believed to be.

Foremost among the historical literature of Tibet stands the so-called "Blue Annals" or *Deb-ther snon-po* written in 1476 (fire-monkey year of the 8th Tibetan cycle) by the well-known Go Lotsawa Shon-nu pal (Gos Lo-tsa-ba gZon-nu dpal, 1392—1481). The "Blue Annals" contain a *rGyal-rabs* which the author wrote basing himself on existing records and among them the *rGya'i Yig-tshan* or "Chinese Records" by the bLa-ma Rin-chen grags-pa mentioned above. The *rGyal rabs* or "Royal Chronicle" of the "Blue Annals" contains a concordance of the reigns of Tibetan Kings and Chinese Emperors, and the chronology corresponds to that of the Chinese Annals of the T'ang Dynasty. Tibetan scholars consider it to be the most trustworthy of all the Tibetan historical works, and most of the later historical compilations were based on it. The *rGyal-rabs* of the "Blue Annals" also includes a list of the Mongol Emperors, beginning with the legendary ancestor of the Mongols-Bortecino-a, and ending with the last Mongol Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty-Toghon Temur, 1333-68. The list shows a close similarity with the list of Mongol Khans given in the "Secret History of the Mongols," (*Mongol un niguca tobciyan*. Recently E. Heanisch (*Manghol ud Niuca Tobca'an*, Yuan-chao Pi-shi, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Leipzig, 1937) published the reconstructed Mongol text of this important source for the history of Central Asia, but his transcription is very unsatisfactory. The Mongol text of the "Secret History" is now being edited by S. A. Kozin. There exist two editions of the "Blue Annals": one printed at the Press of the Kun-bde ling, (Kun-bde glin) Monastery in Lhasa, and the other printed at the Ganden Cho-khor ling, (dGa'-ldan chos-'khor glin) Monastery in Amdo in North-East Tibet. The first edition is in one volume but is hardly legible, the second edition is in two volumes and is well printed. The "Blue Annals" contain fifteen chapters. The first two give a general account of the rise and spread of Buddhism in India and Tibet, and the first chapter contains also the *rGyal-rabs* or Royal Chronicle. Each chapter is dedicated to the history of one of the Buddhist sects.

The next class of Tibetan historical literature which can be included among the sources on the ancient period of Tibetan history (VII-IX centuries A.D.) consists of the so-called (*cho-jung*, *chos-'byun*, *Dharmodbhava*) or "Origin of the Doctrine." Most of these "Histories" besides relating miracles accompanying the lives of Buddhist saints, contain short *rGyal-rabs* or "Royal Chronicles" which usually give a brief account of the Tibetan Kings up to the year of the assassination of King Lang Darma (gLan Darma in 841 A.D.). (Some of the best known *Chos-'byun* have been translated by Western scholars. Thus we have an excellent English translation of parts of the *Bu-ston Chos-'byun* by the late Dr. E. E. Obermiller (*History of Buddhism by Bu-ston* in the series *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*", edited by Prof. Max. Walleiser, Heidelberg, 1931-2). The "History of Buddhism" (full title: *Bde-bar gsegs-pa'i bstan-pa'i gsal-byed chos-kyi 'byun-gnas gsum-rab rin-po-che'i mdzod*) was composed by the great Tibetan scholar Bu-ton Rin-chen Ton-tup, (Bu-ston Rin-chen Don-grub, 1290—1364, abbot of Shah-lu gon) in 1322, (water-dog year of the 5th Tibetan cycle) and is printed at the Tashi-(lhun-po)-BKra-sis lhun-po Monastery in the Tsang Province of Tibet (a complete "Collection of Works" by Bu-ston in 28 volumes was recently published in

Lhasa). Dr. E. E. Obermiller translated the chapter of the Chos-'byun on the Buddhist canonical literature translated into Tibetan, and the chapter on the spread of the Buddhist Doctrine in India and Tibet. The remaining part of the "History of Buddhism" Bu-ston contains and extremely important Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, and has not been as yet translated.

Well known is the Pad-ma dkar-po'i Chos-'byun, (full title: Chos-'byun bstan-pa'i Pad-ma rgyaz-pai's nin-byed) written by the renowned scholar Thāms cad mkhyen-pa Pad-ma dkar-po (XVI century,) and printed at the Pung-thang (sPuns than), Monastery in Bhutan. Pad-ma dkar-po's History is considered to be less trustworthy than the above mentioned work by Bu-ston, but is held in high repute among the lamas of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud sect. The rGya-gar Chos-'byun or "History of Buddhism in India" composed in 1608 by rJe-btsun 'Taranatha, born in 1575, has been translated into Russian by Professor V. Vasiliev, and into German by A. Schiefner, (St. Petersburg, 1869). A new translation would be welcome. The "Book of the Seven Revelations" or bKa'-babs bdun-ldan by Taranatha, edited by B. Sarat Chandra Das, (Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1901) and translated by Albert Gruenwedel, (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XVIII, Petrograd, 1914) usefully supplements Taranatha's "History of Buddhism in India." Besides general "Histories of the Doctrine", devoted to the rise and spread of the Buddhist Doctrine in India and Tibet, there exist several Chos-'byun devoted to the rise and spread of a particular Buddhist sect in Tibet. For example the bKa' gdams gsar-rnin-go chos-'byun yid-kyi mjes-rgyan, composed by So-nam tak-pa (bSod-nams grags-pa; Potala edition of 1762) and the Zi-byed dan gCod-yul-gyi chos-'byun rin-po-che'i phren-ba Thar-pai's rgyan, composed in the Chos-dud ri-khrod of Yar-klun by the yogin (rnal-'byor) Mi-pham 'phrin-las (the author must have been a native of Luhul in the Kulu Sub-division of the Kangra District, Punjab, for he is said to have been a native of mNa'-ris Gar zwa mkha'-'gro'i glin which is the Tibetan name of Luhul). The book is a history of the Zi-byed-pa sect founded by the Indian yogin Pha-dam-pa, and the Tibetan yogini Ma-'jigs bsLab-sgron-ma (1102—1206).

There exist also several "Histories" describing the rise and spread of the Buddhist Doctrine in a particular locality, as for example the Nan Chos-'byun, devoted to the history of the spread of the Buddhist Doctrine in the valley of the Nyang-chu, a tributary of the Tsang-po (Brahmaputra), and one of the centres of Tibetan monastic life.

The Lho'i Chos-'byun or "History of the South," printed in Bhutan, is mainly concerned with the history of the introduction of Buddhism into Bhutan, and as such has only a regional interest.

A place apart among the Chos-'byun is occupied by the well-known Hor Chos-'byun or "History of the Buddhist Doctrine in Mongolia," compiled in 1819 by the Lama Jig-me Nam-kha ('Jigs med nam-mkha'), who was born in Amdo and for many years resided at the Yung-ho kung Monastery in Peiping and at Dalai-Nur (Lama miao) in the Chakhar Province of Inner Mongolia. This important work translated by G. Huth (Strassburg, 1892, 1896) after a manuscript copy which belonged to A. Schiefner, exists also in a xylograph edition. The work properly belongs to the third and last period of Tibetan cultural and religious expansion (XVI-XIX centuries).

For the study of the period which followed the restoration of Buddhism in Tibet and which was characterised by the rise of monastic power,

we have to turn to the numerous rnam-thar or "biographies" (rnam-thar literally means "liberation," but is generally used in the sense of biography) of celebrated religious teachers all of which contain a wealth of historical information interwoven with legendary tales. Among such "biographies" of great importance are the "Biography of the famous Ra Lotsawa (Rwa Lotsaba'i) rnam-thar; full title: mThu-stobs dban-phyug rje-btsun Rwa Lo-tsa-ba'i rnam-thar-pa Kun khyab snan-pa'i rna-sgra), Rin-chen bzan-po'i rnam-thar or the "Biography of Rin-chen sang-po", the celebrated translator of Buddhist scriptures (born in 958, d. in 1055), who for many years resided in the Lha-kluns Monastery in the valley or the Ling-ti river in Spiti, the Lo-tsa-ba Virocana'i rnam-thar, 'Bromston-pa'i rnam-thar, Mar-pa Lo-tsa-ba'i rnam-thar, and a number of other texts containing similar biographical works. To reconstruct the events of the second period of Tibetan cultural and political expansion (the Mongol epoch), we have to examine the voluminous "Collections of Works" of the Sa skya Hierarchs, and of the heads of the Karma-pa sect. The study of the Tibetan literature of this period received so far but scant attention, but the role played by the Sa-skya Hierarchs at the court of the Mongol emperors was important enough to warrant an examination of the existing written sources in Tibet.

The third period (XVI-early XIX centuries) has produced a large number of historical compilations which are invaluable for the reconstruction of the history of Tibet and of the adjacent countries in the Manchu period, and can to some extent be used for the reconstruction of the history of earlier periods, for their authors made use of historical works and documents inaccessible to us. It was in Amdo, in North-East Tibet that some of the most famous writers of the period appeared: Sum-pa khen-po Ye-she pal-jyor (Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-ses dpal-'byor, born at Sum-pa in Amdo in 1704 (wood-ape year of the 12th cycle). S. C. Das wrongly puts his birth in 1702. JASB, 11(1889), p. 37), Tu-kwan Chokyi-Nyi-ma (Tu-kwan Chos-kyi Ni-ma, 1737-1802), Jam-yang she-pa Nga-wang tson-du ('Jam-dbyans bzad-pa Nag-dban bLo-bzan brtson-'grus, 1648-1722), Long-dol La-ma Nga-wang Lobzang (kLon-rdol bla-ma Nag-dban bLo-bzan, born in 1719) and others.

For the history of the period are important the biographies of the Dalai Lamas and Tashi Lamas, included in the "Collections" of their Works or gSun-'bum, as well as the biographies of the lCan-skya Xutugtus. It might be noted in this connection that besides biographies or rnam-thar, there exist a number of so-called gsan-ba'i rnam-thar or "secret biographies," which represent autobiographies, and usefully supplement the official biographies. Among the biographies of the Dalai Lamas of Lhasa of special interest for the historian are the "Biography of the third Dalai Lama So nam jyamtscho (bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, 1543-1588,) who visited the court of Altan Khan in 1578, and died in Southern Mongolia in 1588, (by the Lama Nga-wang Lobxang jyamtscho jick-me Go-cha Thup-ten lantsho,) Nag-dban bLo-bzan rgya-mtsho 'Jigs-med Go-cha Thub-bstan lan-'tsho, and the voluminous Biography of the Great fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682,) occupying six volumes of his "Collection of Works" (gsun-'burā). The Biography contains interesting material on the relations maintained by the fifth Dalai Lama with the Mongol Khoshut Khan Gushi, <(chinese: kuo-shih), or Turu-baikhu, and on his visit to the court of the Emperor Shung-chih in 1652, when he received a golden seal of office and an Imperial Diploma.

Of similar interest is the Biography of the Pan-chen dPal-ldhn Yeses, (1740-1780), the third Tashi Lama, contained in his "Collection of Works" (in 7 volumes printed at the Ta-shi Lhun-po Monastery). As is well known this lamaist prelate maintained relations with the East India Company, and in 1780 visited the court of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in Peiping, where he died.

Among the numerous historical compilations which appeared during this period, one of the best known is the Grub-mtha' thams-cad-kyi khuns dan 'dod-tshul ston-pa Legs-bsad Sel-gyi me-lon or "The Mirror of Good Exposition of the origin and teachings of the religious schools of India, Tibet and China" composed in 1801 by Tu-kwan Lobzang Chokyi Nyi-ma, (Tu-kwan Chos-kyi Ni-ma, 1737-1802,) in the monastery of Gon-lung Cham-pa ling, (dGon-lun Byams-pa glin), in Amdo. The book contains 12 chapters dealing with the origin of the ancient Bon faith, the rise and spread of Buddhism in India, Tibet and Mongolia, the religions of China, etc. It is an important source, well informed and giving a wealth of information. Three editions of the work are known to exist: one at the Gon-lung Monastery in Amdo, a second in the famous Printing Press of Derge gon-chen, (sDe-dge dGon-chen,) and a third edition has been quite recently issued in Lhasa. The work is often mentioned under the abbreviated titles of Tu-kwan Grub-mtha' sna-tshogs or simply Grub-mtha' sna-tshogs. B. Sarat Chandra Das has made considerable use of this work in his "Contributions on the Religion, History, etc. of Tibet, JASB, 1881/2, but committed an error in calculating the dates of the author's birth and death. According to him the author was born in the fire-serpent year of the 12th cycle, that is in 1674, and died in 1740, (JASB, 1881, p. 187). P. Pelliot in his "Le cycle sexagenaire dans la chronologie Tibetaine," J. As. 1913, p. 649, corrected the date of the author's birth to 1677, fire-serpent year of the 11th cycle) without noticing Das' mistake. The late Dr. B. Laufer, (T'oung Pao, XIII, (1912,) p. 720 ff), made a similar mistake, and the same mistake has been recently made by Louis Ligeti who stated in his "Rapport Preliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise, 1928-1931" (Budapest, 1933,) p. 57, that the work was completed in 1742.

Another work of historical importance is the "Chronology of Buddhism in Tibet" (full title: bsTan-pa'i gsal-byed chen-po Bod-du rim-gyis byun-ba'i 10-tshegs re-mig-tu bkod pa'i tshigs lun-tshegs chun rdogs-byed gser-gyi ni-ma 'od-zerlhkra-ba, composed in 1716 by the celebrated 'Jam-dbyans bzad-pa'i rdo-rje Nag-dban bLo-bzan brtson-'grus, (1648-1722,) and printed at the Labrang (bLa-bran,) monastery in Amdo.

Mentioned must be made also of the well-known dPag-bsam l jon-bzan by the Sum-pa mkhan-pa Ye ses dpal-'byor, edited by S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1908, and of his Chronological Tables or Re'u Mig, (from the beginning of the sexagenary cycle in 1027 A. D. till 1746,) translated by S. C. Das in the JASB, No. 2, 1889, pp. 40 ff. This Sum-pa mkhan-po was one of the most learned writers of the XVIII century in Tibet. He filled the important position of Abbot of the Gomang, (sGu-man,) College in the great Depung, (Bras-spuns) Monastery in Lhasa, visited the Imperial Court in Peking, revised Tibetan Buddhist texts under the supervision of the lCan-skya Xutugtu Rol-Pa'i rDo-rje, and later became abbot of the Gonlung Monastery in Amdo.

A detailed list of historical and biographical works found in Tibet is contained in the "History of the Buddhist Doctrine in Amdo", (full title:

Yul-mdo-smad-kyi ljons-su Thub-bstan rin-po-che ji-ltar dar-ba'i tshul gsal-bar brjod-pa Deb-ther rgya-mtsho,) by the the Trak-gon shap-drung Konchok ten-pa rap-gye, (Brag-dgon zabs-drun dKon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas, born in 1800). The work was completed in 1833.

There exists yet another recent work on the history of the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia: Chen-po Hor-gyi yul-du dam-pa'i Chos ji-ltar dar-ba'i tshul gsal-bar brjod-pa Pad-ma dkar-po'i phren-ba, composed by the bLa-ma Dam-chos rgya-mtsho in 1889.

The appearance of important historical compilations as late as the XIXth century shows that Tibetan historical tradition has not been interrupted and that the learned inmates of Tibetan and Mongol monasteries are still able to produce commendable works on the history of their Faith, and thus help the historian in his work of reconstructing the Past.

The Biography of the thirteenth Dalai Lama Nga-wang Lobzang Thup-ten Jyamtsho (Nag-dban bLo-bzan Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho, 1876-1933), which we are told is being prepared in Lhasa, will undoubtedly be a welcome addition to the historical literature of the "Land of Snows," and must contain interesting material for the history of Tibet in modern times.

The above notes are just a brief and necessarily general survey of a voluminous literature hardly known outside Tibet and Mongolia, intended to indicate its importance for the history of the countries bordering on Tibet.

All this mass of material should be carefully analysed and collated with the written annals of neighbouring countries, and thus a firm ground prepared for further studies in the domains of Middle and Far Eastern secular and religious history.

XV

THE FESTIVAL OF A VOYAGE TO THE ISLAND OF BALI HELD AT CUTTACK

By Prof. G. S. Dass, B. A. (Lond.), Ravenshaw College,
Cuttack.

An interesting festival called Balijatra is held every year during night time in a wide field near the ruins of the celebrated nine-storied Barabati fort of Cuttack on the full moon night of the month of Kartik every year. The festival provides an annual attraction to the people and is celebrated with plenty of rejoicings, devotional musical soiree (Sankirtan) and an exhibition of the native products such as beautiful toys, etc., and worshipping a pair of footprints on a stone slab traditionally associated with the celebrated saint Sri Chaitanya.

Popular tradition ascribes the origin of the festival to the visit of the saint who came to Orissa in the year 1509 lived there for many years and died at Puri in 1533. Out of this period of 24 years he spent 6 years in travelling through the Deccan and Northern India and the rest of the time at Purusottam. Once he started from Puri on a pilgrimage to Brindaban and passing through Bhubaneswar arrived at Cuttack where he was the guest of the Brahmin Swapneswar. Prataprudra the famous king of Orissa

was then camping at Cuttack and with his family had an audience with the saint. The king constructed a temple at the place where Sri Chitanya sojourned for 3 days and Rai Ramanand a former Oriya provincial Governor, an erudite scholar and disciple of Sri Chaitanya established the Jagannathballav Math at Cuttack. Both the temple and the Math are still standing as mute witnesses of a glorious past.

Sri Chaitanya crossing Mahanadi at the Gargaria Ghat on the full moon of the month of Asvina (Dasserah) proceeded northwards and it is said the Balijatra was instituted to commemorate this famous incident and is being celebrated every year since then. The popular theory of the origin of the Balijatra cannot however stand the test of critical examination. If the festival was started to commemorate the sacred crossing of Mahanadi, we would certainly expect the dates of the crossing and annual celebration to synchronise. But we actually find that while the saint-crossed the Mahanadi at Cuttack on the full moon of the month of Asvina (Dasserah), the commemoration is held on the full moon of the month of Kartik. It is not likely therefore that the festival was started in honour of his visit. The second important point to consider is the meaning of the term Balijatra. It is supposed to refer to a festival held over sands which in Oriya, is 'Bali'. But it is curious to find that though it is called the festival of sands, it is really held not over the sands of the river but on a vast field, on the bank of the Mahanadi. Why should a festival held in a field, be called the festival of sands? Is the festival a commemoration of a glorious episode in the history of the ancient Kalinga Empire? Has the name Balijatra any relation with the voyages to Bali, Sumatra, Java, etc. in the Indian archipelago? Balijatra may mean either a festival over sands or a voyage to Bali. As the first meaning has been proved to be unsound, let us see whether the second meaning is appropriate. The 'splendid isolation' theory of ancient India has been thoroughly exploded and it is now a well established fact that Indians especially the people living on the Coromandal coast colonised the islands of the Indian archipelago and these islanders, owe a deep debt of gratitude to the civilising and cultural influences of ancient India. The people of the island still call themselves Kling or descendants of the Kalingas. Hiuen Tsang speaks of the famous port of Cheli-tala in Uta or Orissa whence ships sailed for the islands of the Indian Ocean. R. D. Banerji in his history of Orissa asserts that Kalinga once possessed a vast Colonial Empire. Are we not justified in hazarding a hypothesis that the Balijatra is a commemoration of the voyages of ancient Kalinga to the island of Bali, etc. and it was started long before the visit of Sri Chaitanya to Cuttack? An old, well established popular festival in the 16th century, it received new impetus and became associated with pomp and grandeur by the saint's visit and acquired a fresh lease of life. The aggrieved hearts of the Royal family and the citizens at the departure of the saint from Cuttack on the full moon night of Dasserah impelled them to commemorate the event in an appropriate manner a month afterwards and they could not do better than grafting a new plant on an old tree.

Further it may be stated that all over Orissa the last part of the full moon night of Kartik is solemnised in a picturesque manner when thousands of conservative men and women, young and old, take an early dip in rivers and ponds and float paper boats lighted with burning tapers. Is not this semi-religious practice of floating paper boats reminiscent of the ceremony of voyages to Bali, etc.? This custom again is to the best of my knowledge peculiar to Orissa and lends further support to our theory.

Another practice which consists in painting with chalk and rice powder, images of ships in the courtyard of many Oriya householders in the costal districts of Orissa, on the morning of the first day of the bright fortnight of Kartik, may be cited here and adds one more link to our chain of evidence. The practice is called in Oriya "Boita Bandana" or bidding farewell to ships. It is interesting to note that in ancient India all expeditions and voyages were started during the winter season when sea is comparatively calm. Even now the fisherman on the Chilka Lake offer worship to the presiding deity on this day when they start on their fishing expeditions.

Of course the evidence is meagre and we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion to establish historical relations, but the very name "Bali and the attendant circumstances lead to a belief that in the old days before historical narration of events was thought of and social practices of far reaching importance were associated with annual fares and rituals, the people of Orissa made voyages to these distant islands in the Indian Ocean and only faint reminiscences of these voyages exist to the present day to inspire their descendants to chant the farewell songs or float paper boats in the tranquil ponds and streams.

XVI

THOLING MONASTERY IN WESTERN TIBET

(A cultural link between Greater India, Pala Bengal, and Tibet)

BY DR. B. R. CHATTERJI, Ph.D. (London),
D. Litt. (Punjab).

Tholing Math or, as Sven Hedin calls it, Totling Gumpa in Western Tibet is held in high esteem by Hindu sanyasis who call it Adi Badri. They say that this was the original Badrinath and that Shankaracharya ordered the removal of the seat of Badri to the Indian side of the Himalayas when he came to realise the difficulties experienced by Indian pilgrims in their attempts to penetrate into Western Tibet. To visit Tholing by the shortest route from India one must reach Badrinath and then cross the main Himalayas by the Mana Pass. It is one of the most difficult Himalayan passes as Father Andrade (a Jesuit missionary) found to his cost when he travelled to Western Tibet early in the 17th century. It is at least a four days' journey, a very arduous journey, due north from Badrinath right cross stretches of dazzling snow with giant peaks overlooking the pass.

We did not use this short cut when we visited Tholing in the course of our travels in Western Tibet in 1922. (We used this shorter route however on our return journey from Tibet). We were a party of five—four professors of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, the fifth being our leader and guide—Prof. Shiv Ram Kashyap, I.E.S., who died recently after acquiring great renown as an intrepid Himalayan explorer. Crossing the Himalayas by the Lipu Lekh Pass, where the Nepal, British Kumaon and the Tibetan frontiers meet, we had followed the pilgrim route to Manās Sarovar and Kailas. After finishing the circumambulation of the Kailas peak, instead of going back the way we came, we followed the

course of the Sutlej from its source (west of Rakshas Tal) and advanced further into Western Tibet.

After an arduous journey of two weeks from the foot of Mount Kailas we reached Tholing Math. It is situated in the deep gorge of the Sutlej river before it has crossed the Himalayas on its way to the Punjab. The most fantastic shapes have been eroded by the river from the steep banks on either side. The shrine of Tholing consists of three temples and a large monastery. We had already seen several Tibetan monasteries (Taklakote, Daba, etc.), but the frescoes and images we saw at Tholing strongly reminded us of Indian Art at its best. Here is an extract from the diary kept by my friend Prof. Kashmira Singh and myself about our impressions of Tholing :—

“ 15th August (1922) :—In the porch of the main temple there are four images supposed by Hindu sanyasis to be the four Yugas (Satya, Dwapara, Treta and Kali) In the first room there is in the centre a colossal image of the Buddha seated on a lotus. The face has the sweet calm and repose of divine wisdom and the eyes seem to be smiling with love. The Naga Sanyasi, who was with us, said that this was the Adi Badri. On both sides there are rows of life-size standing figures paying homage to the main image. We then entered another room and found there a four-headed image which was identified with Brahma by our Sanyasi guide. This image was surrounded by figures of other gods made of clay but showing artistic finish. This room has four other rooms on its four sides all full of images. There was one which was perhaps of Saraswati with the vina in her hands. On the walls were paintings which strongly reminded us of the Ajanta school. Outside the main building there is a ‘ parikrama ’ (circumambulatory path) on the other side of which there were cells full of brass and clay images. There seemed to be a curious amalgam of Buddhist, Hindu and perhaps Jain images. In some cells we found old manuscripts scattered about carelessly In one cell we saw a great standing figure of Surya with a sun-flower in his hand. Really the main temple of Tholing would well repay the careful study of a learned Orientalist.”

Recently Prof. Tucci has written that he saw in some of the monasteries of Western Tibet frescoes and paintings which, according to him, were inspired by the Ajanta School of Art. Eighteen years ago we too had come to the same conclusion. Whence and how came this inspiration? At first we thought that the explanation was to be sought in the assertion of Hindu sanyasis that Tholing was the Adi Badri. But I believe a more correct explanation is offered by the following passage in Sarat Chandra Das's translation of an old Tibetan text. While turning over the pages (in the bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) of the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Vol. I Part I, 1893, I came across a description (translated by Sarat Chandra Dass from a contemporary Tibetan account) of Atisa's visit to Tholing. Here is the passage :—

“ When king Mahipala was reigning (in Bengal) Dipankara Srijnana (Atisa) had already acquired the fame of being the first Buddhist scholar of India. After his return from Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) he (Dipankara) was residing at Vajrasana (Buddha-Gaya). King Mahipala invited him to Vikramasila.”

Then follows a sketch of the career of Dipankara Srijnana (Atisa). It is from the account of Nag-tsho who attended the great scholar for nineteen years. Dipankara was born (A.D. 980) in the royal family of Gaura at Vikramapur in Bangala. As he grew in age he acquired proficiency in Buddhist sacred lore. At the age of 19 he took the sacred vows from the Acharya of Odantapuri who gave him the name of Dipankar Srijnana (the name given by his parents was Chandragarbha). At the age of 31 he was ordained in the highest order of Bhikshu. At last he resolved to go to Acharya Dharmakirti the High Priest of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra). "There is a country filled with precious minerals called Suvarnadvipa. Though Acharya Dharmakirti (who belonged to the royal family of that country and had been instructed in the Dharma at Vajrasana (Buddha Gaya) resided in Suvarnadvipa, his name became known everywhere abroad. In the company of some merchants Dipankara embarked for Suvarnadvipa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious extending over several months. At this time Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest was considered as the greatest scholar of his age. Dipankara resided in Suvarnadvipa for 12 years in order to completely master the pure teachings of the Buddha of which the key was possessed by the High Priest Dharmakirti alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in the sailing vessel visiting Tamradvipa (Ceylon) on the way.

By the by we get this account of Dipankara's visit to Suvarnadvipa confirmed from an unexpected quarter. In a Nepalese manuscript with miniatures, dating from about the 11th century, the first miniature has the explanatory note 'Dipankara in Yavadvipa.' Yavadvipa often meant Sumatra (Suvarnadvipa) as well as Java. Sumatra under the Srivijaya dynasty had become a powerful Buddhist empire and a centre of culture and learning.

The later career of Atisa (Dipankara) may be summed up thus :—

After three earnest invitations from the king of (Western) Tibet, Atisa (Dipankara) left Vikramasila in company with the Tibetan monk Nag-tsho (whose account has been translated by Sarat Chandra Das). He passed through Nepal, where he was cordially received by the king, and reached the shore of Manas Sarovar where he performed *Tarpana*. Then he was escorted by Tibetan generals to Tholing, the monastery of His Majesty the king of (Western) Tibet, where the king was waiting for him. Arrived at Tholing Atisa (Dipankara) preached the Mahayana doctrine to the people of Nah-ri (Western Tibet). He wrote several works among which *Bodhipatha Pradipa* is pre-eminent. "In short he revived the practice of the pure Mahayana doctrine by showing the right way to the ignorant Lamas of Tibet who had become Tantriks." After a residence of 13 years in different parts of Tibet Atisa died near Lhasa in 1053 A.D. He was the guru of Bromton, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet.

Tholing, after Atisa's visit, became a great centre of study. My friend Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Calcutta University has shown me passages from the Tanjur and Dr. Frank's works on Western Tibet from which we can see that Tholing (Tho-lin) was recognised as a rival of Lhasa in the 11th century. Many texts like *Vinaya Samgraha*, *Sunyata-saptati-vivritti*, *Vajrasattva-sadhana-bhashya*, etc., were translated here.

Sri Anupama Nirabhoga Vihara was the name of Tholing in those days, the brightest jewel in the kingdom of Gu-ge in the Nahri province of Western Tibet.

Atisa's visit to Tholing and its importance, after that visit, as a centre of learning for more than a hundred years is the clue to that question which we could not solve when we visited the shrine in 1922. Eighteen years ago we were very much surprised to find this part of that great wilderness of Western Tibet so highly 'Indianised.' As we wrote in our diary at that time "Tholing would well repay the careful study of a learned Orientalist."

SECTION III—MEDIEVAL INDIA .

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, M.A., I.E.S.

GENTLEMEN,

I gratefully appreciate the honour that has been conferred upon me by the Committee of the Historical Congress in electing me President of this section of Medieval India. My official work has been devoted primarily to the study of past records embodied in stone and brick and lime, but I have realised very keenly that in order to understand the true character of an age, the manifestations of the human spirit should be studied in all their phases from the viewpoint of their underlying unity ; and in my humble way I have attempted to contribute to the study of written records also. But I do not lay claim to any revolutionary researches in the subject ; and in this respect many others, particularly the professors of our universities who have devoted their time and attention to the study of this period, would have been worthier of the position in which you have placed me.

History is the connected account of a people or nation, in which human thought always postulates a principle of unity or growth—much in the same way as we postulate an underlying unity in the life of our fellow-men in spite of the fact that their spiritual personality is a battleground of contrary and hostile forces. For convenience of study, nevertheless, history is divisible into various sections or periods by the distinct phases and aspects which those sections or periods represent. The term “medieval” is not indicative of any specific space of time applicable universally to that age, but is fixed conventionally in the history of individual nations and countries with regard to their cultural growth and development. In Indian history it is considered to comprise the period beginning from the permanent establishment of the Muslim rule in the country to its decline, *i. e.*, from the conquest of Northern India by Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori in 1192 to 1858 A.D., when the titular Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah II, was removed from the throne of Delhi and was interned at Rangoon. A survey of the political and social history of India of this period shows that it stands distinct from the periods which preceded and followed it, and are called ancient and modern respectively. I propose to discuss in the brief compass of this paper the main types of evidence available for this period.

The mediæval period of Indian history, as is well-known, is very rich in political and social events, *viz.*, the introduction and establishment of Muslim rule in the country ; the administrative policy of the rulers, their religious beliefs and social ideals, their civilisation and culture ; the influence of Islam on the indigenous Hindu society, its civilisation, culture and religion ; and lastly, the reciprocal influence of the two civilisations on one another, and their development side by side, without the absorption of one in the other, but with the development of many common features as a result of their intimate contact in the same land. The immense material which the period offers for the study of the causes and effects of these events lends it all the more importance and interest. There are few countries in the world in which the records of the Middle Ages are so abundant.

During the Muslim supremacy in India, which lasted for more than six centuries and a half, as many as seven dynasties rose to power one after another and ruled the central empire of Delhi, while several independent monarchies and principalities sprang up from time to time in the distant provinces. Many of these rulers made it a point to have official histories of their reigns and of their dynasties compiled on the basis of government records. The term "Chronicle", which European writers have sometimes applied to such works, is in my humble opinion misleading. They are not hearsay stories, like the chronicles of medieval Europe, but approved official publications, explaining the viewpoint of the government of the day and describing the achievements by which those governments expected to leave their mark on the history of mankind. These official histories are almost continuous from the *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of Sultan Mahmud to the *Siyarul Mutakhhirin*, the last being an attempt of the East India Company to maintain the traditions of its predecessors. Along with these official histories, which are generally rich in details and accurate in facts, but suffer from that "tendency to propaganda" which a government as government finds it hard to resist, we have fortunately also inherited histories written by private individuals, who often found themselves in opposition to the policy of the state. The modern critic is, therefore, in a position to form an independent opinion by a comparison of the two records, which differ not so much in their account of facts as in their interpretations.

In addition to these political histories, which confine themselves to affairs in which governments are interested, we have a mass of material throwing light on the everyday life of the people and the social system under which they lived. Broadly speaking all this material may be placed under the following heads :—

- (i) Contemporary political histories.
- (ii) Biographies of saints and high personages.
- (iii) Accounts of Sufistic *silsilahs*.
- (iv) Works on secular and religious law.
- (v) Accounts of travellers.
- (vi) Collections of letters.
- (vii) Poetical works.
- (viii) Works of fiction and fables with social, religious or historical backgrounds.
- (ix) Official documents.
- (x) Inscriptions.
- (xi) Coins.
- (xii) Structural monuments.
- (xiii) Miscellaneous antiquities showing the art and culture of the time and the locality to which they belong.
- (xiv) Traditions and folklore.
- (xv) Rural songs, and
- (xvi) Festivals and ceremonies which, having an ancient origin, throw light on the customs and beliefs of the people among whom they prevailed.

It is not necessary for me to dwell at length on the relative merits of the historical works, but I will content myself with a few remarks.

The historical spirit among the Muslims was developed by one of the earliest intellectual enterprises they had to undertake—the collection of Hadeeses, or, sayings and traditions of the Holy Prophet. The great

scholars who took this delicate work in hand had to be extremely careful in accepting and rejecting the Hadeeses attributed to the Prophet, and their work required a careful examination and enunciation of the canons of historical evidence. In researches appertaining to secular subjects, adherence to these canons was not possible, perhaps not necessary; nevertheless, the principles laid down for them served also as an objective criterion of reference in all subjects in years to come. No event, unless properly authenticated, was admitted as correct, and the chief merit of a historian was his truthfulness and reliability. Generalisation from human experience was considered at first to be the task of the moralist; the historian, as such had to stick to the plain narration of facts. Gradually, however, the two functions were fused into one and an attempt was made to study history in a scientific manner.

With the advent of the Muslims the art of writing history systematically was introduced in India, but it took some time before the taste for it developed in this country. Evidently at the beginning of the Muslim rule in India the task of compiling historical records was confined to those who were directly connected with the court and entrusted with that work by their royal masters, and this accounts for the paucity of contemporary works by Indian historians relating to the early Muslim dynasties. Matters however slowly improved, and under the Mughal Emperors, who had an inherent aptitude for history, a real scientific spirit was created in the country. Most histories written in their time were the work of private persons, including Hindus, who, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the foreign Persian language, make an appreciable contribution to the wealth of the historical literature of the period.

According to my information more than three hundred historical works relating only to the central empire of Delhi exist—mostly in European libraries—while many others have been quoted by later historians but are not available. The histories of the provincial monarchies, which are also considerable in number, are in addition to these. Unfortunately a very limited number of such works has been printed; the rest are in manuscript, which beside being rare and not easily accessible to students, present a difficulty in decipherment on account of their running *shikasta* script. It has been said about the Indo-Muslim histories in general that they speak little of the social and cultural life of the common people and confine themselves to the narration of wars, revolts and revolutions in the royal palaces. Such criticism is very pertinent, but within limits. These works are the production of a period when autocracy was the order of the day and the politician gave to the government an importance which we are not now prepared to give. To the employees of the machine (including the official historian) the machine appeared of supreme importance; they often talked as if the government was the creator of the social order, instead of being one of its products. "Men follow the religion of their Kings" is an oft-quoted medieval precept. It is not fair, therefore, to demand from an author what is not within the compass of his work. Nor is there any justification for judging past historians by present standards, and instead of condemning them and under-rating their value, we should make a study of them from our own point of view, exploring other avenues for the information lacking in them. Happily such sources are abundant, as I shall show presently.

This brings me to items (ii) to (viii) mentioned above. Whatever importance kings and their achievements may have in our eyes, they had only a secondary place in the eyes of the medieval thinker. Royalty was

a mere phenomenon and of all phenomena the most glaring and tragic. It would pass away. Permanence was to be found in two things only—in Truth which is Religion and in Beauty which is Art. The history of India in its proper conception, is the history of India's religion and India's art. It is in these realms only that permanent achievements were deemed possible. Though art in its expensive forms depended upon the patronage of the rich, religion was essentially the affair of the people. Hence the importance of *sufistic* and religious literature in the life of our people. So far as the Muslims are concerned, this literature is more voluminous, and in the eyes of many more vital, than the records of courts and kings. The *Khanqahs* of the Muslims did not produce political chronicles like the monasteries of the Christians; their peculiar contributions are their *Mulfuzat* and their *Maktubat*—the verbal teachings of the *sufis* and the manuals (often in the form of letters to disciples) composed by them. Unlike political histories, this class of literature is almost entirely concerned with the lower middle-class, the *petite bourgeoisie*, the class to which the mass of Muslims belonged. Next to forms of worship, insistence is laid on morals and manners. India may be rightly proud of the Persian literature she developed. The influence of the great poets of Persia on Indian writers led, as has been often observed, to artificiality and imitativeness. Still, Persian prose and verse produced in this land have a strong indigenous element and will, if critically examined, enable us, along with the other evidence available, to rebuild the life and thought of the Middle Ages in a fairly complete form.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS :—Foreign invasions and internal disturbances have caused wholesale destruction of the State archives of the country and robbed us of our official records. What is available now consists of copies of certain classes of documents that had been issued to the individuals concerned. Those which have come to my notice include *Farmans* (royal mandates), *Sanads* (grants), *Parwanas* (letters of appointment, etc.), *Robkars* (state orders), *Parwana-i-Rahdari* (permits or passports), *Tashih Namas* (muster certificates), *Dastaks* (orders for payment of revenue), *Ibra Namas* (certificates of relief from payment), *Tasdiqs* (attestations of rights and claims by the state authorities), *Mahzar Namas* (public attestations of certain facts in the interest of the persons concerned), *Faisal Namas* (court judgments). It is only the documents of the Mughal period which are generally available, but a systematic search may bring to light this kind of evidence pertaining to the period of earlier dynasties also. Written as these documents are on paper, which is easily liable to decay and destruction, they are fast disappearing, and the want of interest in them on the part of Indian scholars has made the matter all the more deplorable. The apathy to which they have been subjected can be judged from the fact that a collection of 28 very interesting and rare Mughal documents was offered to me lately for sale, but all my efforts to induce any literary institution to purchase them failed. The official documents supply valuable information concerning administrative procedure, about which historical works are mostly silent; their importance cannot be denied.

INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS :—Epigraphy and numismatics are subjects allied to history. Thanks to the operation of the Treasure Trove Act, ancient coins are collected in museums and other institutions which are on the distribution list of the government. A few museums have published catalogues of the collection of coins in their possession, but in others they are being accumulated without any arrangement for

cataloguing them and bringing them to the notice of students of history. The importance of the study of coins in connection with history needs no comment from me, and I would urge that the huge hoards of medieval coins which lie in various cabinets awaiting scientific treatment should receive early attention from the numismatists and historians of the country.

Muslim epigraphy in India offers a vast field for exploration. Generally, epigraphical record believed to be most authentic is useful for the chronological verification of historical events and also for supplying information about local history of the places concerned; but in addition to this, Islamic inscriptions of medieval India present very valuable data for the study of Muslim paleography as well as the development of calligraphy, which the "believers" fostered with great care as a decorative art in contrast to the representation of living things forbidden by their religion. The principal inscribed objects, which have so far received attention, are structural monuments, but only an insignificant percentage of them has been subjected to systematic examination. In addition to them there are countless removable antiquities, such as arms, articles of domestic use, seals, signets, amulets, etc., which bear inscriptions of equal historical and archaeological interest. The Archæological Department has reserved a periodical, *viz.*, the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, for Moslem epigraphy, but it is published biennially, dealing on an average with thirty-five inscriptions in an issue. Fifteen issues of this periodical have so far been published and a little more than 500 epigraphs have been dealt with in them. Curiously enough, northern India, which was the principal scene of the activities of Muslims from the establishment of their empire till its decline in the country, is very poorly represented in that publication. It is not my intention to criticise the Government or the Archæological Department about this matter. I have mentioned these facts to show that the existing arrangements are inadequate, and that it is essential that private bodies, particularly the Indian universities, should supplement it.

• **STRUCTURAL MONUMENTS :—**The civilisation and culture of a period manifest themselves more pronouncedly in its architecture. By the time that the Muslims laid the foundation of an empire in the country, Islamic architecture had acquired a fundamental character adapted to their religious and social needs, and they freely introduced its characteristic forms in the buildings which they constructed here. Indigenous Hindu architecture had already reached the highest stage of perfection, and the fusion of the two styles is noticeable in the buildings of medieval India. The Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture were based on two different principles, the former being *trabeate*, consisting in flat roofs, architraves and columns, while the latter was *arcuate*, comprising domes, vaults and arches. The buildings erected by the Muslims include features of both these styles, and their mural decoration containing inscriptions beautifully carved or inlaid, arabesques, geometric designs, and diapers, indicate a marked departure from the indigenous art. Numerous monuments of this period are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country and a systematic study of them throws a light on the culture, art, social and religious ideals and economic condition of their builders. I will venture in this context to suggest a further extension of our field of investigation. The hoary grandeur of our medieval monuments has drawn public attention towards them to the exclusion of the habitations of ordinary folks. If we are to build up

a people's history, this shortcoming will have to be made up by a critical study of the plan and lay-out of private houses, which tell us a good deal about the most perplexing problems of the social life of the middle ages, *e.g.*, the amount of seclusion required among women of various classes and communities, the relations of masters and servants, the extent of security provided by the state.

FOLKLORE AND RURAL SONGS are one of the chief sources of information about the social life, customs and religious beliefs of the common people, among whom, related from father to son, they have been preserved in memory. Composed in local dialect and crude in style, they express spontaneous feelings and emotions free from affectation and conventionality. Those of us who have any experience of village life know that the recitation of folklore and the singing of rural songs are the favourite pastime of our villagers; and since they vary according to the local traditions, the caste and the faith of the people concerned, they are innumerable in type and character. The same is the case with FESTIVALS AND CEREMONIES of India, which throw a light on our subject. Such records, non-literary but accurate, offer immense material for research to students interested in the social history of the country. Hinduism, as Alberuni remarked long ago, is a religion of joyfulness, and its ceremonies are deeply rooted in the life of the people. In other countries the collection of folklore has made a profound contribution to the rebuilding of the past. It should be the same in India. But there is not much time to lose. The advance of education is working havoc with this unwritten lore, and unless it is collected and put into writing within the next generation or two, it will be altogether lost.

As stated above, the outlook of historical study has now been changed, and there is a general feeling that historical works, besides supplying political information, should also give an insight into the social condition of the people. In response to this demand, Historical Institutes and Academies have been established at several places, those known to me being Patna, Aligarh and Benares, each with the object of compiling an authentic history to satisfy the demand for an unbiassed account of facts as seen from a critical perspective. I wish success to each and every one of those institutions.

I

BALBAN'S MONGOL POLICY

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The Mongol invasions are an important landmark in the history of medieval India. The threat of the Mongols hammering at the gates of Delhi was chiefly responsible for moulding the domestic and foreign policy of Iltutmish, Balban and Ala-ud-Din Khilji.

The Mongols under their redoubtable leader Changez Khan, defeated Jalal-ud-Din Khwarazm Shah at the memorable battle of the Indus. Although Changez did not cross the Indus, his generals Turtai, Ugtai and Chughtai harassed the Indian frontiers. The Mongol pressure on these frontiers was not relaxed; and in the reign of Bahram Shah the Mongols sacked the city of Lahore. Again in the reign of Ala-ud-Din Masud Shah, the Mongols under their leader Mangutah laid siege to Uch. But Ulugh Khan by energetic measures was able to foil the attempts of the Mongols to capture Uch.

THE SIEGE OF UCH.

Changez Khan's grandson Kyuk continued the Mongol policy of expansion by sending armies to "China, Iran, India, Khurasan and Iraq"¹. Mangutah who was the commander of the Mongol forces in Ghazni and the neighbouring countries was put in charge of the Indian expedition². Minhaj-ud-Din describes him at this time as "an old man, tall-statured, one-eyed and one of the favourites of Changez Khan"³. The political condition of India favoured the designs of Mangutah. The throne of Delhi was then occupied by Sultan Ala-ud-Din Mas'ud Shah—an incompetent successor of Iltutmish. The Mongols had recently sacked Lahore which was consequently in ruins.⁴ Multan was in the possession of Malik Saif-ud-Din Hasan Qarlugh. Hindu Khan controlled Uch. But in his absence his deputy Khawaja Salih was in charge of the fort.⁵ On the approach of the Mongol hordes, Malik Saif-ud-Din Hasan abandoned the fortress and city of Multan, embarked on a vessel and proceeded to Dewal.⁶ Mangutah, after occupying Multan laid siege to Uch, the environs of which he succeeded in mastering.⁷ Pressing the attack the Mongols succeeded in making a breach in a wall of the fort⁸, which however, the garrison continued to defend with great valour. At last one of the Mongol leaders losing patience urged Mangutah to make a final vigorous attack. So at night a sortie was attempted. The garrison had however prepared a great pit and a deep quagmire, more than a spear's length in depth.⁹ The Mongol soldiers fell into this trap and thus the surprise attack miscarried.

In the meantime the Delhi forces were hurrying to the relief of the besieged. It was mostly due to the energetic efforts of Ulugh Khan that Ala-ud-Din Mas'ud Shah gave orders for the immediate assembly and dispatch of the hosts of Hindustan to the relief of the besieged.¹⁰

1. Nasiri—399.

2. Nasiri—393.

3. Nasiri—399.

4. Nasiri—195.

5. Nasiri—399.

6. Nasiri—399.

7. Nasiri—400.

8. Nasiri—400.

9. Nasiri—401.

10. Nasiri—288.

Ulugh Khan realising that only by forced marches could succour reach the besieged in time, would represent to his soldiers that the next halting-place—actually some 12 *kroh* distant—was only 8 *kroh* off¹. Thus the Delhi forces crossing the river Bias, reached the bank of the river Ravi near Lahore², where they received the news that the Mongols had raised the siege of Uch.

Various factors were responsible for the retreat of Mangutah. The garrison had offered a stubborn resistance and the Mongol sortie at night had miscarried. But it was the approach of the Delhi force near the river Ravi which compelled Mangutah to raise the siege. On reaching the banks of the river Bias, Ulugh Khan had sent couriers to Uch with letters for the garrison. These letters which were purposely allowed to fall into the hands of the Mongols, contained an account (in somewhat exaggerated terms) of the approach of the royal army, which was represented to be a strong and well-organised force.³ This move on the part of Ulugh Khan succeeded; the Mongols frightened by the approach of a vast army, thought it prudent to retreat.

Major Raverty in his *Mihran of Sindh* points out that the most important cause of the retreat of the Mongols was that the march of the Delhi army from “Delhi towards Lahore and the Ravi was a flank movement to cover and succour Multan if necessary, and threaten the line of the Mongol’s retreat towards the Jud Hills—the Namak-sar or Salt Range—the route by which they had come against Uch.”⁴

Now Major Raverty has tried to prove that the river Bias in those days flowed in its old bed past Debalpur, and that the Chenab and the Ravi, having united into one stream to the north-east of Multan, flowed near it on the east side, and united with the Beas some 28 miles southward of that city, and east of Uch instead of west of it, where the junction of these rivers now occurs.⁵ The conclusions of Raverty regarding the courses of the Punjab rivers have not been generally accepted in their entirety; but his conclusions in this particular respect seem to be quite plausible. If Raverty’s conjecture is true, we can very well understand Mangutah’s hasty retreat, for in that case Ulugh Khan’s advance towards Lahore enabled the Delhi forces to threaten the Mongol’s line of retreat northwards. There would have been no road open to the Mongols except downstream or across the river Indus; and these alternatives were evidently not approved by Mangutah.

Thus it was Balban’s military vigour and intrepidity that were responsible for Mangutah’s retreat.

INVASION OF NUYIN SARI.

The second Mongol invasion with which Balban had to deal was led by Nuyin Sari, who arrived in the territory of Sindh.⁶ In 656-H Malik Balban Kashlu Khan, an influential noble of the Delhi Kingdom having submitted to the Mongols, was compelled to accompany the Mongol forces and to assist them with men and money⁷. The Mongols dismantled the defences of the fort of Multan.⁸

1. Nasiri—288.

2. Nasiri—288.

3. Nasiri—288.

4. Mihran-i-Sindh—165.

5. Mihran—165.

6. Nasiri—310.

7. Nasiri—310.

8. Nasiri—310.

When the news of the Mongol invasion reached the Delhi court, Ulugh Khan urged the Sultan to make preparations to repel them.¹ A large force was collected and Minhaj was asked to exhort the soldiers to put up a spirited fight.² When intimation of this large Delhi force reached the Mongols, they did not advance beyond the frontiers which they had assailed and ravaged.³

The Delhi forces did not however advance to meet the Mongols. The concentration of the forces of Delhi therefore served merely as a defensive measure, the Mongols being left free to ravage the frontier provinces. This incident clearly shows that even the ruthless Balban was not able to organise his power so effectively as completely to check the Mongol invasions. Thus the Mongol army continued with impunity to harass the frontier tracts of the Delhi Kingdom, namely the territory of Sindh, Lahore and the line of the river Bias.⁴

INVASION OF TAMAR.

But the most formidable Mongol invasion with which Balban had to deal was that led by Tamar, who with a large force entered the territory between Lahore and Debalpur.⁵ Prince Mohammad Sultan, warden of the marches, offered resistance but was slain in battle.⁶

Thus Balban failed to check the Mongol invasions, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in preventing the Mongols from hammering at the gates of Delhi.

BALBAN'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AS AFFECTED BY THE MONGOL INVASIONS.

Balban came to power at a very critical time. Barani has pointed out the dangers which threatened the infant Muslim State in India. The incompetence of the sons of Iltutmish and the over-weening pride of the Shamsi slaves had diminished the power of the crown and were important factors in sapping the power of the Muslim State in India.⁷ "Fear of the governing power which is the basis of good Government had departed from the hearts of all men."⁸ Besides these disruptive tendencies mentioned by Barani, the most important danger to the Muslim State was the recurrent Mongol invasions. It is to the credit of Balban that he realised the gravity of the situation and tried to meet the Mongol menace by maintaining peace and order in the kingdom and by abstaining from following a policy of expansion in India, thus holding himself in readiness to check the advance of the Mongols, whenever they threatened the security of the country. His whole domestic and foreign policy was moulded by the fear of the Mongol invasions.

Balban realised that without a regular and well-trained army it would be impossible to meet the Mongols face to face. His first task therefore was the re-organisation of the army. The cavalry and infantry, were placed under veteran Maliks.⁹ Accompanied by a thousand horsemen belonging to the palace-guard Balban used to go out on hunting expeditions. Barani relates that when Hulagu the Mongol ruler at Baghdad, heard the reports of these hunting expeditions, he is said to have remarked, "Balban is very clever. These hunting expeditions are really meant to keep the army efficient and well-trained."¹⁰

1. Nasiri—310.

2. Nasiri—310.

3. Nasiri—311.

4. Nasiri—314.

5. Tabqat-i-Akbari—96.

6. Tabqat-i-Akbari—96.

7. Barani—28.

8. Barani—28.

9. Barani—29.

10. Barani—55.

Balban also realised the necessity of restoring order, thus stabilising the civil Government and making it more efficient to check the Mongol invasions. This he effected by adopting a ruthless policy of blood and iron. The turbulence of the Mewatis was checked; order was restored in the Katehr and Jud districts;¹ and the Doab was cleared of robbers.² That the chastisement of the Hindu Chiefs by Balban was also due to the Mongol peril is clear from the advice which he gave to Sultan Nasir-ud-din: "It is advisable that the sublime standards should be put in motion for the purpose of ravaging and carrying on holy war against the independent Hindu tribes and rajas, so that they may receive a thorough chastisement and booty may fall into the hands of the troops of Islam, and means to repel the infidel Mughals, in the shape of wealth, may be amassed."³

Thus the fear of the Mongol invasions had a profound effect in shaping the domestic policy of Balban. But even more than the domestic policy was the foreign policy of Balban moulded by the Mongol peril. This is clearly brought out by an important discussion which was held between some influential nobles and the Sultan. Barani relates that the intimate friends of the Sultan such as Adil Khan, Tamar Khan and others of the old Shamsi slaves who occupied exalted positions of trust and responsibility pointed out to the Sultan that the former sovereigns, Qutb-ud-Din Aibak and Iltutmish had followed an aggressive policy of expansion of the Muslim Empire in India and, enquired what it was that held the Sultan back from such honourable and fruitful enterprises.⁴ Balban who was a far-sighted statesman replied, "Circumstances have changed considerably. During the time of Qutb-ud-Din and Iltutmish the Mongol menace was not so sharp and terrible. But now the power of the Mongols has increased tremendously. They have established themselves in Ghazni and in Mawrun-Nehr (Trans-Oxiana) and Hulagu has subdued Iraq and occupied Baghdad. The Mongols have heard of the wealth of India and they have set their hearts upon conquering and plundering it. Only recently have they sacked the city of Lahore and not a single year passes without some serious Mongol invasion. They are playing a waiting game and they are waiting for the opportunity of my departure on some distant campaign to enter my territory and ravage the whole Doab. No wonder I have got to be wary. I have devoted all the resources of my kingdom to the maintenance of a well-organised army and I hold all my forces ready to meet them. I never leave my kingdom to depart on a distant campaign."⁵

Here Barani has very succinctly summed up the foreign policy of Balban. The peril of the Mongol invasions over-shadowed every other consideration. The foreign policy of Balban was cautious and wise, being dictated by circumstances. A less able ruler might have made a mess of the whole affair. Any aggressive scheme of conquest would have spelt disaster to the Muslim State in India.

RELATIONS OF THE NOBLES OF BALBAN'S COURT WITH THE MONGOLS.

Minhaj-ud-Din throws much interesting light on the relations of the nobles of Balban's Court with the Mongols :—

(a) MALIK NUSRAT KHAN (SUNKR-I-SUFI).

Malik Nusrat Khan was a slave of Iltutmish who had gradually

1. Nasiri—290.
2. Barani—57
3. Nasiri—291.

4. Barani—50.
5. Barani—50, 51,

acquired power. When Malik Izz-ud-Din Balban-i-Kashlu advanced from Sindh towards Delhi with hostile intent, Malik Nusrat Khan came from Biana to Delhi to the rescue of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din and saved the Delhi Kingdom from falling into the hands of Malik Balban.¹ For these services, the cities of Tabrindah (subsequently called Bhatinda) and Sunam, Jhajar and Lakhwal (generally known as Lakhi Jangal) and the frontiers as far as the ferries over the river Beas, were conferred upon him, and his title became Nusrat Khan.² Thus Malik Nusrat was placed in charge of the frontier District exposed to the Mongol raids. It was Balban's policy to place only Malik of experience and tried loyalty in charge of these frontier posts; and well had Nusrat Khan merited this distinction because of his tried loyalty in the critical year 1258 A. D. Unfortunately Minhaj does not inform us how he acquitted himself. He merely states that the Malik rendered distinguished services on these frontiers³, and kept a strong army. The Malik was indeed still in charge of these frontier posts, with ample military resources,⁴ up to the time when Minhaj was writing his History. This statement may be nothing but the usual polite flattery so common with Persian writers. We may well ask with Major Raverty why, if Nusrat had really "ample military resources and a large army", were not his "distinguished services" mentioned and why did he not drive away Nuyin Sari and his Mongols, who were making constant raids upon the Delhi territory⁵? If however we take the statement of Minhaj as it is, we may fairly interpret it in the sense that Nusrat, equipped with a large force, succeeded in holding his own against the Mongols.

(b) MALIK IZZ-UD-DIN BALBAN KASHLU KHAN.

Malik Izz-ud-Din was also a slave of Iltutmish who rapidly acquired power. In the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Masud Shah he was given the territory of Nagaur.⁶ He helped the Sultan when Mangutah laid siege to Uch for which he was rewarded with the territories of Uch and Multan but was required to relinquish Nagaur,⁷ which, however, he refused to do until compelled⁸ to do so by the Sultan and Ulugh Khan. For this he never forgave Ulugh Khan. Shortly after this Sher Khan, a cousin of Ulugh Khan, deprived Malik Balban of Multan and Uch.⁹ But Malik Balban and the opponents of Ulugh Khan succeeded in ousting Ulugh Khan and Sher Khan from power for a short period. Malik Balban was again placed in charge of Uch and Multan,¹⁰ probably to counteract the designs of Malik Sher Khan in going to seek audience with the Mongol ruler of Turkestan—Mangu Khan.¹¹ But when Ulugh Khan regained power Malik Balban with the help of Malik Shams-ud Din Kuret tendered allegiance to Hulagu,¹² and sent one of his sons as a hostage,¹³ and requested that a *Shahnah* or Mongol Commissioner should be sent to Uch. This was a very clever move on the part of Malik Balban. Ulugh Khan had regained power and if Malik Balban wanted to harm him and oust him from power, there could be nothing better than an alliance with the Mongols. Thus strengthened Malak Balban advanced upon Delhi but was repulsed.¹⁴ Weakened by this repulse, he sought

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| 1. Nasiri—274. | 8. Nasiri—270. |
| 2. Nasiri—274. | 9. Nasiri—2/0-71. |
| 3. Nasiri—274. | 10. Nasiri—271. |
| 4. Nasiri—274. | 11. Nasiri—277. |
| 5. Raverty's Nasiri vol. II 788. | 12. Nasiri—271. |
| 6. Nasiri—269. | 13. Nasiri—271. |
| 7. Nasiri—269. | 14. Nasiri—272. |

to strengthen his alliance with the Mongols, by proceeding to Iraq and presenting himself before Hulagu¹, the Mongol ruler of Khurasan. He then returned to Uch as a vassal of the Mongols.

(c) MALIK SHER KHAN.

Sher Khan, son of Ulugh Khan's uncle, was likewise a slave of Iltutmish who had risen to power by dint of valour and ability. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Mas'ud gave him the fief of Tabrindah². He then wrested Multan from the hands of the Qarlughs, who had taken it from Malik Balban³. Malik Ikhtyar-ud-Din, Sher Khan's Deputy in Multan in the year 648 A. H. made a great number of Mongol captives and sent them to the capital; and the city was decorated for this success over the Mongols⁴. Sher Khan then took Uch from Malik Balban⁵. But when Malik Balban and the opponents of Ulugh Khan succeeded in ousting the latter from power, the Sultan with an army marched towards Sindh to secure Uch and Multan⁶. In the meantime Sher Khan had left for the court of Mangu Khan, Mongol ruler of Turkistan⁷. He returned thence with honour, but as Ulugh Khan had regained power, Sher Khan was given the fiefs of Kol, Biana, Balam, Jalisar, Mahaban and the Fortress of Gwalior⁸. Later on other fiefs were given to Sher Khan. Barani states that Sher Khan held the fiefs of Sunam, Lahore and Debalpur and other fiefs in the direction of the coming of the Mongols⁹. Barani however makes a very sweeping statement about the achievements of Sher Khan. He asserts that Sher Khan kept a large well-organised and efficient army in his service and that he had many a time, fallen upon the Mongols, crushed and dispersed them and caused the Khutba to be read for Sultan Nasir-ud-Din at Ghazni; and that because of his vigilance, strength and valour it was impossible for the Mongols to prowl around the frontiers of Hindustan¹⁰. This statement Major Raverty has severely criticised. He says that what actually happened was that Ikhtyar-ud-Din, the deputy of Sher Khan in Multan, merely captured many Mongol prisoners and sent them to Delhi. Raverty's criticism however does not carry conviction. The reference to the Khutba being read in Ghazni may be an exaggeration, but the whole statement of Barani cannot be dismissed as fantastic. The statement does contain an element of truth—namely that Sher Khan held his own against the Mongols.

BALBAN'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HULAGU THE MONGOL RULER OF KHURASAN.

Minhaj throws some interesting light on an exchange of embassies between the Delhi Court and the Mongol Ruler of Khurasan. Malik Nasir-ud-Din Mohammad, son of Malik Hasan the Qarlugh, wanted to bring about the betrothal of his daughter with the son of Ulugh Khan.¹¹ Ulugh Khan, therefore, sent Jamal-ud-Din to bear the answer to this request. When Jamal-ud-Din reached Multan, he was produced before Malik Balban Kashlu and the Mongol *Shahanagan* (Intendants)¹².

1. Nasiri—272.
2. Nasiri—277.
3. Nasiri—277.
4. Nasiri—215.
5. Nasiri—277.
6. Nasiri—217.

7. Nasiri—277.
8. Nasiri—278.
9. Barani—65.
10. Barani—65.
11. Nasiri—320.
12. Nasiri—221.

He replied that he was an emissary sent by Ulugh Khan to Malik Nasir-ud-Din Qarlagh. He was given permission to proceed to Banian and as the news about an embassy from Ulugh Khan had spread far and wide, Malik Nasir-ud-Din, who had submitted to the Mongols, had to send the emissary perforce towards Khurasan to the presence of Hulagu¹, who treated Jamal-ud-Din with much honour and consideration.² When the Mongol officials read the letters to Hulagu, it became necessary to translate them from the Persian into the Mongol language. In the letters the Mongol officials styled Ulugh Khan a *Malik*; but Hulagu, reprimanded them and said that Ulugh Khan should be styled Khan and not Malik, thus showing honour to Ulugh Khan.³ Hulagu in return sent his emissaries to the court of Delhi and sent orders to the Mongol forces under the command of Nuyin Sari saying: "If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the ground of the dominions of the Sultan of Sultans, Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammad Shah, the command unto you is this that all four feet of such horse be lopped off⁴." The Mongol emissaries were welcomed at the Delhi Court with great pomp and show.⁵ This incident clearly indicates the power of Ulugh Khan. The determined opposition which Ulugh Khan was able to offer to the Mongol advance, and the readiness of Hulagu, ruler of Khurasan and one of the most puissant of Mongol rulers, to exchange embassies with the Court of Delhi is a tribute to the extraordinary ability of Ulugh Khan.

II

THE SO-CALLED BALBAN INSCRIPTION OF KOIL (ALIGARH).⁶

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The inscription with which this paper concerns itself is incised in a block of red sandstone which was once a part of the doorway of a huge tower on the Bala-i-Qila, the old fortified area of Aligarh city. In its undamaged condition, it was probably, next to the Qutb Minar, the highest tower in Northern India. It was the minar of a huge mosque, which Nawab Sabit Khan the Mughul governor of Aligarh completed in 1728 and which, except for the minar, is still in perfect condition. The minar in question "was round, with a square base, and was divided by external cornices into stages, of which the lower was 54 feet in height, and at the time of its destruction (in 1861), 20 feet of the second stage remained. The base was of black *kankar* and red sandstone; the first stage 80 feet in circumference below, and gradually diminishing toward the top, was wholly of *kankar*; and the second stage of brick. The walls in the first stage diminished from 6 to 4½ feet, and within was a spiral staircase of black *kankar* approached by door on the north side and

1. Nasiri—321.

2. Nasiri—322.

3. Nasiri—322.

4. Nasiri—322.

5. Nasiri—318.

6. The contributors are under obligation to Maulana Abdul Aziz Memon, Chairman of the Arabic Deptt. Raghīb Ahmad, Lecturer Sunni Theology, 'Abid Shabbār, Dean of Shia Theology, and Shamsul Ulama Mohd. Amin Abbasi of the Muslim University for their help in the correct decipherment of the inscription and to Prof. Mohd. Habib, Chairman of the Department of History for his valuable suggestions,

lighted by several apertures.”¹ This magnificent structure was demolished by order of Sir George Edmundston with a view to making improvements round the Sabit Khan Mosque—an act of vandalism which was condemned by Thomas in these words :—“ It is with much regret that I learn that this ancient monument has been wantonly destroyed. With a feeling akin to shame, I have to add that this was the deliberate act of my countrymen, the English officials in charge of the district in 1861.”²

This inscription mutilated in parts was handed over to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who lodged it in the Aligarh Scientific Institute along with a number of Buddhist images discovered near Aligarh. In 1904 it was affixed inside the southern wall of the Nizam Museum (near the entrance of the University Mosque) constructed with funds donated by His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1935, when His Exalted Highness paid a visit to the Muslim University, the inscription was inked making some portions, unfortunately, worse than they were before.

This inscription has been the subject of two papers in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.³ It has been fully transcribed and commented upon by Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*.⁴ Neville referred to it in Volume VI of the U. P. District Gazetteer.⁵ Dr. Yazdani contributed an article on it with photo-plates in the 1913-14 volume of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.⁶ But unfortunately in none of these papers has its true builder, though distinctly named, been identified. In all these dissertations it has been tacitly accepted as an inscription of Ghiasuddin Balban in his capacity of Prime Minister of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1246-1266). The following is believed to be an accurate reconstruction of the original inscription, which has been a little disfigured by the “improvements” effected in 1935. It bears the date of the 10th Rajab, 652 A. H. (May 17, 1254 A.D.)

هَذِهِ الْعَرَاةُ فِي عَصْرِ مَمْلَكَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ مَالِكِ رِقَابِ الْأَمَمِ نَائِلِ الدُّنْيَا
وَالدِّينِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِينِ وَذِي الْأَمَانِ لِأَهْلِ الْإِيمَانِ وَارِثِ مُلْكِ سُلَيْمَانَ حَمْدًا
الْحَامِزِ فِي مُلْكِ الْعَالِمِ أَبِي الْمُظَفَّرِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مُلْكَهُ وَسُلْطَانَهُ لِلْأَلَاءِ
الْعَالِمِ الْكَبِيرِ الْأَعْظَمِ قَتْلَغَانِ بَطَاءُ الْحَقِّ وَالِدِ الدِّينِ مَلِكِ مُلُوكِ الشَّرْقِ وَالصُّبْحِ
بَلَبْنِ الشَّمْسِ فِي أَيَّامِ إِيَالَةِ يَامُرِ مَقَالَتِهِمِ فِي الْعَاشِرِينَ مِنْ رَجَبٍ سَنَةِ اثْنَتَيْ
خَمْسِينَ وَسِتٍّ مِائَتَةٍ

1. U. P. Distt. Gaz., Vol. VI, p. 161.

2. *Chronicles Thomas of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 129.

3. p. 166 of Vol. for 1872 ; p. 334 ff. of Vol. for 1878.

4. p. 129 ff.

5. p. 160 ff. Vol. on Aligarh.

6. p. 22 ff.

7. This portion has been repaired with lime plaster, the repair being faulty.

Transliteration :

Haze hil 'imarato fi 'ahd-i Mamlakatis-Sultanil-'azami, malik-i riqabil-umami, Nasir-id-dunya wad-dini, Sultanis-Salatini, wa zil aman-i li ahlil-imani waris-i mulk-i Sulaimana, Sahib-il Khatimi fi mulkil-'alami abil Muzaffari Mahmud ibn is-Sultan-i Khalla dallaho mulkahu wa sultanahu** ul-malik-ul-'alam, ul-kabir-ul 'azamo, Qutlagh Khan baha-ul-haqqi wad-dini malik-o mulukish sharq-i was-Sini, Balban us Shamsi, fi ayyam-i ayalatihi bi-amr-i maqalatihi, fil 'ashir-i min Rajab-in-sanah tisna wa khamsina wa sitta mayatin.

Translation :

This edifice (was constructed) in the time of the Great King, Master of the necks of nations, Helper of the world and faith, Sultan of Sultans. Protector of believers, Heir to the throne of Solomon, Lord of the kingdom of the universe, Abil Muzaffar Mahmud, son of the Sultan (may God perpetuate his kingdom and his empire), (by) the master of the Universe, the great of the great, Qutlagh Khan Baha-al-haq wad-din (the effulgence and truth and faith) king of the kings (or Malik) of the East and China, Balban al-Shamsi, during his governorship and by his (Qutlagh Khan's) order, on the 10th of the month of Rajab, in the year 652 (A.H.).

Thomas was under the impression that the inscription "represents the hand-writing of His Majesty himself", that the matter and manner of the record had been designed by the king, "for, from the supreme monarch alone could have come such free laudation of the wazir", that Balban all powerful though he was, "could scarcely in the presence of his sovereign call himself Malikul Alam, Malik of the East and China." He believes that the Sultan found relief from the dull pietistic art of copying the Quran in being thus "called upon to prepare an original document which should give free vent to his practised penmanship". And lastly, he says that the inscription was copied from a cloth impression originally prepared by the Sultan.

There is no evidence to support the impression of Thomas that the inscription which is written in clear Arabic script represents the hand-writing of the Sultan. The script used does not materially differ from that of other contemporary Indian inscriptions. It is quite possible that for such work Egyptian¹ or Arab calligraphists were engaged; but the actual work of engraving was done by Indian workmen. This inscription cannot possibly be ascribed to Ghiasuddin Balban, whose title was Ulugh Khan-i Balban and not Qutlagh Khan. Ulugh Khan, the minister of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, who had distinguished himself by subduing the rebels of the Doab and fighting the Mongols, had within the court a strong party to contend with led by Imaduddin Raihan, a renegade Hindu who had successfully poisoned the ears of the Sultan against Ulugh Khan and had procured his dismissal in Muharram 651 A. H. (April 1253). The full story is related by Minhajuddin Siraj in his *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* under the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin and in greater detail under the heading Ulugh Khan.

When Sultan Nasiruddin marched towards Multan and Uch on Shawwal 12, 650 A. H. (Dec. 16, 1252) to punish Sher Khan² after driving away its loyal governor Malik Izzuddin Balban-i Kishlu Khan

1. Maulana Abdul Aziz Memon testifies to the existence of a number of inscriptions in Egypt in a similar script.

2. *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Calcutta text, p. 216.

(brother of Ulugh Khan), he was accompanied by a number of Malikis and Naibs, the most important of whom were Malik Outlugh Khan, governor of Biana¹ and Malik Izzuddin Kishlu Khan, the latter having joined his army at from Badaun. As soon as the royal army reached the Jhelum, Imaduddin Raihan secretly plotted with the Malikis against Ulugh Khan, "conspiring in the hunting-ground or the defiles of some passes, or in crossing some river."² Unsuccessful in this attempt, they made a joint representation before the Sultan to pass orders for his dismissal and retirement to his fief. The Sultan pressed to this extremity by so formidable a party (including Outlugh Khan), finally passed an order dismissing his trusted Wazir and father-in-law.³ On Muharram 30, 651 (April 1, 1253) Balban in obedience to the royal mandate retired to his fief at Hansi.⁴ But Raihan again, after the return of the Sultan to the capital from Multan, plotted for the dismissal of Ulugh Khan from Hansi to Nagore: for he did not consider himself safe until his opponent had been sent some distance from Delhi. The Sultan had to pass a second order to this effect as well.⁵ Following Ulugh Khan's dismissal Imaduddin became the *Wakil-i-dar* and he made a fresh distribution of offices among his partisans by dismissing or transferring all party-men and proteges of Ulugh Khan. Minhajuddin Siraj, on this occasion, was dismissed from the Qazi-ship of the metropolis⁶. Among the new recipients of office was Malik Izzuddin Balban-i Yuzbaki, son-in-law of Outlugh Khan who was created *Naib-i Amir-i Hajib* in place of Saifuddin Aibak-i Kishli Khan, brother of Ulugh Khan. The tyranny of Raihan coupled with the unwillingness of the pure-bred Turki and Tajik nobles under a Hindu convert, caused tumult in Delhi.⁷ At last the nobles of the eastern provinces including Kara Manikpur, Awadh, Tirhut as far as Badaun, and also of the western provinces from Bhatinda to Samana,⁸ revolted in favour of Ulugh Khan, who joined the western rebel Malikis with his forces, and marched with them towards Delhi. Raihan accompanied the Sultan to fight his rivals; but the royal army retreated in confusion towards Hansi.⁹ Through the intervention of the Malikis on both sides, a compromise was effected involving the dismissal of Raihan from the office of *Wakil-i-dar* on 22nd Shawwal 652 (Aug. 26, 1254). It was on the 18th Ziqadh, 652 (Dec. 30, 1254), that Ulugh Khan re-entered Delhi and was re-instated in his former position.¹⁰ Thus Ulugh Khan-i Balban, who remained in disgrace and outside the capital at Hansi and Nagore in Marwar¹¹ from Muharram 30, 651 to Ziqadh 18, 652 (April 1, 1253 to Dec. 30, 1254), could not have been the governor of Koil (Aligarh) and the builder of the Minar, whose inscription is the subject of our discussion. The inscription bears the date of the 10th of Rajab 652 A. H. and Balban re-entered Delhi 4 months and 8 days after the fixing of the inscription, and necessarily after the completion of the edifice.

1. *Ibid.* p. 296.

2. Tabaqat, Raverty's tr., p. 826.

3. The Sultan married Ulugh Khan's daughter in 646 (1248 A. D.) Cf. Tabaqat Text 292.

4. Tab. Text 296-7.

5. *Ibid.* 297.

6. *Ibid.* 298.

7. Tab Text 299; Minhaj says that for six months he was confined to his house and could not go to the mosque to say his Friday prayers.

8. In Patiala State.

9. Tab. Text 300.

10. *Ibid.* 301.

11. Ain II: Jarrett, p. 270, 276-7.

It has been plainly mentioned in the inscription that the builder of the structure was Qutlagh Khan Balban Al-Shamsi, at the order of Sultan Nasiruddin, or it may be read as "at his own order". Qutlagh Khan is an historical figure. In the words of Minhaj "he was a great Malik and one among the grandees and a servant of the court and one of the Turki Maliks".¹ On the testimony of the same historian he held the governorship of Biana² and was one of the chief Maliks, whose help the Sultan sought in connection with the Multan and Uch campaign already described. He belonged to 'Imaduddin Raihan's party and was one of the conspirators against Ulugh Khan. A further proof of this is to be found in the fact that at the time of the re-distribution of offices in the metropolis by Raihan, following Ulugh Khan's dismissal, Malik Izzuddin Balban-Yuzbaki, son-in-law of Qutlagh Khan was made *Naib-i Amir-i Hajib*. With the successful conclusion of the Multan campaign in which Qutlagh took part, and the consequent ascendancy of Raihan, he as Raihan's partisan seems to have been invested with greater dignity and entrusted with more territory including Koil and Bahraich. Probably a considerable portion of the Doab was placed under his control as the governor of the eastern provinces. We read of the conferment of Biana, Koil, Jalesar³ and Gwalior being conferred through the influence of Ulugh Khan, on his nephew Sher Khan in Muharram 657 (Jan. 1259).⁴ These places and perhaps others were held by Qutlagh Khan which promoted him to assume such titles as the "Malik of the East and China". The addition of China in inscription does not seem to be a serious claim. *Malikish Sharq wa-Sin* was deliberately chosen to rhyme with *Baha-ul-Haq wad-Din*.

The star of Qutlagh Khan declined after his second marriage with the mother of the Sultan Nasiruddin in 1255 A.D.⁵. The Sultan did not forgive his mother for this amour in old age, and on February 16, 1255, ordered the couple to leave Bahraich⁶ and go to their new jagir in Awadh⁷. Qutlagh went to Awadh but made delay in vacating Bahraich, and subsequently rebelled. Joined by Raihan who still hoped to regain power he captured Malik Tajuddin Sanjar-i-Mah-Peshani, the new assignee of Bahraich, after a closely contested battle at Chhibramau. The latter, however, succeeded in escaping and with the help of royal re-inforcement, defeated Qutlagh and Raihan and their Hindu confederates.⁸ Raihan was slain in the engagement. Qutlagh was chased by the royal army under Ulugh Khan, so that he fled towards Santur where he received some support from Rana Rampal.⁹ He was again pursued in Rabi I, 655 (March 1257) and driven from Sirmoor his last place of refuge. But as soon as the royal army was off Qutlagh Khan emerged from his refuge and joined forces with the rebel Malik 'Izzuddin Kishlu Khan¹⁰ and captured Samana and Kohram. The two ambitious Maliks entered into a pact for the seizure

1. Tab. Text 305.

2. Biana in Bharatpur State.

3. In Etah District, U. P.

4. Elliot II, 380.

5. Tab. Text 219-20.

6. Assigned to Raihan but reassigned to Malik Tajuddin, perhaps due to the misconduct of the former.

7. Tab. Text 302.

8. *Ibid*, 303.

9. Deo-pal in Elliot II, p. 376.

10. Kishlu Khan was the Governor of Multan at that time.

of Delhi, but it is not clear to whom the throne was to go. On the re-appearance of the royal army under Ulugh Khan, his brother Saif uddin Kishli Khan, and Malik Sher Khan an indecisive battle was fought near Samana¹ between the two forces. Qutlagh and Kishlu Khan then marched towards Delhi with the forces of Siwalik, Hansi, Sirsuti and Barwala. Ulugh Khan hastened to intercept the rebels, and when the two armies stood face to face, a seditious party in Delhi, or rather the anti-Ulugh Khan party, led by the Sheikhu'l Islam, Jamal uddin Bustami, and other 'ulama such as Syed Qutbuddin and Qazi Shamsuddin², dispatched secret letters to Qutlagh and Kishlu Khan urging them to come and capture Delhi. They assured them that "the gates of the city are in our hands. It behoveth you to move towards the city, for it is denuded of troops"³ and they promised to win the public to their side. But the letter was intercepted and the plot discovered.⁴ Disappointment was in store for Qutlagh and his friend for vigorous precautionary measures had already been taken by the Sultan, and the defences were strengthened by the swift arrival of Balban within the capital. The plotters were captured and dispersed. The rebel generals had to fly in different directions, and Qutlagh is heard of no more.

There is now no doubt as to the historical role played by Qutlagh. His position and his importance have been referred to by Minhaj, though he was a staunch opponent of the latter's patron Ulugh Khan. The memorial in question was constructed at the time of the ascendancy of Raihon in the court and when Qutlagh was a loyal servant of the Sultan whom he mentions in the inscription. He presently lost the confidence of the Sultan by his marriage with the mother of his sovereign. His rebellion and dash to Delhi convey some idea of the importance of his position. He may have aspired to the throne or at least to the position of the all-powerful wazir of a puppet ruler after the expulsion of Balban. Incidentally Qutlagh was very popular among the Hindus who enthusiastically took his side and fought with him once in Awadh and then at Santur.

The titles "Balban al-Shamsi", and "Baha-al-Haq wad din," which is also a title of Ulugh Khan, may have led historians and research workers to identify him with Ghiasuddin Balban. Balban, it must be remembered, is not a name but a family title. We come across at least four Balbans in this (Nasiruddin's) reign:—Malik 'Izz-ud-Din Balban-i Kishlu Khan, known as the elder Balban;⁵ his brother, Ulugh Khan Balban (later Ghias-ud-Din Balban), Qutlagh Khan Balban of the inscription and the latter's son-in-law Malik 'Izzuddin Balban Yuzbaki, who was made governor of Lakhnawati in 656 (1258).⁶ Qutlagh calls himself al-Shamsi by virtue of his being a slave of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. It must be borne in mind that the biographies of only 25 out of the famous corps of 40 have been sketched by Minhaj. Qutlagh—though he deserved it—was not given this honour because he was an opponent of Minhaj's patron. The full name of the builder appears to be Bahaud din Qutlagh Khan, in the same way as we derive Nasiruddin from Nasirud-dunya wad-din.

1. Tab. Text, 306.

2. Qazi Shamsuddin Bahraichi was made Qazi superseding Minhaj-ud-Din, Tab. Text, 298.

3. Tab. Raverty p. 842.

4. Tab. text, 309.

5. For biography, *vide* Raverty's *Tabaqat*, p. 775 ff.

6. Tab. Text, p. 309.

We have no evidence till now to prove the cause or the occasion of the construction of this Minar. If it is a memorial of victory, as most probably it is; it must be connected with his own achievement; for we cannot imagine that he would thus celebrate the victory of his opponent Ulugh Khan. It may be a memorial of victory gained at Multan, or it may be connected with the success of his punitive expeditions against the rebels of the Doab for which we have no direct evidence at our disposal.

III

THE FIRDAUSI OF INDIA

By Mehdi Hussain, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt, Agra.

In order to understand and appreciate the Firdausi of India it is necessary to recall his prototype, the Firdausi of Iran, the immortal Homer of the East, the author of the famous *Shahnama*—a versified history of ancient Iran. The *Shahnama* runs to 60,000 couplets and covers the reigns of over seventeen kings ranging over some 3,620 years.

Firdausi was born in the village of Shadab in the district of Tus and the province of Khurasan in A.D. 923. His original name Abul Qasim Mansur was superseded early in his life by his pen-name Firdausi. "Firdausi", an adjective from Firdaus (paradise) is supposed to have been derived from the name of a garden named Firdaus where his father used to work. But the origin of the term, Firdausi has also been attributed to an exclamation of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. When the poet Abul Qasim Mansur or Mansur, as Firdausi was then known, visited the royal court at Ghazni and recited some extemporised verses in praise of Aiyaz, the favourite slave of Sultan Mahmud, the latter is said to have exclaimed "Thou hast made my court as resplendent as Firdaus."

Sultan Mahmud who was a great patron of art and literature, had made a collection of the ancient chronicles of Persia and wished to have them versified. It was a stupendous task which had already been attempted but left incomplete by more than one. Earlier in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, the poet Daqiqi, then a young man with a ready tongue, great eloquence and a brilliant mind, had undertaken to put these chronicles into verse. But his career was cut short for he was murdered by a slave in the midst of his work. Firdausi who had been interested in this epic secured Daqiqi's manuscript through a friend, a certain Mohd. Lashkari. This was reported to Sultan Mahmud, who sent for Firdausi and entrusted to him the task of composing the *Shahnama* in full, promising to pay him 1,000 *misqals* of gold (approximately £670) for every thousand couplets that he wrote. But Firdausi preferred to have the whole in a lump sum upon the completion of the work. It was then agreed that he would be paid one gold mohur for each couplet.

After working steadily for about 35 years Firdausi completed the *Shahnama* of 60,000 couplets at the age of 60. But Mahmud had meanwhile changed his mind. He now offered 60,000 silver *dirhams* (£2,600) instead of an equal number of gold mohurs (£40,000). Firdausi was enraged. It is said that at the time the money reached him; Firdausi was in a public bath at Tus. Indignant at the Sultan's breach of faith the

poet disposed of the whole amount immediately, a third of it he gave away to the keeper of the bath, another third to the messenger who had brought the money and the remainder to a man who brought him some sherbet.

This was reported to the Sultan who in a rage gave orders that the insolent poet should be trampled to death by an elephant. Whereupon Firdausi hurried to the court and threw himself at the Sultan's feet, imploring mercy. The Sultan relented.

Still angered at the Sultan's treatment, Firdausi wrote what was called a panegyric but was really a satire on Mahmud. Leaving this with Aiyaz, the Sultan's favourite, the poet proceeded to Herat then to Baghdad and other places; but he was everywhere pursued and harassed by the royals pies. At last he returned to his native place, being now over 80 years of age. The Sultan now relented, and sent to him the whole sum of 60,000 gold mohurs (£ 40,000). But it was too late. As the royal messenger who brought the money entered one gate of the town of Tus, Firdausi's body was being borne out through the opposite gate for burial.

But Firdausi had earned immortal fame. His *Shahnama* was highly appreciated by Sultan Mahmud and was acclaimed by friends and foes alike as one of the crowning achievements in the domain of literature and history. Sultan Mahmud's empire crumbled within a decade of his death but the *Shahnama* still lives and will live for ever.

Some four hundred years later an Indian Firdausi saw the light of day. During the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji and in the capital city of Delhi there was born a poet (1311) known by his pen-name, "Isami," which is also a family name, signifying a descendant of Isam, who was a chamberlain of Numan bin Munzir¹. Isami also means one who owes his renown to his own merits or one who does not glory in his father's virtues but in his own. This is borne out by the *Futuh-us-Salatin*. The author does not pride himself on his father's virtues and attainments; he does not even mention him—a fact which has been taken to indicate the early and untimely death of his father. But the poet does not glory in his grandfather either, though the latter had enjoyed a long life and had held the dignified office of *Sipahsalar* under Balban.

Of all his ancestors Isami mentions only one, Fakhr-ul-Mulk Isami, who is described as a leading vazir of successive Caliphs of Baghdad.² After having served the Abbasid court as vazir for about 20 years he came over to India where he was warmly received by Iltutmish, the reigning Sultan, and appointed minister at Delhi. He had a son called Zahir-ul-

1. See Hussain A. M.—*The Rise and Fall of Mohammad bin Tughluq*, 253.

2. شہیدم وزیرے بہ بغداد بود محیط کرم معدن داد بود
بدستش همه محل و عقد دیار سپر ده سلاطین بآن روزگار
درآں ملک درنے وزارت براند جہانے فخر ملک عصامیش خواند
مدار ممالک بہ از ہوش ورے ضمیرش بہرباب مشکل کشاے
کسے کو بگشتے درآں ملک شاہ وزیرش بکردے درآں تختگاہ
نہ بے راری او ہیچ رائے زدے نہ بے علم او دست و پائے زدے

Mulk and Sadr-ul-Kiram who worked as *Vakildar* at the court of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud son of Iltutmish. He died early in the reign of Balban leaving behind a son, Izzuddin Isami who has been mentioned above. Izzuddin Isami was appointed *Sipahsalar* (Commander) in the central standing army by Sultan Balban; he was the grandfather of our poet and historian Isami. With him the latter had been closely associated from the beginning and by him most probably he had been brought up.

Izzuddin Isami was born in A. D. 1237 during the reign of Sultan Raziya and was 90 years of age when in 1327 under orders of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq he was dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad. He was much too old to bear the strain of this long journey and died on the way at Tilpat, a town twelve miles south of Delhi. The poet Isami was then 16 years of age; like his grandfather he was also torn from all his associations in the city of Delhi and made to travel along the road to Daulatabad. There he remained for the next 24 years, in the course of which he witnessed the "outrages of Muhammad bin Tughluq" in the Deccan. By 1349 Isami was so much weighed down with grief that he had become grey. Disgusted with life he resolved to leave his native country, which he loved, in order to spend the remainder of his life in peace at Mecca. But he desired to leave behind a souvenir in the form of an epic, which might challenge comparison with the *Shahnama* of Firdausi. Accordingly he began to write the *Futuh us Salatin* on the 10th of December, 1349 completing it on the 14th of May, 1350. Thus originated the *Futuh us Salatin*,¹ which may legitimately be called the *Shahnama* of Medieval India.

Isami had previously written two odes or, as appears from some of his verses, five separate works, but as these were not appreciated they fell into oblivion. Perhaps they were destroyed during his lifetime in the course of the rebellions and wars of the latter part of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. These works were followed by the *Futuh us Salatin* which survived because it was written under the royal patronage of Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, the first king and founder of the Bahmani dynasty. To him Isami was presented by Qazi Bahauddin, who was the *Hajib-i-Qissa* or Superintendent of Petitions at the Bahmani Court. It appears that Isami had previously sent him a petition; accordingly Qazi Bahauddin sent for him. Isami attended, and was fortunate enough to find in him a patron. Qazi Bahauddin was pleased to hear Isami's compositions and verses, was impressed by his merits and wished for him a high position at the royal court: says Isami—

1. Husain A. M.: Isami's *Futuh us Salatin* (or the *Shahnama* of Medieval India). Education Press, 'Agra (1938).

ندیدم یکے مرد صاحب صفا	دریغا دریں خشک سال سخا
کند طبع مجروح را مرهم	کہ گرد نظریغاں برآید. دے
چہ مطلوب داری ازیں جست و جو	بگوید کہ چونی دریں گفت و گوی
شود کنج پیما بکنجے دروں	اگر صاحب فکر سائے فزوں
نشسته بکنج از سرے چیستی	نہ پرسد کسے کائی فلاں کیستی
پے مکر می. داشت در انتظار	مرا طبع من در چین روزگار
نظر داشتہ درسیاہ و سپید	کشادہ بہر سوئے چشم امید
در خوی از کہ بکشایدم	کہ بخت از کدا میں طرف آیدم

Alas! in these days when munificent persons are extinct, I could find no one philanthropic and sympathetic enough to solace a lacerated heart ; I found no one who might help me in my distress and embarrassments.

In these days, a man of letters is not in demand and is at a discount if he chooses to retire to scholarly seclusion. Still I had an urge to look for a man of liberal instincts and I carried on the search at all places and among all kinds of men. For about two months I remained absorbed in these thoughts when one morning there came a courier and called on me.

'Welcome : whence do you come ? ' said I. He wished me well and on expressing felicitations said, 'I have come to you under the Qazi's order.'

"On my enquiring the name of the Qazi, I was told that he was known as Baha-ul-Haq (Bahauddin) and that the King Alaaddin Hasan who appreciated his sharp wits, talents, grasp of facts and extraordinary power of judgment had awarded him the title of Hajib-i-Qissa (the Superintendent of Petitions). 'The Qazi', observed the courier, 'possesses a charming personality and a gift for writing masterly prose and poetry. He moves with dervishes and strives to liberate prisoners'. On hearing these attributes of the Qazi I yearned to meet him. I went to his palace where, to my great surprise I found neither door-keepers nor guards. I proceeded dauntlessly into the interior ; such dauntlessness on the part of visitors is a true index of the greatness of the house master. On seeing me come the Qazi advanced to receive me. By showing me courtesy and by receiving me warmly he really conquered my heart : words fail me adequately to describe how much I felt indebted to him. He shook hands with me and made profuse apologies. He then offered me a dignified seat.

رسد در لطف از گدا میں طرف
دیں شب سخن از کہ زاید مرا
یکے قاصدے با مداد اداں پگاہ
دعا گفت پس گشت گرد سرم
کہ جاں پرور و دلکشامی رسی
طرب کن کزیں پس شدم یار تو
رسم بر تو اے گوهر ارجمند
رہائی دہ از اندہ ماضیم
ہمہ تن زبان و دل و چشم و گوش
شہش صاحب فصہ کردہ خطاب
ہمہ نظم و نثرش طبیعت پذیر
بگو شد خلاص اسیران مدام
قرار از دل من برون برد رخت
کہ یا ہم بیا بوس او دست رس
نمودہ بر ایوانش یک سر رہے
نہ در بان بر ایوانش نے پردہ دار

وزد باد عیش از گدا میں طرف
کہ ہر مکر می رہ نماید مرا
دیں پردہ ام کز پس یک دوماہ
در آمد بصد خرمی از درم
بیر سید مش کن کجایمی رسی
بگفتا منم بخت بیدار تو
بفرمان آن قاضی ہو شمند
بگفتم بگو نام آن قاضیم
بگفتا بہا الحق آن تیز ہوش
بہر قصہ چون دید رایش صواب
جبینش بدر آفتابش ضمیر
بر آید بگرد فقیران مدام
جو اوصاف قاضی شنیدم ز بخت
بما ندم دین آرزو یک نفس
مرا بخت دستے گرفت آنگھے
بر فتم بر ایوانش امیدوار

Footnote continued on next page.

We sat confronting each other and entered into a private conversation. His talk revived my drooping spirits : I became cheery, and on finding in him a man of congenial temperament I felt an urge to display my poetic genius and recite my compositions. With great joy I recited some of my verses. Urged by his good countenance and encouraging look I ventured to tell him my story. 'You are,' he observed, 'a sweet-tongued nightingale fit for the garden of paradise'. He regretted that a gifted poet like myself should be allowed to perish in India in obscurity. He believed that I was worthy of being introduced to the king's court. So, he took me there and introduced me to the king. May God bless him for this ! and may the king (Ala-ud-din Hasan) ever help the needy and may he be a promoter of virtue !"

Isami proceeds to tell us how he obtained the patronage of king Ala-ud-din Hasan and secured his permission to compose the Shahnama on the lines of the Shahnama of Firdausi. He differentiates his position from that of Firdausi. While the latter had approached Mahmud of Ghazni and had undertaken to compose the Shahnama with the object of obtaining possession of the town of Raiy, Isami assures us that he has had no such temptation, his object in composing the Shahnama being merely to render service to history as well as to his royal master, Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah. To history he is devoted because he desires to serve the cause of Truth ; and to His Majesty Sultan Ala-ud-din he feels grateful because of his revolt against the " tyrant " Muhammad bin Tughluq.

"At a critical stage in Indian history" says Isami addressing King Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah, "when a tyrant like Zuhak had acquired possession of this country, when his forces had crushed and reduced to dust the bodies of innocent people, when for a period of six months in the city of Deogir the believers were being put to tortures with the result that the blood of orthodox Muslims was shed, it was Your Majesty who in the midst of the said crisis girded up your loins to wage war with the enemy (Muhammad bin Tughluq). . . You liberated the realm from the atrocities

دروں تر شدم دید مش بے خطر
مرا دید چون قاضی نیک نام
بیقصد بشاشت مرا بنده کرد
مرا دست بگرفت شد عذر خواه
نشستیم چون رو برو یک دگر
به تقریر او تازه شد جان من
چنان خوش حریفی که طعم بچست
بیا آنچه داری ز گنج هنر
بصد عیش در پیش آن ذوفنون
زربش چو خوش یافتم فال خویش
بگفتا چنین بلبلے خوش نوا
چنین مرغ حیف است درین بوستان
سزای چنین بلبلے لاله زار
مرا برد آنکه بدرگاه شاه

در مکر ماں ایجنیس خوب تر
قدم زد بتنظیم من چند گام
چه گویم مرا تا چه شرمندہ کرد
مقامے تعین کرد در صدر گاہ
بدادیم از حال ماہی خبر
ہوای خوشی یافت نسیان من
چو دریانت گفتم کنون وقت تست
بیار آنچه داری ز ابر گھر
ز گفتار جود شعر خواندم فزون
بگفتم برو قصہ حال خویش
بگلزار فردوس باشد سرا
چنین طوطی حبش ہندوستان
نبا شد مگر مجلس شہر یار
رسا نید تیرہ شبے را بہاہ

Footnote continued on next page.

of the said tyrant and rescued Islam from his persecution. You liberated large numbers of those who had been held prisoners in distant and isolated parts. In view of these your services to humanity I feel I am incompetent to thank Your Majesty adequately. . . . But with Your Majesty's permission I wish to say something. I understand that when Firdausi the intelligent had set himself to composing the Shahnama he received inspiration from God and then from the Prophet ; and on approaching the King of Ghazni, he also received inspiration from him and enjoyed royal patronage. Mahmud took keen interest in him and incessantly bestowed favours on him and would not let him be distracted. . . . On undertaking to compose the Shahnama, the first thing that Firdausi did was to make diligent enquiries from historians of repute about the past history of Iran and Turan. He pondered deeply over the matter. And at last he produced a wonderful book : apparently thus he laid out a flower-garden where there had been previously a furnace. Those who enjoy this garden of Firdausi's, plucking flowers for themselves, consider his Shahnama a veritable paradise.

Firdausi achieved his object by composing the Shahnama—a marvel in itself, and he enhanced its value by dedicating it to Mahmud. But after Sultan Mahmud had granted Firdausi an elephant-load of treasure he was in the long run put to shame. I understand that Firdausi had aimed at acquiring the province of Raiy as a reward for composing the Shahnama, failing which he was disappointed and aggrieved. To-day, neither Mahmud nor Firdausi the eloquent is alive. The Shahnama alone is extant which is a monument to both. By means of a Shahnama, kings can be immortalised and their memory cherished for ever.

By the grace of God I feel confident to compose the Shahnama, and by favour of the Prophet whose praises I sing I have been able to ascertain and verify the Truth. . . . If Your Majesty be pleased to accept me as your admirer, I may undertake to write the Shahnama containing the history of the kings of Hindustan. I will dedicate it to Your Majesty and disseminate it all over the world.

As soon as the Shahnama is finished it will find its way into the hands of all, both high and low. I will be proud to have dedicated it Your Majesty ; and copies of this epic will be taken from India to Ghazni. I swear by the Almighty God who knows the secrets of all hearts that my object in undertaking to write this epic is not like Firdausi to aspire to the

اگر کرد بیدادئے روز گار	کہ بردست ضحاک دادایں دیار
ز پامال افواج ضحاکیاں	بر آورد گرد از تن خائیاں
بہ شش ماہ در کشور دیو گیر	بر آمد ز مومن بہر سونفیر
ز خون مسلمان توحید خواں	دگر بارہ طوفان شد اندر جہاں
در آن حالت اے خسرو نامور	تو بستی بہ پیکار دشمن کمر
کشیدی یکے تیغ چوں اژدہا	سراز گردن خصم کردی جدا
بہ نیزہ نہادی سر بد سگال	بہ کردی ہمہ لشکرش پائمال
جہاندی از و جور اقلیم را	رہانیدی از ظلم اسلیم را
اسیران دشت و اسیران کوه	تو ازاد کردی گر وہان گروہ
بدیں دست گیری خلق خدا	کدامیں زبان شکر گویم

Footnote continued on next page.

governorship of Raiy or even to a subsistence allowance. I do not put forth any demands like others ; I know that the clouds on high rain down liberally unasked for and unsupplicated. My object is to pay a tribute to Your Majesty whose victorious arms have liberated Islam from the hands of tyranny. To this I call God to witness, and I swear by the truthfulness of the holy Prophet. . . . I pray to God in the name of Mahmud's love for Aiyaz and in the name of the marvellous poetic genius of Firdausi that He may be pleased to grant Your Majesty a long life : may Your Majesty live as long as even a single couplet of Firdausi's Shahnama is profitably read by the people and as long as goodness exists in this world."

Isami then complains bitterly about his age and the manners and morals of the people about him. Presumably he had had some bitter experiences of life and had been brought up in the school of adversity. He had become disgusted with Indian society and the conditions of life then obtaining ; and he resolved to leave India for good as soon as

بگویم اگر شه دهد زینهار
در اوراق شهنامه شد نقش بند
مدد یافت از روضه مصطفی
بسے یاری از شاه غزنی رسید
بکردے بصد آرزو جست و جو
دژم یک زمان نیز نگزاشته
دل شاه ممدو دریں کار یافت
ره کندن کان گوهر گرفت
ز پیدوان تاریخ داس باز جست
دل خویش با طبع همراز کرد
بیار است آتشده چون بهشت
بفردوس اعلیش نسبت کنند
برو سکه از نام محمود زد
هم از رآے آن صاحب صرفه گوش
هم آخر شد اندر جہاں شرمسار
ز درگاہ شه بود اقلیم رے
فقاے ترش از عطایش خرید
نہ فردوسی آن گنج گوهر کشای
بماندست از نام شان یادگار
بہ شهنامہ باقی ست نام شہاں
ز نعت بنی راہ تحقیق بافت
دل شاه بر حال خود مہربان
بمداحی خود پذیرد مرا
نگارم یکے نامہ چون بوستان

مرا هست رازے دریں کاروبار
شنیدم چو فردوسی ہوشمند
پس از یاری حضرت کبریا
چو با خود درآمد بغفت و شنید
شب و روز محمود از حال او
بہ ہر لحظ پاس دلش داشتے
چو فردوسی این روز بازار یافت
بصد خر می خامہ راہر گرفت
تواریخ ایران و توران نخست
نہانی یکے مجلس ساز کرد
پس آنکے یکے نامہ خوش بنشت
گروہے کزاں بوستان گل چند
عجب مہر در ملک مقصود زد
اگر شه بفردوسی تیز ہوش
بداد از خزانہ زر پیل بار
شنیدم کزاں نامہ مقصود وے
چو مقصود شاعر بدامن ندید
نہ امروز محمود بینم بجای
ہماں نامہ بینم کہ در روزگار
جہاں تا کہ باقی ست اندر جہاں
رہے ہم زیزدان چو توفیق یافت
کنوں خواہد از ایزد کارداں
اگر لطف شه دست گیرد مرا
ز تاریخ شاہان ہندوستان

the Shahnama was finished. "As soon as the Shahnama is completed I shall set my mind on performing the pilgrimage in the course of which I wish to die," says he.¹

In all probability he left for Mecca in 1350 when the Shahnama or the *Futuh-us-Salatin* had been completed, and there he appears to have died.

IV

ANTECEDENTS OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM,

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I. POSITION OF THE DECCAN IN THE TUGHLUQ ORGANISATION.

It is necessary to begin in a discussion of the antecedents of the Bahmani Kingdom with a description of the organisation of the Tughluq Empire and the place which the Deccan held in that organisation. During the first part of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, when the King had an effective control over the whole country as far south as Madura and even further, the land was divided into twenty-three provinces, of which Jajnagar (Orissa), Marhat (Maharashtra), Tilang (Tilangana), Bidar, Kampli (which later developed into Vijayanagar), Dwarasamudra, with the subsequent addition of Malwa, may be regarded as the southern provinces.² The whole empire was centralised in the person of the King who, after 727/1327, had two capitals, one at Delhi and the other at

1. Verses 253, 257, the *Futuh-us-Salatin* (the Shahnama of Medieval India) edited by Husain, A.M.

بهر کشور آنگاه راهش کنم	موشم بطغرای شاهش کنم
شود منتشر در همه خاص و عام	چو این نامه گردو بنامت تمام
به غزنین برندش ز هندوستان	کشاید فقاے بنامت جہاں
بدار دناے راز نہاں	ازیں نامہ اے خسرو کامراں
نہ رہ خواہم از شہ نہ وجہ فقاے	کہ مقصود من نیست جزا تباع
کہ ناخواستہ ابر انسیاں دہد	کہ خسرو بخواندہ چندان دہد
۵ اسلام را وا خرید از ستم	دگر مدح شاہ مظفر حشم
بصدق دل احمد راست کیش	خدایا بحق خدائی خویش
بمقصد رساناد معبود من	ازیں گفت و گوہستی مقصود من
باوقات فردوسی سحر ساز	بہ ان دم کہ محمود زد با ایاز
در آفاق تا فیض دارد قرار	ز شہنامہ تا هست بیتے بکار
جہاندار راداری اندر جہاں	ابادیں احمد بتخت کیاں

2. Barani : *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, As. Soc. of Bengal 1862, p. 468.

Deogir, surnamed Daulatabad.¹ The provinces or *aqalim* were divided into a number of rural districts or *shiqs* and urban districts or *medinas*; the rural districts were subdivided into *hazaris* or collections of 1,000 villages and *sadis* or collections of 100 villages. The chief officer of a province was called a *wali*, the *shiqs* were under *shiqdar*, *amil*s or *nazims* while the *sadis*, the smallest administrative units perhaps corresponding to the modern *tehsils*, were under the *amiran-i-sadah* under whom were smaller village officials such as the *mutasarrif*, *karkun*, *balahar*, *chaudhri*, *patwari*, etc.²

Such was the organisation of provincial governments under the direction of the central authority. Two things should be noticed in this connection. Firstly, such Hindu local chiefs, *rayan*, *rayagan* and *muqaddaman* as had agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan, were left in full enjoyment of their territories,³ while the Governors themselves enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy, due, no doubt to great distances and the difficulty of active and full control by the central power. They had their own *diwans* or ministries, their own judicial system and army units. The governor had a large patronage of office allotted to him; and while the higher posts were filled by the Sultan's own consent, the *wali* himself made most of the provincial appointments without reference to the capital. Moreover he had his own provincial nobility and his own revenue officials. Some of the provinces were farmed out while in others all the revenue was remitted to the capital after deducting provincial expenditure.

It will thus be seen that quite a large amount of latitude was allowed to the provincial governors. The position of the *amiran-i-sadah*, who played such an important part in securing independence for the Deccan, was peculiar. Most of them were of noble descent or else belonged to higher middle class society at the capital and were officers in direct or close touch with the people of the *sadi* or the *hundred* over whom they held sway.⁴ They were not only revenue collectors but also military commanders in direct charge of the local levies, and while the *walis* and *shiqdars* were in a way hidden from the public view, these amirs constituted, to all intents and purposes, the government as the ryots knew it. It is little wonder, then, that they had a certain pride of office and that they smarted with indignity when Muhammad Tughluq fell upon them as a punishment for the rebellions which finally broke up his Empire but for which most of them were not directly responsible.

1. The question whether the capital was wholly transferred from Delhi to Daulatabad or whether Daulatabad was merely made a second capital of the Empire has been ably and fully discussed by Dr. Mahdi Husain in this book, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, pages 108 ff. His conclusion seems perfectly correct that it was only the *elite* among the Muslims who were transferred from Delhi in order to counterpoise the distance which lay between Delhi and the far-flung southern provinces. * See also G. Browne: *Some Phases of the Character and Policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, June 1918, p. 10.
2. *Bar.* 501.
3. *Bar.* 469
4. The *sadis* were very much akin to the English "Hundreds," for which see Stubbs : *English Constitutional History* I, 104 ff. For the *hazaris*, the *sadis* and the amirs connected with these subdivisions see *Bar.*, 495 and Ibn-i Battuta : *Rihlah*, Cairo, 1287 H. II, 75. There is a full account of the various descriptions of the *sadis* in Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qarauna Turks*, Allahabad, 1936. pp. 28, 209, n. 58. I have not been able to find any reference to 100 men being under an amir-i-Sadah as suggested by the learned author.

II. DAULATABAD, THE SECOND CAPITAL OF THE EMPIRE.

The causes of these rebellions were many ; but here will be considered only those which led directly to the independence of the Deccan. The earliest Deccan rebellion which we meet is that of the Sultan's maternal cousin, Baha-ud-din Gurshasp, in 727/1327. Gurshasp held a jagir at Sagar¹ and it seems that right from the beginning of the reign he had made up his mind not to be under any kind of royal discipline and would not recognise the authority of the Sultan at all². He had created a certain amount of following among the local amirs and chiefs, and now he raised the banner of revolt. The Sultan sent Khwaja-i-Jahan Malik Ahmad Ayyaz and Mujir-ud-din Abu Rija at the head of the army of Gujarat which defeated him in a pitched battle at Deogir³, forcing him to fly first to his jagir and thence to the territory of Kampiladeva, Raja of Kampili, a local autonomous chief holding lands on the banks of the Tungabhadra⁴. In the meantime the Sultan himself arrived at Deogir and despatched Khwaja-i-Jahan again against the rebel, who, however, defeated him twice and was not subdued till auxiliary forces were sent to Khwaja-i-Jahan's help. The general at last succeeded in capturing the Raja of Kampili but Gurshasp fled further south to Dwaratiputra the capital of Vira Ballala III, who however arrested him and sent him back to the Sultan, and at the same time "acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultan"⁵.

Gurshasp's revolt and his persistent success in its initial stages convinced Muhammad that it was necessary to have a capital situated in a position more central than Delhi. He consulted his intimate advisers, no doubt members of the *arbab-i-dawal* or advisory council, functioning at Delhi, and after a certain amount of discussion the Sultan ordered that Deogir should be made the second capital of the Empire, and the leading Muslim families of Delhi were ordered to migrate to the southern capital. Deogir, first renamed Qubbatu'l-Islam⁶ and then Daulatabad, was provided with every comfort and convenience worthy of the capital of a great Empire. The wealth of the city rose by leaps and bounds with the attention the Sultan paid it, and it is no wonder that the Hindus of Daulatabad became enormously wealthy, especially as the Hindus of Delhi had probably been left in their ancestral homes at the northern capital. The city was divided in the heyday of its glory into three main parts, *i.e.*, Daulatabad proper, where the cantonment and the royal palace were situated, Kataka the city, and Deogir sometimes called Dharagir, and Dharakhera, the citadel.

The idea underlying the whole episode seems to be that the King desired an administrative seat right at the centre of his vast empire,

1. Date in Badayuni ; Muntakhabu't tawarikh, Calcutta, 1867, p. 226. Ferishta : Gulshan-i Ibrahimi, Lucknow edition, I. 135, rightly says that it was in the Deccan, that he rebelled. Sagar, in the Gulbarga district ; 16°37' N. 76°48'. See Haig : *History of the Tughluq Dynasty of Delhi* J. R. A. S. 1922 p. 338.
2. *Rih.* 58
3. Deogir or Daulatabad, now a small village at the foot of the famous fort.
4. Kampili in the Bellary District ; 15°25' N., 76° 36' E. There is good essay on the history of Kampili by Dr. Vankata Ramanayya : Kampili and Vijayanagara, Madras, 1929. By 'Bahadur Khan' is of course meant Bahau'd-Din Gurshasp.
5. Vira Ballala III, 1292-1342, Venkata Ramnayya : Vijayanagara : Origin of City and Empire ; Madras 1933, ch. I.
6. Coins were struck with this name of the mint engraved on them ; see J. R. A. S. 1922, 340.

with its complement of reliable officers and noblemen—to which at intervals he might repair. Delhi however remained one of the capitals of the Empire, with its vast Hindu population, and no doubt with an influx of Muslims from the north-west, of which Daulatabad could not boast. Little did the Sultan realise that the very amirs whom he was transplanting from the traditional capital of India to another place a thousand miles distant, would themselves bring about an epoch of Deccan independence which would last without a break for three centuries and a half.

III. DISINTEGRATION OF THE DECCAN PROVINCES.

The twenty-years between 727/1327, the year of the establishment of Daulatabad as the second capital of the Tughluq Empire, and 747/1347, the date of the proclamation of the independence of the Deccan may be divided into two periods. Between the years 1327 and 1340 there was almost unbroken peace in the southern part of the empire, "men who were tired of the hurry-scurry of this world of woes turned to the protecting walls of Daulatabad as a haven of security"¹. The establishment of Daulatabad as the second capital of the vast Empire and the policy of transplanting a large loyal population to its geographical centre seemed to have been justified by the results.

The Sultan was constantly on the march from Daulatabad to Delhi and *vice versa*, but in 728/1328 he went to the northern capital for a couple of years in order to suppress risings in the western provinces, Delhi proper and the Doab. Not only was the Deccan perfectly quiet during the period of his absence but the northern rebellions were quelled without much effort; and there was visible prosperity in the Empire when Ibn-i Battuta entered it on 1st January 734/12th September 1333. But this proved to be only a lull before the storm, and when the storm did arrive it swept off the fabric that was the Empire of Muhammad Tughluq.

The first rebellion which the Sultan could not quell was that of the Governor of Ma'bar, the Coromandel region with Madura as its capital. The date of the rebellion is given by Ferishta as 742/1342; but it has now been conclusively proved that it took place seven years earlier, in 735/1335. The author of the revolt was Syed Ahsan of Kai-thal in the Pūnjāb, father of Syed Ibrahim, the Purse-bearer of the Sultan, who had been appointed governor of Ma'bar a province which was the southernmost territory of the Tughluq Empire. Syed Ahsan seems to have joined hands with certain nobles of Daulatabad who had been forced to leave Delhi for the South, and when the Sultan sent an army from the North to suppress the rising, that army also went over to the rebel. The Sultan on his part arrested Ahsan's son, the Purse-bearer Syed Ibrahim, and other of his relatives and started for Daulatabad

1. Isami: *Futuhu's-Salatin*, Agra, 1938, p. 443. Isami was contemporary with the events here discussed and is on the whole reliable except perhaps in regard to Muhammad Tughluq's character against whom he had an inherent prejudice. See also I. B. 227 and M. H. 112 ft. Isami's value is discussed in U'Sha in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1936-1937. I have used Isami's valuable work for the material relating to the establishment of the Deccan Kingdom.

en route for Ma'bar on 9th May 341/21st October 1341.¹ Famine was raging at Delhi when he started for the South. This circumstance seems to have prevented him from taking as much money with him as was necessary under the circumstances and to have compelled him to have recourse to heavy taxation from the Maharashtra provinces on his arrival at the southern capital. He intended to proceed to Ma'bar by way of Warangal; but an epidemic was raging at the latter place, and as the Sultan himself became ill he had to retrace his steps to Daulatabad leaving the *Na'ib wazir*, Malik Maqbul, in his place.

While he was on the way from Warangal to Daulatabad it was rumoured that he had at last succumbed to his illness. Malik Hoshang son of Kamal-ud-din Kark, now revolted, and when pursued, took refuge in the territory of Raja 'Barbara' whose State lay between Daulatabad and Thana. After he had got over his illness at Daulatabad the Sultan followed him to his place of refuge, but the Raja refused to hand over his guest, and it was at last arranged that the Sultan should retire and Hoshang should surrender himself to Qutlugh Khan who had now been appointed to the Viceroyalty of Daulatabad. Hoshang was ultimately pardoned.

Along with the appointment of Qutlugh Khan came the appointment of Shihab-i Sultani, entitled Nusrat Khan, to the Government of Tilangana at Bidar at the farm of a lakh of *Tankas* annually.² After completing these arrangements the Sultan left for the northern capital as news had come of a number of disturbances in the north, the most important of which was the declaration of the independence of Lahore by Amir Hulagu with the active help of Amir Gul Chandra. The Sultan arrived at Delhi in July 1337.

This was the end of the attempt to have a central capital in the heart of the Deccan. The Sultan now realised that the main cause of the unqualified success of the Ma'bar plot as well the ever-recurring revolts in the south was the recalcitrant attitude of the same amirs whom he had sent to Daulatabad; and when he left for the North he gave orders that those who had been ordered to migrate to the South should now return to the North.

After Madura came the independence of Warangal and at the same time the first steps were taken towards the establishment of the Rayaship of Vijayanagar. Baha-ud-din Gurshasp's rebellion and its suppression

1. As Haig rightly observes in J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 334. Badayuni, 231, following, no doubt *Bar.*, 480, has mixed up Syed Ahsan of Kaithal, the founder of the Sultanate of Madura with the first Bahmani king of the Deccan. *Perishta* errs in the date of the rebellion as well as in many other dates. The coins, discussed in M. H., 158, decide the date. *Bar.* is explicit that the king was "within the borders of Kannauj and Dalmou when the Ma'bar revolt took place, which fixes 735-1386. A curious mixing up occurs in Professor Gibb's epitomised translation of Ibn-i-Battuta, where the date, 1st Jamadi II without the specification of the year, is joined on to the year, as given by Badayuni and *Fer.*, viz., 741, and the corresponding Christian date, 21-10-1341 is put down as the date on which the Sultan started for the South. As a matter of fact the Ma'bar insurrection took place in 735-1385 not on 9-5-741/21-10-1341. The Sultanate of Madura lasted from 133 when Syed Ahsan proclaimed himself King, to 1871 when it was absorbed by Vijayanagar. See Cambridge History of India, III, 150. Ma'bar was the name given by Muslims to the Coremondel Coast.

2. *Bar.*, 481. Not "one crore to be paid in three years," as in M. H. 160. Bidar. headquarters of the district of that name; 17°55' N. 77°32' E.

meant the end of the principality of Kampili and its annexation to the Empire. But the *Na'ib Wazir*, Malik Maqbul, had to face the opposition of the local Hindu chiefs, one of whom, Krishna Naik or Kanhya Naik, perceiving the impending downfall of the Empire of Delhi, rose in rebellion and drove Maqbul from Warangal. He now sent a representative to Ballala Dev who happened to be then at Hampi¹ which had taken the place of Kampili as the centre of a Hindu Raj which was soon to develop as the great Vijayanagar Empire. It seems that Hari Hara was already ruling there, though it is interesting to note that he was content with the modest title of "Hariyappa Vodeya" which indicated a lesser dignity than that of a full-fledged ruler and "even professed allegiance to Delhi". The united forces of the three Hindu chiefs, namely Krishna Naik, Ballala Dev and Hari Hara, now advanced southwards conquering the province of Dwarasamudra and the whole Coromandel coast. Thus Eastern Deccan extending right down to the far south had thrown off the Tughluq yoke and little remained attached to the Delhi Empire south of the Mahanadi except Western Deccan with its centre at Daulatabad.

The turn of the Deccan proper was soon to come, though its first attempt at independence was a failure. In 736/1336 when Shibab-i-Sultani, Nusrat Khan, governor of Bidar, refused to send the stipulated lakh of *tankas* to the Sultan's treasury, he was defeated by the Viceroy of Daulatabad, Qutlugh Khan, and sent to Delhi. The next Deccani turmoil was the rebellion of Ali Shah in 740/1340². Ali Shah Natthu,³ was a nephew of Malik Hizhbar-ud-din Zafar Khan, the commander-in-chief of the forces of Sultan Alaud-din Khilji. He was sent by the Viceroy, Qutlugh Khan, to Gulbarga to collect taxes, but instead of doing as he was ordered, he proclaimed himself King at Dharur with the title of Alaud-din Malik Shah, and was joined by his three brothers, Hasan Gangu, Ahmad and Muhammad⁴. They had the local royal official, a Hindu

1. For relationship between Ballala III and Hampi see Sri Kantapa : *Founders of Vijayanagara*, Bangalore, 1938, pp. ff. Dr. Aiyangar says in *C. H. I.* III, 482, that the failure of Gurshasp's rebellion marked the end of Kampili and the fortification of Hampi, which must therefore have taken place about 1336. Ishwari Prasad, p. 191, says that it could not have been Ballala III but Ballala IV who was concerned in the revolt, as Ballala died in 1342, the learned Doctor seems to be following Ferishta as regards the chronology of the reign, and we know that it is faulty by about ten years. The quotations in the text are from Ishwari Prasad, pages 192 and 199. The theories about the foundation of Vijayanagar are discussed on pp. 187 ff.
2. Chronology in *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 362, 233, wrongly ascribes this rebellion to 746/1346 and calls the rebel 'Ali Sher, although in the same breath he says that the Sultan was still at Swagdwari which he had left as a matter of fact in 740/1340. Even before Haig set to work on the correction of the chronology, however, Muhammad Husain, the Urdu translator of Ibn-i Battuta's travels had discussed the whole question of the chronology of these events in 1898; see Muhammad Husain : *'Ajai'ul Afkar*, Delhi, 1898, pp. 186. The episode is recounted in *Rih.*, II, 67 and *Bar.*, 488. The fact that 'Ali Shah was Hasan Gangu's brother is recounted in *Fer.*, 138.
3. The sobriquet, Natthu, in Isami, 463. This it may be noted, rhymes, well with Hasan's surname.
4. Isami, 463. It is interesting to note that 'Ali Shah proclaimed himself king at Dharur with the title of 'Alau'd-din, a title later adopted by his brother, the first Bahmani, and was really a copy of the title of their uncle's master, 'Alau'd-din Khilji. In the same way the title Zafar Khan adopted by Hasan Gangu before his accession to the throne was only a repetition of his uncle's title, Zafar Khan. Isami 404 calls the whole clan 'Zafar Khani' and Khilji born' (خلجی نژاد)

named Bharan, one of the confidants of the Sultan, killed, and marching forward, captured Sagar and the stronghold of Bidar. But the tide now turned, and Malik Shah was defeated at Dharur by Qutlugh Khan, driven out of Bidar, arrested and sent to Swargdwari, the third capital of the Sultan. Malik Shah was expelled by the Sultan to his ancestral home, Ghazni¹.

The Sultan convinced at last that there was something inherently wrong in the system of his government and that it was the very scions of the old nobility who were the cause of all the trouble, had recourse to an expedient which proved to be as much in advance of the time and as premature for the India of that day as the issue of a token currency and other well-intentioned reforms; this was the replacement of the old nobles by a new nobility extracted from meaner parentage but composed of persons who were the Sultan's own creatures and entirely under his thumb². But he failed to realise the power of the old nobles who had so long been directly connected with the governmental machinery as revenue collectors and military commanders in their capacity of *amiran-i-sadah* and were practically autonomous in their own jurisdictions of 'Thousands' or 'Hundreds', especially in distant provinces like Gujrat and the Deccan. Being doubtful of their safety these amirs carried out a successful revolution creating an absolutely independent kingdom in the Deccan in 747/1347.

IV. BIRTH OF A NEW KINGDOM.

The circumstances of this revolution are interesting and instructive. About 745/1345 the Sultan was told that there had been large embezzlements by the subordinates of the Viceroy of the Deccan, Qutlugh Khan, so that the revenue of the Deccan provinces was reduced from lakhs and crores to paltry thousands. It seems that a party had risen in the capital which was jealous of the rise of this erstwhile preceptor of the Sultan who had by his integrity and successful administration raised himself to the dignity of Viceroy of the Deccan and second man in the Empire. This party succeeded in persuading the Sultan to recall the old man from the Deccan; but as he had been the teacher of his childhood the cultured Sultan did him the honour of sending a special messenger to him in the person of Badr-i-Chach with the message that the Khan might come to Delhi "to see the robe sent to the Sultan by the Khalifa of Baghdad." Badr started for the south on 1-8-745/8-12-1344, arriving at Daulatabad some time about the middle of Ramadan.³ Qutlugh Khan was held in high esteem by the people of the Deccan and it is said that when the "pious Khan left them" the populace of Daulatabad was weeping and wailing and that "even the walls cried out

1. Bar. 489. Swargdwari was a city built "on the western bank of the Ganges near the site of the ancient city of Khor," 27° 33' N., 79° 35' E. It must have been somewhere near the modern Farrukhabad.
2. This expedient may be compared with the creation of a new nobility by Napoleon 450 years later. Most of Napoleon's generals, diplomats and ministers were men of low birth who rose through mere talent to the status of Counts, Dukes, Princes and even Kings. This is, of course, no novelty in the history of Islamic countries which furnishes numerous instances of slaves who rose to be most successful commanders, statesmen and kings.
3. Badr-i Chach's chronogram gives the date of his starting for Daulatabad :

بسال دولت شد بود غره شعبان که سوئے مملکت دیو گیر شد فرمان

Qasa'id-i-Badr-i-Chach, Lucknow edition, p. 64.

that all that was good was now departing from the Deccan". As it would have taken some weeks before the new incumbent could reach Daulatabad, the Sultan ordered that Nizam-ud-Din 'Alim-ul-Mulk, who was Qutlugh Khan's own brother, should come from Gujarat and take temporary charge of the Viceroyalty. In the meantime he divided the Deccan into four *shiqs* or divisions distributing them among Malik Sardawatdar, Malik Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Yusuf Baghra and Aziz-ud-Din Khammar, appointing Sarir-i- Sultani 'Imad-ul-Mulk as Viceroy of the Deccan with a Hindu, Dhara, as his lieutenant. Every one of these new officers had "risen from the ranks", and they were probably all neo-Muslims with a sprinkling of Hindus such as Dhara.¹ They may have been "upstarts" as Barani suggests, but they were experienced administrators. "Aziz-ud-Din" for instance, had been an officer at Amroha and another had held office in a number of places.

The fact remains, however, that these new officials were far more unscrupulous than those they had replaced ; and the first instance of such unscrupulousness came from Malwa which was under 'Aziz Khammar's charge from the end of 745/1345. The King had given explicit orders that the new governors should not spare those *amiran-i-sadah* who had taken part in the plots against the Kingdom. On arriving at Dhar, the chief town of his Division, Aziz, whom Barani calls 'the Bastard,' summoned eighty-nine of the local amirs, told them point-blank that all the rebellions in the South had been caused by the amirs of Deogir, and apparently in order to instil fear into the people's minds, had all of them executed. The result was, however, just the opposite to what was expected by the author of the outrage : all the amirs of Daulatabad, Gujrat and other places roundabout became full of hatred for a system under which the innocent could be ground down for the supposed faults of others.

Shortly after this when Malik Maqbul, the erstwhile slave of Ahmad Ayyaz, arrived at Dabhoi as governor of Gujarat in 746/1346 Gujarat rose in rebellion under the leadership of four amirs, Mubarak Jour Qadi Jalal, Jalal bin Lata and Jhattu Afghan,² and he had to retreat to Naharwala. The rebels were so successful that they actually captured the port of Cambay, defeated and killed 'Aziz Khammar at Baroda and compelled the Sultan to retreat upon Gujarat. Before he started, however, Qutlugh Khan, who was at the court, suggested that it was beneath the dignity of His Majesty to march in person to quell every little disturbance in distant parts of the Empire, and begged that he, along with Shihab-i-Sultani and 'Ali Shah, both of whom seem to have been taken into royal favour again, should be sent instead. But the Sultan did not accept the offer, and after appointing a Council of Regency composed of Malik Firoz (who later ascended the throne as Firoz Shah), Khwaja-i-Jahan Ahmad Ayyaz and Malik Kabir proceeded southwards on 25 or 26-9-745/1 or 2-2-1345 never to return to Delhi again.³

1. *Bar.* 500. Barani says that one of the 'ministerships was given to an erst-while gardener, Pira by name.

2. Names in '*Isami*, 481.

3. The Sultan started for Delhi '4 or 5 days' before the end of the month of Ramadan, spending the 'Id at Sultanpur 8 miles from Delhi ; *Bar.* 509. It was at Sultanpur that he had a long conversation with Barani on the causes of rebellions and insurrections in the Empire. The 'Id day, 1st of Shawwal, fell on 5-2-1345, so in all probability the Sultan started from Delhi on 1 or 2-2-1345 and from Sultanpur on 7-2-1345. See. *J. R. A. S.* 1922, p. 356.

On reaching Mt. Abu the Sultan sent an army against the rebels entrenched at Dabhoi and Baroda, which defeated them and forced them to fly to Deogir. The King moved on from Mt. Abu and on arrival at Broach in the beginning of 746/1345 sent Malik Maqbul and a *posse* of Delhi troops in pursuit of the rebels who were again defeated on the Narbada. Most of the rebel amirs either sought the protection of Mandeo, the Hindu muqaddam of Saler and Maner in Gujarat, or else fled to Daulatabad, while those of proved disloyalty belonging to the country roundabout Broach were caught and beheaded by Malik Maqbul¹. The Sultan now dealt severely with the Gujaratis and began to realise the arrears of revenue which had long remained unpaid. He sent two of his most unscrupulous courtiers, Zain Bandah Majd-ul-Mulk and the son of Rukn-i Thancsari as inquisitors to Daulatabad to make enquiries as to which of the amirs had been implicated in the Gujarat rebellion. These two were so well known for their heartlessness that there was great turmoil at Daulatabad on their arrival and the Sultan had to replace them with Malik Ahmad Lachin and Malik Ahmad Sarjamdar perhaps popularly known as Qaltash. They were told to convey the Sultan's orders to Alim-ul-Mulk, who was still acting as the Viceroy of the Deccan, to collect 1,500 picked cavalry and send it along with the amirs of Daulatabad to Broach. The Viceroy tried to act according to instructions and called the *amiran-i-sadah* of Raichur, Mudgal, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Ganjauti, Raihagh, Berar, Ramgir, etc., to Daulatabad to accompany the troops to Gujarat. The amirs knew what the Sultan wanted and purposely lagged behind, so that Alim-ul-Mulk had to send the 1,500 horse on without waiting for the amirs. It was with great difficulty that the acting Viceroy could get together such prominent amirs as Nasiru'd-din Taghalchi, Hisamud-din, Ismail Mukh, Hasan Gangu, Nuru'd-din and others at Daulatabad.

The cavalcade started for Broach but had gone only five farsang when night fell which they spent at the Manik Dun pass between the towns of Gaj and Dun². Here the amirs put their heads together and came to the conclusion that if they proceeded to Broach there was no doubt that they would be put to death by the Sultan. The next day they killed Malik Ahmad Lachin and Qaltash, retraced their steps and arrived at Daulatabad the same evening. Alim-ul-Mulk, who was asleep when they arrived, was greatly upset on hearing the news. He was, however, powerless, and the rebels after three days of struggle secured possession of the granary, the treasury at Dharagir, the palace and the citadel. They then elected one of their own number, Isma'il Mukh Afghani with the title of Abu'l Fath Nasiru'd-din Isma'il Shah,³ to be the first independent King of the Deccan.

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1. *Bar.*, 512. I have not been able to find the position of the towns of Saler and Maner. Dabhoi, in the Baroda State, 22° 98' N., 73° 28' E. Broach, headquarters of a district; 21° 42' N., 72° 59' E.
 2. The pass of Manekdun (*Fer.* 141) or Manekganj, (Badayuni, 235) "between the towns of Gaj and Dun" and "five farsang" from Daulatabad according to Isami. Unfortunately I have not been able to locate this.
 3. *Bar.*, 514. Legend on the coins :
Obverse : Nasiru'd-duniya wa'd-din.
Reverse : Abu'l-Fath Isma'il.
For this see Rogers, J. A. S. Bengal, 1895.

V. ABU'L-FATH NASIRU'D-DIN ISMA'IL SHAH—JAMADI I, 746/¹

SEPTEMBER 1347--24-4-747/13-8-1347.

The Deccani amirs were wise in selecting a king as the centre of their activities against the Sultan. Aware of the fate of furious insurrections they knew that only an insurrection with such a visible head had any chance of permanent success. The selection of Isma'il Mukh as the first king of the Deccan was made after considerable deliberation. He was a senior *amir-i-sadah* of Deogir in charge of 2,000 villages, his elder brother Malik Yel Afghan² was "one of the greatest nobles" of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and was then commanding the royal armies in Malwa, so that it was regarded as a foregone conclusion that in case of need, help would be forthcoming from that quarter³. It is said that when the crown was offered to him he at first refused it saying that Hasan Gangu should better be raised to the throne as "apart from his widespread jagirs he was of the progeny of Bahman himself," and it was only because he was not on the spot and the enemy might have to be faced immediately, that Isma'il was made king. In any case Isma'il ascended the throne, creating Amir Nuru'd-din Khwaja-i Jahan and Hasan Gangu, Zafar Khan and Amiru'l-Umara.

The new kingdom became the centre not only of the nobles of the Deccan but of the amirs of Baroda and Dabhoi in Gujarat as well, and the first thing the new government did was to re-divide the jagirs *aqta* in the Maharashtra provinces among the new masters of the country. As has been noticed before, certain amirs of Gujarat had taken refuge in the territory of Mandeo, the muqaddam of Saler and Maner, and almost immediately after his accession the new king prevented them from falling into the hands of the Sultan and forced Mandeo to send them over to Daulatabad, creating the leader of the party, Qadi Jalal Qadr Khan, and according him a high position at the Court.

A month or two after Nasiru'd-din's accession Khwaja-i-Jahan Nur-ud-din had to proceed to Gulbarga where a local chief, Kandhra by name, had put to death a number of Muslims including the saint Shaikh-i Zaman 'Izzu'd-din. Khwaja-i Jahan besieged Kandhra in Gulbarga and defeated his forces. But Kandhra was crafty enough to write a letter to Jalal Dohni who was probably holding Kalyani in the name of Sultan Muhammad, in which he said that he was a virtual prisoner in the hands of the common enemy and begged him for help. When the leaders of the army at Daulatabad heard this, they on their part sent Husain Satya to help Khwaja-i-Jahan at Gulbarga. Husain defeated Jalal Dohni who

1. The month of the accession has not been found anywhere, but has been computed thus (i) *One or two months* after Isma'il's election Nuru'd-din Khwaja-i-Jahan goes to Gulbarga—Isami, 498. (ii) *Three or four months* elapse after the defeat of the Delhi army by Zafar Khan—Isami 502. (iii) Muhammad-i Tughluq at Deogir for *two months* after his victory—Isami, 511. (iv) Zafar Khan at Arka for about *three months*—Isami, 515. Total, about eleven months.

2. *Bar.* 514. *Fer.*, 275, calls him Malik Gul. I am inclined to think his sobriquet was Malik Yel, as this would go well with the 'Mukh' of Isam'il, for Yel=athlete, wrestler, while Mukh=Fire, wasp. Badayuni, 236, calls him Isam'il, Fath, and so *Fer.*, 275; but it should be remembered that neither of them are contemporaries and it is possible that a mistake might have been made by the scribe 'correcting' what he thought was missing and putting three dots over 'Mukh' (مخ) thus turning it to 'Fath' (فتح). Moreover the prenominal Abu'l Fath might have led the scribe to think this was the King's name.

3. As will be seen later this hope was however not realised: Malik Yel actually came with the Sultan's forces to suppress the rising. It is very likely that this incident may have led to Isam'il's unpopularity and abdication.

also met his death in the battlefield. But this was not the end, for while Kandhra was still shut up in the unsubdued citadel of Gulbarga, the Sultan's troops were in possession both of Kalyani and Sagar. It is related that about this time Zafar Khan dreamt a dream that he should proceed to Gulbarga to help his friends and companions there. He first hurried to Sagar, defeated the Sultan's army and took possession of the fort. After accomplishing this flanking movement he proceeded to Gulbarga, which had been besieged for nearly four months, and joined the besiegers. In the meantime, fearing an onslaught by the Sultan's forces on Daulatabad itself, Isma'il Shah sent Shihab-i-Jalal with a letter to the commanders of the revolutionary army at Gulbarga saying that a part of the besiegers should be sent to the capital forthwith. There were two opinions among the leaders of the besieging forces, one wishing to comply with the king's orders, and the other, headed by Zafar Khan, not wanting to weaken their forces in the face of the necessity of the reduction of the citadel. In the evening Zafar Khan delivered a speech before the commanders urging complete unity of purpose, and said that the Daulatabad government wanted to throw them overboard for the sake of its own safety, and it was necessary that they should remain firm in their resolve. The army therefore did not comply with the orders from Daulatabad till they had finally taken Gulbarga and put Kandhra to flight. Zafar Khan, having accomplished his purpose, now came victorious to Daulatabad.

The independence of the Deccan and the continued failure on the part of the royal army to suppress the insurrections, as well as the progressive strengthening of the Deccan government, were matters of the deepest concern to Sultan Muhammed Tughluq. He was it is said so upset that one night he put his forehead on the ground and prayed to God that if he was victorious against the rebels of Daulatabad he would give up the shedding of blood. On hearing the latest news he began serious preparations to go to the scene of operations himself and was joined by 'Imadu'l-Mulk Sartezi and Malik Yel-Afghan. It was, no doubt, about this time that Isma'il Shah sent word to Gulbarga to send a part of the Deccan army to Daulatabad. On arrival at Daulatabad the Sultan immediately engaged Isma'il Shah who now had 30,000 troops consisting of "Afghans, Mughals, Rajputs and Deccanis" no doubt further strengthened by the addition of the army of Gulbarga with Zafar Khan at its head. Muhammad Tughluq's army was arrayed in such a way that the centre was led by Tatar Khan, the right wing was commanded by the Sultan in person and the left by Malik Maqbul. Opposed to the Sultan were Zafar Khan, Hisam-ud-Din, Nusrat Khan and Safdar Khan, the centre was commanded by Isma'il Shah who was accompanied by his son Khidr Khan, Khawaja-i-Jahan Nuru'd-Din, Khatam Khan, Iskandar Khan and Hashmat Khan; while the right flank was led by the Gujarati amirs, Qadir Khan and Mubarak Khan. The battle was within an ace of being won by the Deccan army, when Nur'd-Din who happened to be in the very centre commanded by Isma'il Shah, was killed by an arrow, and the royal Deccan Bodyguard, consisting of 6,000 horse took to flight. The tables were now turned, and Isma'il's mass attack on the centre of the Sultan's army as well as the onslaught of Zafar Khan from the left could not make matters easier, and when Zafar Khan as a last effort, made a tremendous attack on the place where the Sultan's treasury was placed, he was again defeated and had to retire. The day ended in the total defeat of the Deccan army. The

rout was so complete that Zafar Khan had to fight a rearguard action in order to save even a part of the forces under his command. The day ended in the Deccan army being mowed down by the Sultan's elephants with thousands of Isma'il Shah's partisans lying dead on the battlefield.¹

Knowing now the might of the Sultan's forces and fully aware of the impossibility of success by any further concentrated effort, the leaders of the Deccan now chose a new line of strategy. After the carnage had ceased they held a council of war and decided that while Isma'il Shah should try to hold Daulatabad as long as possible, the other leaders should proceed to their own jagirs and defend them against the Sultan's forces, so that the Sultan should not be able to deal a decisive blow but should have his hands too full for accomplishing anything definite at one stroke. Isma'il finding his position untenable after the defeat of the previous day, quietly moved up to the top of the fortress called Dhara Khara² where provisions had been stored thus preparing for a long siege. The next day the Sultan occupied the city of Daulatabad which had been left undefended. He now thought that all the ground lost during the last few years had been won back, and true to the promise he had made to the Almighty while he was at Broach he ordered a general amnesty to all the political prisoners. He was so pleased at the occupation of Daulatabad where he now took up his residence, that he took pains to send a special deputation to inform the Council of Regency at Delhi of the fact and the Council of Regency replied by sending the chronicler Zia-ud-din Barani with a message of congratulations. This exchange of felicitations, however, proved to be inauspicious, for after a residence of two months at Daulatabad he had to leave for Gujarat to suppress a serious disturbance there headed by Taghi. He ordered that Khudawandzada Malik Jauhar and Shaikh Burhan Bilarami should be in charge of the siege of Dharakhara, while 'Imad-u'l-Mulk Sartezi should oppose Zafar Khan at Gulbarga and elsewhere, and left for Gujarat.

Isma'il Shah was shut up at Dharakhara with absolutely no means of escape, and the whole of the army under his charge was virtually prisoner in the grip of the unscrupulous Malik Jauhar, who began to kill prisoners of war and treat the inhabitants of Daulatabad in an extremely cruel manner.

Zafar Khan, according to arrangement, went straight first to Gulbarga and thence to his jagir at Miraj, and from there proceeded to Arka where he remained for three months preparing for the coming fray and "praying that God would rid the people of the Tughluq tyranny." From Arka he moved on to Sagar, the commander of which allied himself to him and it was there that he was joined by Iskandar Khan and other chiefs of the party.³ They were at Sagar when they heard that 'Imad-ul-Mulk Sartezi had occupied Gulbarga. Zafar Khan held a council of war and decided to move immediately to Daulatabad, defeat Jauhar there, and then to dispose of Sartezi wherever he could be found. When Sartezi heard that Zafar Khan had started for Daulatabad which he intended to reach by forced marches he left Gulbarga in a race to reach the Deccan capital before Zafar Khan. Zafar Khan crossed the Godavari without a hitch, but had to fight with the advance guard of the enemy at Danakheta and after defeating them marched to Bir which he occupied. From Bir he went back towards the Godavari taking

1. Full details given in Isami, 505-509.

2. Badayuni, 235, says that Dharakhara was the name of the *arak* or the centre of the fort at Daulatabad, probably where the palace was situated.

3. Isami, 515. I have not been able to locate Arka.

possession of the granary at Mahwa, and it was there that he heard that Sartez was at Sindtan. Zafar Khan immediately changed his tactics, turned towards the latter place, found Sartez there with a large army, and gave him battle. After some preliminary skirmishes Zafar Khan's troops, to which 15,000 horse sent by Kanya Naik the Raya of Tilingana from Kaulas had been added, made a mass attack on the Delhi army and completely routed it.¹ Sartez himself was wounded by an arrow and was trying to escape when he was caught by a soldier who chopped his head off. The whole army now laid down its arms, and in to Zafar Khan's hands fell "camels of Bactria, horses of Tartary, female slaves and Abyssinian males by the thousands, maunds of gold and silver bullion hundreds of tents" and booty beyond compute and the rest lay at the feet of the Deccan army. Zafar Khan was received by Isma'il Shah at Nizampur about ten miles from Daulatabad with all the pomp befitting the occasion.² Isma'il soon realised the great popularity and the immense position which Zafar Khan had acquired by his masterly tactics, and a fortnight after his arrival called the amirs together asserting that he had really been holding the Kingdom in trust for Zafar Khan and proclaimed his abdication from the throne, assuming for the rest of his life the title of Shams-ud-din. As the throne of the Deccan was now vacant, "the army as well as the concourse of the people present" unanimously elected Zafar Khan as King with the title of Sikandar-i-Sani Abu'l-Muzaffar, Sultan '*Alau'd-din Hasan Shah al-Wali al-Bahmani*. Relying on the auspicious occasion chosen by the *Hindu* astrologers rather than Sadru'sh-Sharif Samarqandi and Mir Muhammad Badakhshani, the new king wore his crown in the mosque built by Qutbu'd-din Mubarak Shah Khilji at Daulatabad on Friday, 24-4-748/13-8-1347,³ and proclaimed that henceforward Gulbarga, the scene of his victories, should be the capital of the Kingdom of the Deccan.

V

A NOTE ON THE CAUSES LEADING TO THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY THE MUHAMMADAN TURKS

By Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

A question which inevitably faces the student of India's past, especially of her military system, is—why was it that Indian states fell an easy prey to the Islamic invaders in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. ? What, in other words, were the causes which led to the downfall of the Hindus ? It is difficult to answer the question in a few paragraphs. The causes were so numerous and so involved, they were at work through so long a time, the full understanding of their operation requires so extensive a knowledge of the laws which govern the growth and decline of peoples, that a volume may be required for a clear presentation of the subject. A brief account of the matter is made still further difficult from the fact that the fall of the Hindus has been very often made the subject of partial and incomplete treatment in order to prove some particular point,

1. *Ibid.*, 518. Help from Tilangana, *Fer.*, 276. See *Origins*, 117. Sindtan, probably the modern Sindkher, in the Bir district, 19° 12' N., 75° 41' E, about 16 miles north of the town of Bir.
2. *Fer.*, 521. I have not been able to locate Nizampur.
3. *Fer.*, 277. *Bar.*, 14 gives another version as well that the coronation took place on Friday, 28-8-748/4-12-1347, but this is evidently wrong in the face of the contemporary, Isami, who was probably present on this auspicious occasion, and who definitely corroborates Ferishta.

perhaps to make vivid the disabling effects of the doctrines of *ahimsa* and *karma*; perhaps to make manifest the malign influence of caste on the life of the people. Undoubtedly, the doctrine of *ahimsa* tended to create in certain sections of the people a deep abhorrence of all forms of violence; and theory of *karma*, as popularly interpreted, produced a fatalistic outlook and disinclination for effort. But it would be as erroneous to attribute the downfall of the Hindus to the effects of these doctrines, as it is to ascribe to Christianity the downfall of the Roman Empire. In both cases other and deeper causes were at work, sapping the foundations of vitality and strength; and just as the Roman Empire would have fallen, as it did, even if Christianity had not found many adherents within its borders, so would the Hindu states have succumbed to the Muhammadan Turks, even if they had never known the doctrines of *ahimsa* and *karma*.

Undoubtedly, also, the caste system exercised a pernicious influence on the life of the people. It divided the community into classes separated by impassable barriers, inhibited freedom of choice, promoted rigid sectional sentiment and impeded the growth of a common national consciousness. Nevertheless to explain the downfall of the Hindu states by this one premise is to simplify a problem which is inherently complex. It should be borne in mind that in spite of the prevalence of the caste system, Chandragupta Maurya drove out the remnants of the Greek hosts left behind by Alexander and beat back Seleucus Nikator; Skandagupta and Yasodharman repulsed the Huns; the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar checked the onrush of the armies of Islam for well over two hundred years (1336 to 1556 A.D.); and the Marathas became a mighty power on the ruin of the Moghul empire. Some writers would have us think that the caste system, by restricting the field of recruitment, diminished the fighting strength of the Hindu states; and thus prevented them from becoming what may be called a "nation in arms." It has been already shown that the theory that troops were recruited from the Kshatriyas alone has no foundation in fact; and a "nation in arms" is an entirely modern concept—a legacy of the French Revolution to the world. Nor is there much truth in the statement that caste prevented the growth of a feeling "that fighting for or defending one's own country was everyone's business and not of a particular class of people"; for such consciousness was equally absent in other medieval countries and communities where an hereditary caste system of the Indian type—was never known. In medieval Europe, for instance, fighting was almost wholly done by the feudal knights, and at the beginning of the modern age, by professional standing armies maintained by absolute monarchs. As in India, so in Europe down to the eighteenth century, the mass of the people was seldom involved in wars undertaken by their masters.

The real causes of the fall of the Hindu states may be roughly divided into the two groups, political and military. Among political causes may be mentioned the fact that the initial years of the eleventh century, when the Turkish tempest beat upon the western flank of the Hindu world, were an age of decaying dynasties and of kingdoms that were falling to pieces. After the break-up of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire, Northern India split up into many small kingdoms. Some of them were formed by tribal chiefs, some by military adventurers; their boundaries were shifting, and they were continually at feud with one another. This division and disunion did not make it easy for the Hindu princes to unite for a common defence and repulse of the enemy. Mr. McCrindle's remark that "if Alexander had found India united in arms

to withstand his aggression, the star of his good fortune would have set with the passage of the Indus" is not wholly inapplicable to Muhammad bin Kasim, Sultan Mahmud or Muhammad of Ghor. This division and disunion also enabled the crafty invaders from the north to exploit the differences within the country, for the dread of the foreigner was apt to be less than the dread of the strong neighbour.

But the disruptive forces did not merely split up the country into numerous small kingdoms; they worked deeper than that. Ever since the days of the Guptas, feudal tendencies had been steadily developing in Northern India and there are good reasons to think that with the passing away of the old powerful dynasties they reached their maturity about the eleventh century A. D. The consequence was that the numerous kingdoms into which Northern India was divided were themselves subdivided into a multitude of territorial fragments ruled over by petty chiefs or lords. The exact relationship between the overlord and the feudatory chiefs cannot be determined with any amount of exactitude; but in broad outline it does not seem to have been very different from what obtained between kings and their vassals in feudal Europe. That is to say, while enjoying virtual autonomy in their own domains, the feudatory chiefs were bound by some kind of allegiance to their overlord and were expected to help him in times of war. There is, however, ample testimony that the feudatories were often intensely jealous of one another and did not look upon their subordination with equanimity. Whenever there was a decline in the fortunes of the overlord's family, the more powerful among the feudatory chiefs threw off their dependence and forced the smaller vassals in their neighbourhood to change their allegiance. Most of the Hindu states of this period seem to have been organised on some such unstable, semi-feudal basis. Consequently the armies with which they fought, being mostly composed of the retainers of their subordinate chiefs, lacked that uniformity of organisation and unity of control and command which is one of the essential requisites of success in war.

This brings us to a consideration of the military causes. "The Hindu defenders of their country", V. A. Smith rightly remarks, "although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war, and for that reason lost their independence"¹ Success in war, it is well known, depends primarily on three factors, *viz.*, moral qualities, organisation and equipment, and leadership. An exact comparison and assessment of the Hindus and their northern antagonists on these three counts would be a difficult task. The contemporary or semi-contemporary Muhammadan chronicles, from which the story of the military operations of the time is mostly derived, are often one-sided and misleading in their statements. Yet, certain facts seem to stand out clearly, and certain inferences are possible on the basis of those facts.

By moral qualities are meant virtues like courage, energy and determination. Although the Hindus were not lacking in these virtues, the Muhammadan Turks seem to have possessed them in a larger measure. It is an amply-proved fact of history that during the simpler and more primitive stages of racial and tribal existence the moral qualities of courage and self-sacrifice, the complete subordination of individual advantage and individual comfort to the good of the community, are a natural growth, and seem to need least artificial cultivation. A civilised and prosperous community, on the other hand, is not congenial soil for the natural

1. Smith, *Oxford History*, p. 220.

development of these virtues; and the Hindus were much more civilised and prosperous than the Turks. Moreover, with this rude vigour of semi-civilised barbarians they combined the fierce religious zeal of neo-converts. "The great missionary creed of Muhammad, which to the Arabs and Persians had become a familiar matter of routine, was a source of fiery inspiration to the fresh untutored men of the steppes. To spread the faith by conquest doubled their natural zest for battle and endowed them with the devoted valour of martyrs". "The best soldier", said Oliver Cromwell, "is the soldier who knows what he is fighting for and loves what he knows". Like Cromwell's Ironsides, the Turks derived strength and fortitude from the belief that they were fighting on behalf of God, and that God's benign protection was always with them. The Hindus, on the other hand, lacked a common cause for which to fight and die. Nationalism and patriotism, as controlling forces of history were not yet born, here or elsewhere; and the very nature of their religion, which was a blend of many different elements—a synthesis of diverse customs, thoughts and beliefs—made them incapable of being fanatically intolerant. It is true that common antipathy against the foreigners, who plundered and destroyed their temples and sanctuaries, and who trampled under foot all that they had for ages held dear and sacred, united on a few occasions some of the ruling princes in a common endeavour to oust the intruder; but it was not a strong enough cohesive force to survive a disaster or keep in check the disruptive tendencies within the country. In short, the absence of a higher, ennobling ideal rendered the Hindus incapable of combined effort, involving any continuous strain or risk or hardship.

The comparatively inferior morale of Hindu India became evident as the drama unfolded itself. Sultan Mahmud met with stubborn resistance in his first encounters with Jaipal (1001 A.D.) and Anandapal (1008 A.D.); but the resounding victories which he won against the kings of Bhatinda (Bathindah) seem to have sent a thrill of consternation among the other ruling princes of India. Their demoralisation, indeed, became so complete that sometimes we hear of them fleeing their capitals and hiding themselves in forests and inaccessible hills without striking a single blow¹. The panic with which they were seized is strikingly illustrated in a letter which Bhimpal is said to have written to the Candella King, Ganda. "Sultan Mahmud", runs the letter, is not like the rulers of Hind, and is not the leader of black men. It is obviously advisable to seek safety from such a person, for armies flee away before the very name of him and his father. I regard his bridle as much stronger than yours, for he never contents himself with one blow of the sword, nor does his army content itself with one hill out of a whole range. If therefore you design to contend with him, you will suffer, but do as you like—you know best. If you wish for your own safety, you will remain in concealment². One notices a similar demoralisation overtaking the Hindu princes after the second battle of Tarain (1192 A.D.), where Prithviraj with his confederate hosts had fought and lost. There was no longer any organised resistance after this great disaster; instead pusillanimity, vacillation and weak surrender. The Dabhdhi inscription (c. 1200 A.D.) remarkably illustrates the dread of the Hindu princes of this period when it says:

1. Elliot, II, 28, 45, 49, etc.

2. Elliot II, 48. Ganda, however, got ready for battle. Sultan Mahmud is said to have trembled when he saw the huge army which the Candella King put on the field of battle (*vide* Supra, p. 13). But to the great surprise and delight of Mahmud, Ganda fled at night, leaving his entire baggage and other materials of war. Iswari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, p. 81.

“ So many god-like kings are there on this earth ; but they all become uneasy at heart even at the mention of the Turuska King ”¹.

Nor in battle efficiency were the scales exactly even between the Hindus and Turks. Although the weapons used by the two adversaries were much the same, they do not seem to have been wholly on a par in the matter of equipment. As it has been pointed out above, whereas the Hindus put excessive reliance on the “ illusory strength of elephants ”, their enemies depended for their success on the skilful use of a well-trained and well-equipped cavalry. The cavalry gave the Muhammadan forces an overwhelming superiority in mobility, an advantage emphasised by the vastness of the theatre of war and the peculiarities of its terrain. It enabled the Turkish generals to employ what is known as shock tactics, and gave them such elements of tactical advantage as surprise, advantage of ground and simultaneous attack from several quarters. In the matter of organisation too, the Turks were at an advantage. They fought under one undivided command and obeyed one will. This rendered combination among the subordinate leaders possible, and on this combination their success in no small measure depended. The Hindu armies, on the other hand, as stated above, were often organised on a semi-feudal basis ; and feudal contingents are seldom as effective in action as they are impressive in size. It is probable also that the confederacies which were formed by some Hindu kings, as in the time of Jaipal, Anandapal and Prithviraj, suffered from a similar organisational weakness. We may well believe that the troops of the allied states were not trained and organised on uniform lines and prepared for being moulded into one army.

But nowhere is the contrast between the two adversaries more evident than in the higher leadership. Hindu generals like Jaipala, Anandapala and Prithviraja, were endowed with great gallantry and personal courage. But they were surprisingly lacking in strategical enterprise and tactical initiative. It is curious that throughout this long-drawn struggle they never posted frontier guards along the narrow passes of the north-western frontier and never sought to cut off the enemy by an ambushade while passing through the hills. Prithviraj, the last of the stalwarts, who has become a hero of poetry and romance, had won military laurels for himself before his engagement with Muhammad of Ghor ; and he seems to have based on this limited experience an exaggerated belief in his own military abilities. It is sad to reflect that after the first battle of Tarain (1191 A.D.), in which he won a signal victory over his Muhammadan adversary, he did not press his advantage to the farthest limit. Instead he halted his troops, leisurely besieged the fortress of Sarhind, and neglected to take adequate precautions against the return of the Ghorian chief. It is true that when next year Muhammad came back with a yet larger force, Prithviraja fought out the issue with courage and determination ; but no gallantry and no heroism can save a people from the results of neglecting war preparation. Moreover, a common mistake which most Hindu chiefs of this period seem to have committed was their persistent adoption of defensive tactics. It was a mistake which robbed them of the chief elements of tactical advantage and surrendered them to the enemy. The Hindu chiefs forgot that an army condemned to an eternal defensive can never deal a decisive blow. They forgot that the moral force of a confident anticipation of victory lies ever with the attack.

1. Ep. Ind. I, 26.

The Turks, on the other hand, were more fortunate in their general. Both Sultan Mahmud and Muhammad of Ghor were men capable of animating their troops with a spirit of deep devotion. They appealed not merely to their greed, but awakened in them an indomitable sense of duty towards religion. Moreover they possessed not only the traditions of Turkish strategy, but also a complete system of tactics carefully elaborated to suit the requirements of the age. In craft and resourcefulness too they far surpassed their Indian antagonists. Above all, whereas the Hindu love of *vyuhas* committed the armies of India to a cult of positions and defensive tactics, they regarded it as a fundamental proposition of warfare that offence was better than defence, that the sword was better than the shield. It will be too much to believe that the Muhammadan generals did not commit mistakes; yet a ruthless offensive spirit seems to have so saturated the minds of the Ghaznavide and Ghorian officers and men that it sufficed, notwithstanding errors in detail, to guide them in the path of victory.

Of the Muhammadan generals who figure prominently in the annals of the time, Sultan Mahmud in particular deserves to rank as one of the great commanders of history. A man of infinite courage and of indefatigable energy of body and mind, he never owned a defeat during more than thirty years of almost incessant warfare. He was not merely a great planner of campaigns, and a shrewd marshaller of hosts, but the stoutest lancer in his own army.¹ It is amazing how with comparatively small armies he achieved conquests which added vast tracts of territory to the inheritance left by his father. He trusted to skilful tactics, to the mobility of his troops and to the rapidity of his marches to overcome the large and more clumsy masses of his opponents.²

Muhammad of Ghor, though not as great a captain as Sultan Mahmud, was certainly superior to his Indian antagonists. He seems to have known the great precept which modern military science has claimed as its own that "in a cavalry combat the side which holds back the last reserve must win". In the second battle of Tarain, which was his crowning achievement, he demonstrated the truth of this dictum and also the tremendous efficacy of shock tactics. Minhaj-us-Siraj writes that "the Sultan drew up his battle array, leaving the main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000, and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their arrows. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them, and they fled."³ Firishta adds that the battle raged back and forth from sunrise to sunset, and when the Hindu army was well-nigh exhausted by a continuous succession of shocks

1. He usually plunged into the thickest part of the battle and is said to have received seventy-two cuts and wounds during his numerous wars. Muhammad Nazim. *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 154.

2. His rapid marches often baffled the calculations and belied the anticipations of his enemies. He thundered at the gates of Multan while the rebel Sukhpal was slumbering in security, and he surrounded the town of Qusdar before its ruler was well aware of his approach. Even when he was in the grip of his fatal malady, swiftness of his movements surprised Minuchihr and forced the Seljuks to clear out of Khurasan". *Ibid.* pp. 155-156.

3. Elliott II, 296-297.

Muhammad "put himself at the head of 12,000 of his best horses, whose riders were covered with steel armour, and making one desperate charge, carried death and destruction throughout the Hindu ranks."¹ It is thus clear that the second battle of Tarain, like the battle of the Hydaspes, fought many centuries earlier between Porus and Alexander, was essentially a general's battle—The triumph of genius in command, not of mere valour.

At the beginning of this paper it was asserted that for more than a millenium the art of war in India followed a stereotyped course, marked by no remarkable improvements in any of its branches. Strabo, borrowing from Megasthenes, says that the Indians did not pursue accurate knowledge of any kind, except that of medicine; and "in the case of some arts, it is even accounted vicious to carry their study far, the art of war, for instance."² But the causes of this static character of the Hindu military system seem to have been deeper than a mere sense of its inherent viciousness, a similar lack of progress is noticeable in the political thought of India after Kautilya. These seem to point to the fact that the creative power of antiquity in certain spheres of speculation and achievement was exhausted. This exhaustion became manifest in other spheres as centuries rolled on. Having brought civilisation up to a certain point, the Hindus seem to have been able to carry it no further. Even in those fields where the most remarkable results had been attained, as, for example, in that of philosophy and metaphysics, nothing further seemed to be possible, except to work over the old results into new forms. Beruni bears testimony to the fact that by the 11th century the Hindus had completely lost their old genius for assimilation and absorption, and had become a grossly superstitious and vegetating people. "According to their view", says the Muhammadan savant, "there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs, and no created beings have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar." This dismal attitude of mind, which refused either to learn or unlearn anything—a characteristic of the Bourbons—, this pathetic state of intellectual stolidity was at once a cause and symptom of decay. In the first century A.D. the Roman Tacitus wrote his *Germania*, telling his countrymen that the barbarians living beyond the Rhine and the Danube should not be despised, and that they possessed certain intrinsic virtues which the more civilised Romans might cultivate with profit. The Romans paid no heed to that warning, with the result that their great empire was overwhelmed by the inflowing tide of vigorous fighting barbarism. The Hindus committed a similar blunder. They shut themselves up in a world of isolation, narrow, cramped, torpid. They set up insurmountable barriers which no gust of wind and no ray of light could penetrate. The result was stagnation; stagnation brought decay, and decay disaster. The saying of Emerson is ever true that a thing cannot be crushed by a blow from without until ready to perish from decay within.

1. Briggs. I, 177.

2. Strabo, XV, c. 701.

VI

THE SITE OF THE BATTLE OF TARAIN^{*}By Mushtaq Ahmad Cheema, Esq.¹

Mohammad of Ghor's victory at Tarain over Prithviraja of Ajmer "which gave the empire of India to the Turks" is one of the most important events of Indian history. When modern historical research started, *Tarain* was unknown. To be sure Ferishta had identified Tarain with the Sarai of Taraori 8 miles north of Karnal and 13 miles south of Thanesar, situated on the Grand Trunk Road. And it is typical of our attitude to the history of the Delhi Sultanate that no historian ventured to question this identification, although every other indication went wholly against it. Cunningham alone once suggested that Tarain ought to be near Jajner. Everybody else, as usual, accepted what Briggs, Ferishta and his editor Elphinstone had said. And yet the identification is entirely wrong.

Let us examine the data we have. In 1190 Mohammad suddenly entered the dominions of Prithviraja and captured the important fortress of Tabarhindah. The Chauhan forces from Hansi and Delhi rushed up and Mohammad gave them battle at Tarain and was defeated. The Chauhans then besieged Tabarhindah for 13 months before it was surrendered. The besiegers then marched to Tarain and awaited Mohammad of Ghor who was already in the Punjab. The battle was again joined at Tarain and Mohammad was victorious. Prithviraja was captured at Sirsuti. Then followed the capture of Ajmer and the occupation of the Hansi, Sunam and Kuhram territories. This is the story of the nearly contemporary history, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. The only other such work that gives us any indication is *Jamaul Hikayat*, which asserts that Mohammad was defeated between Jajner and Tabarhindah.

The next reference to Tarain concerns the defeat of Yaldoz by Ilutmish of Delhi in 1206. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Yaldoz was defeated at Tarain. *Taj-ul Maasir*, another contemporary history, does not mention the site of this battle, but says that when Ilutmish marched north the advance guard of Yaldoz had already arrived at Samand. Samand is obviously a copyist's mistake for Samana. The next reference to this battlefield comes from the reign of Rukanuddin Firoz I, son of Ilutmish. The *Tabaqat* states that Firoz "in the vicinity of Mansurpur and Tarain" got some of his officers murdered. He was then on his way to the Sutlej. The poet Chand mentions that Prithviraja was defeated on the banks of the Ghaggar.

This brief summary indicates that it would first be necessary to establish the location of Tabarhindah, Jajner, Sirsuti, Samana and Mansurpur. Among the later Persian historians Ferishta and Lubuttawarikh positively identify Tabarhindah with Bhatinda. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* identifies it with Sarhind. Outside the walls of the fort of Bhatinda lies the shrine of Haji Ratan which is still the object of veneration. When the prophet's traditions were collected under the Abbasids a number of persons claimed that they had been alive for some centuries and had personal acquaintance with the prophet. One of these men was Haji Ratan and because of this his claims were discussed in Arabic books on the subject. One of them mentions that Ratan was

1. Read by Rana Abdul Hamid, M. A.—Ed,

a resident of Taubindah. Taubindah, Tabahindah and Tabarhindah obviously are variations of the same name. In 1227 Itutmish went to Uchh *via* Tabarhindah. If he were to go *via* Sarhind he would have passed *via* Lahore and Multan which would have been mentioned. Bhatinda is obviously here meant, as Sarhind would mean a big detour. Under Nasiruddin Mahmud, Malik Sher Khan held Multan and Tabarhindah. There were separate Maliks at Sunam, Samana and Kuhram, and Lahore was in the hands of the Mongols. These places lie between Sarhind and Multan. The evidence, then, clearly establishes the identity of Bhatinda with Tabarhindah. I am disposed to assume that Tabarhindah is derived from Tarbinda and ultimately from Triveni.

There is no dispute about Jainar. It is a deserted mound on the old bed of the Sutlej near Moga in the Ferozepore District. Is is mentioned by Alberuni as one of the stages between Lahore and Sunam. Sirsuti is Sirsa in Hissar District and is mentioned in all medieval histories. Samana and Mansurpur still exist. The first is situated 17 miles south of Patiala, Mansurpur is 11 miles west of Nabha and adjoins the railway station of Chhintawala on the Rajpura-Bhatinda line.

According to Alberuni the route from Lahore to Hindustan passed through Jainar, Sunam, Kaithal and Panipat. Major Raverty in his article on the Mihran of Sind, published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for the year 1892, has shown that in the Middle Ages the jungle tract around Bhatinda was fairly well watered. The Sutlej changed its course and the Ghaggar dried up just before the reign of Feroz Shah Tughlak, and this necessitated the canals of Firoz Shah. It was then that the main route made a detour and passed near Sarhind. Firoz Shah was the founder of the modern town of Sarhind. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* clearly shows that all the expeditions to the north went *via* Kaithal. It follows then that at the time of the battle of Tarain the route was *via* Kaithal and not *via* Ambala and Sarhind. Samana, Tarain and Mansurpur evidently lay on the then route as indicated in the accounts of Yaldoz and Rukan-ud-din Firoz. For it would be ridiculous to talk of the "vicinity" of Mansurpur and Taraori which are miles apart; and if the battle were fought at Taraori the advance guard would not be at Samana, unless it had run away; nor would Itutmish encounter it at that place. Similarly if the Chauhans were defeated at Taraori Mohammad's army would not march to Sirsa to capture Prithviraja who would certainly have been met near Delhi. Bhatinda is too far from Taraori and the capture of Bhatinda can have had no connection with the battle of Taraori.

Sirsa is on the banks of the combined Sirsuti and Ghaggar rivers and the old Ghaggar comes from the side of Samana and Mansurpur. Obviously therefore there was a route along the Ghaggar from Tarain to Sirsuti. Tarain, as already indicated, was probably on the Punjab route. It seems to me that it was the junction of the routes from Lahore to Delhi and the United Provinces, with the route from Kuhram and Thanesar to Sirsuti, Nagor and Ajmer along the Ghaggar. Bhatinda is near Sirsa. It would appear that Mohammad went to Bhatinda *via* Tarain and that is why the *Jamal-ul-Hikayat* speaks of Tarain being between Tabarhinda and Jainar.

With these facts in my mind I caused enquiries to be made. It was a delightful surprise to find that Tarain was still in existence on the old bed of the Ghaggar and was a fair-sized village. It is shown on the survey of India 1"=4 miles sheet. It is 9 miles south of Patiala *between* Samana

and Mansurpur. The village is situated on the banks of one of the channels of the Patiala Nadi which for some distance runs in the old bed of the Ghaggar. The present village is fairly modern but small medieval bricks still form the materials of many houses. The village is perched on an eminence which undoubtedly hides the ancient remains. I saw at least two other mounds in the immediate neighbourhood. I was informed that the remains of a large castle still existed at a place called Mardaheri about 5 miles away. I also learnt that one of the mohallas of Samana is still called Tarain. Another fort is said to have existed near the village. I was also informed that the local tradition is that the village originally belonged to Brahmins. The present proprietors are Qureshi Sheikhs who are said to have come from Afghanistan. I have not the slightest doubt that this is the real site of the famous battle and that the identification of Tarain with Taraori must be given up.*

VII

QIRAN-US-SADAIN OF AMIR KHUSRAU

By Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, M.A., Ph.D.,
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Qiran-us-Sadain is the first historical *mathnawi* of the celebrated poet-historian Amir Khusrau Dihlawi. It is decidedly the best of his works, in which poetry and history have been harmoniously blended together. Round the central theme of the meeting of the Sultan Kaiqubad with his father Bughra Khan, the poet has woven a picturesque account of contemporary life at Dihli. He describes the capital of the Turkish Empire in the thirteenth century with a precision of detail that vividly portrays to us its grandeur and magnificence.

While composing this *mathnawi* the poet's imagination was stirred to supreme heights of eloquence. Born and brought up in this country, he had assimilated the true Indian spirit. Unlike his predecessors and some of his successors he does not write of India and Indians in terms of contempt. He does not call Hindus 'craven-faced cowards' or 'infidels doomed to perdition.' Nor does he look to Khorasan, or Arabia for inspiration. On the other hand he clothed Indian objects and Indian institutions with Muslim sanctity. If the sweetness of his description endears him to the Hindu; it does not on the other hand annoy the Muslim.

Amir Khusrau was enamoured of the fluency and directness of the Hindi tongue; he observes that it is as sweet as Persian and that in construction it favours comparison with the Arabic:

*AUTHOR'S NOTE: The following works may be referred to:—

1. Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.
2. Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Volume II.
3. The *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Volume III, which contains an article by Vogel on Haji Rattan.
4. Raverty's article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1892.
5. Tod's *Rajasthan* for account of Chand.
6. The *Patiala and Ferozepore Gazetteers*.

بجز تازی که میر زبان است که بر جمله زبانها امرا نست (دیورانی خضرخانی)
 دگر غالب زبانها در زر و روم کم از هند یست شد ز اندیشه معلوم
 زبان هند هم تازی مثال است که آمیزش در آبها کم مجال است
 غلط کردم گر از دانش زنی دم نه لفظ هند یست از پارسی کم

The above statements may be said to smack of poetical exaggeration, but the spirit underlying them is clear and convincing. Otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the free use of Hindi words by the poet.

چو تره رات - کیوزه - بسیجه - موکره - پک - پایک - پلاس - مولسری - بیل - سیوتی
 are some of the words used in this *mathnawi*; other works are sprinkled with an even larger number of them.

Amir Khusrau was a very devoted disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. He refers to this relationship in the *Matla-ul-Anwar* :

نور که از خواجه نظام رسید کلم از ان رو بنظام رسید
 در نتوان بست گره بر نفس محرم خسرو دل خواجه است و بس

The two in their thoughts and deeds represented the spirit of rapprochement which was steadily growing in this country. The following lines culled at random give a clue to the poet's feelings :

خورشید پرست شد مسلمان زین هند و گان شوخ و ساده (قران السعدین)
 اے کہ زیت طعنہ پہنڈو بری ہم زوے امور پرستشگری (مطلع الانوار)
 چہرہ هند و کہ سیاہ است و تار سرخ ز شگرف کند در بہار
 مسلمانان نگہدار ید بیچارہ دل خود را گہ تیر انداز من مست است و کیش کافری دارد
 (قران السعدین)

It may be noted in this connection that Khusrau's *kafir* is not the infidel Hindu, for whose faith in fire-worship he has both admiration and justification.

He appreciates the belief of the Hindus in an all-pervading Providence, and he has expressed his thoughts in the following lines :

وحش و طہور یکہ چرا خوار کرد سر بگہ خورد نگونسار کرد (مطلع الانوار)
 قطرہ آبے نخورد ماکیان تا کند رو بسوے آسمان
 جسم و جہادی کہ یکوہ و درراند ہم بزبانی بہ تعالیٰ الہ اند
 سنگ و گیاه کہ تو بینی خموش غلغل شان هست فلک را بگوش

Then, perhaps referring to the habit of unnecessary violence, he observes :

چند درین گیند گردان تحسست خوردن بیگاہہ جوگا وان بدست (مطلع الانوار)
 لکہ پر سدد شکم خود پیوست در شکمش بین گہ چہ معبود اوست

This is a resonant echo of Hindu sentiments. Khusrau should, therefore, be regarded as the first and the most pre-eminent national poet of India in the Turkish period. He was not only gifted with a powerful imagination, but had also the rare genius of turning it to good account in promoting the national cause and in describing facts of life in an incomparable manner.

From the time of Balban to the accession of Ghayas-ud-din Tughlaq he was in close touch with current politics, though he always managed

to remain outside them. He enjoyed the unique distinction of successfully flattering the vanity of every sovereign of his time without displeasing any of them. He could always adjust himself, and thus retain his position intact. It was, perhaps, to celebrate his return to Delhi that he composed *Qiran-us-Sadain* dedicating it to Sultan Kaiqubad.

Khusrau was an eye witness of the events which he has described in the *mathnawi*; but on one important point his evidence cannot be relied upon, and that is the circumstances preceding the meeting of Kaiqubad with his father. Before recounting the details, it may be noted that in his early life the poet had enjoyed the patronage of Bughra. According to Amir Khusrau when the news of Kaiqubad's accession reached Bengal Bughra Khan at once proclaimed himself king and began preparations to make good his claim. But as the *mathnawi* is dedicated to Kaiqubad, the unwarranted action of his father has been very delicately handled :

رفت خبر برشه مشرق پناه	ناصر دین وارث این تختگاه
کافر اورا پسر انباز گشت	وان شرف ازو بد پسر باز گشت
گر چه بخود راه نه داد این غبار	عاقبتش بود تغیر به بار
چتر بسر کرد و علم بر کشید	ساخته کین شد و لشکر کشید

While events were taking such a turn in Bengal, Kaiqubad was leading a life of mirth and gaiety at Dihli, in a state of blissful ignorance. Finding the field clear before him Bughra Khan marched with his army, occupied Awadh and had the *khutbah* recited in his name there. He then began to press his claims further, expressing his desire to seize Dihli itself.

نهیست شب و روز جز اینش سخن	کاین منم اسکندر دارا شکن
گر پدرم رفت جهان بان منم	وارث اکلیل سلیمان منم
تا سرمی در خورا فسر بود	سر که نهی تاج کراسر بود
هر که زد عوی من آید بقیل	سر کشمش چون دبه دریای پیل
مرد مک دیده من کیقباد	کافر جد فر بزر کیش داد
گر چه جهانگیر شد و تاج دار	نهیست جهان دیده تراز من بکار
تخت پدر کز پی پای من است	هر همه دانند که جای من است
جای خود از بخت بود رهنمای	تا نه ستانم نه نشیغم زیای

Rudely surprised by the vaunts of his father, Kaiqubad met the danger by ordering his army to assemble :

نامه فرستاد بهر کشور
خواند زهر شهر و ولایت سر

Collecting a force of one lakh of cavalry and innumerable infantry he started from his palace on Monday, February 21, 1288.

While he was staying at Kilokhari, with the army encamped in the plains between Tilpat, Indpat, Bhapur and Siri, report was received of a Mongol invasion. Upon this the Sultan postponed his movement towards the threatened regions in the east, but sent 30,000 men under Barbak to face the danger in the west. The Mongols were defeated and

heavy losses were inflicted upon them. It was after the return of the Imperial army from the west that the Sultan once more diverted his attention to Awadh, resuming his eastern journey in the middle of May 1288 :

در وسط ماه ربیع نخست عزم سفر کرد بمشوق درست

Malik Barbak was sent in advance at the head of a large army. On the banks of the river Sarju he was joined by Malik Chhajju of Kara and the Governor of Awadh. When Bughra Khan received the news of the concentration of forces against him he was much annoyed, and he sent Shams Dabir with a message to the leader of the Imperial army :

کین منم اینک شہ مشرق کشای برحد مغرب شدہ تیغ از ماے
لشکر انملک غلام منست خطبہ آن تخت بنام منست
گر پسر از غیبت من ملک یافت روے نخواهد ز پدر باز تافت
من ز پدر فر پدر یافته تاج درین ملک پسر یافته

To the threat of reprisals in case of attack, Malik Barbak returned a suitable reply :

من کہ فر ستادہ شاہ خودم بر خط اخلاص گواہ خودم
شاہ کہ از تاج کیان سرکش است تخت پدر داشت نگہ زان خوش است
زانچہ اشارت بمن است از سریر تیغ گزارم کہ ندارم گزیر
عطف کنم لیک نہ از بیم کس از پے تعظیم شکوہ تو بس

Later, when Kaiqubad arrived in Awadh a prolonged correspondence was exchanged between him and his father, the latter pressing his claims of precedence and superiority :

غضب بکن منصب پیشین ما غضب روا نیست در آئین ما
از پدرم کے رسد این فن بتو از پدر من بمن از من بتو
طفل شدی عمر چو طفلان گزار جائے بزرگان بہ بزرگان سپار
کسوت شاہی کہ تو داری بدوش شوکت من بنگرو بر خود می پوش

To this Kaiqubad returned a firm and dignified reply :

تخت نہ ز آباست مرا کز منست ملک عقیم و فلک آبستن است
ملک بمیراث نیابد کسے تانزد تیغ دو دستی بسے
لیک توئی چون بہ پئے این سریر من ندھم - گر تو توانی بگیر

Ultimately Bughra Khan had to yield, and he explained his changed attitude in these words :

آمدنم نہ از بگے این کار بود کافر و اقلیم تو اندر بود
لیکنم از بس کہ بتو دل کشید میل توام رخت بمنزل کشید
ہجر بس است انچہ کہ بد پیش ازین نیست مرا طاقت غم بیش ازین

This was followed by a meeting and several exchanges of visits by father and son, so elaborately described by Amir Khusrau, who has composed pathetic *ghazals* to exhibit the feelings of Bughra Khan when parting from his son :

ارام جانم میر دو دل راصبوری چون بود آنکس شناسد حال من کو همچو من درخون بود

Barani makes a similar observation but in a different language :

و گفته اند که روز مرا جعت ناصرالدین نعره بزد و درید کنار تاسر منزل رسید
 طعام نخورد و بانز دیگان و مقربان خود گفت که پسر را و ملک دهلی را
 وداع کردم.

But Barani offers us altogether a different version of the attitude of Bughra Khan towards his son. Unlike Amir Khusrau he does not say that the movements of the ruler of Bengal were inspired by any greed for power, or by the intention of removing Kaiqubad from the throne. On the other hand, he tacitly suggests that the successor of Balban at Delhi acquiesced in the assumption of independence by his father in Bengal. Further, that when Bughra Khan was acquainted with the actual state of affairs at the Imperial Court, where the wily Nizamuddin was wielding supreme influence and was planning to seize the throne, and when he discovered that his hints and suggestions to his son, to stem the tide of evil prevailing at his court, went unheeded and being sincerely apprehensive of the safety of his son's life, he made up his mind to pay a visit and tender his advice in person to the young king.

It was by mutual agreement that they met on the banks of the Sarju river. Kaiqubad was ready to go alone to meet his father, but at the instigation of Nizamuddin he took a large army with him. This evoked a similar move on the part of Bughra Khan. Who with a numerous following encamped on the opposite bank of the river. From this point onward there is not much difference between the versions of Barani and Amir Khusrau.

Thus it will be noted that while Amir Khusrau attributes motives of greed, selfishness, and political ambition to Bughra Khan, and even accuses him of having plundered certain districts in Awadh, Barani paints him as an innocent father, whose mind was very much exercised at the irresponsible conduct of the youthful king of Delhi and whose real concern was his son's safety and the continuity of the Turkish Empire. He came all the way from Bengal to reform him, and to draw his attention to the risks to which he had exposed himself. Furthermore, the entire blame for creating suspicion in the mind of Kaiqubad is thrown by Barani on the shoulders of Kaiqubad's vicious minister Nizamuddin whose name has not even once been mentioned by the poet-historian.

The issue that needs to be determined is then : whose version is more worthy of credence—that of Amir Khusrau who was an eye-witness, or of Barani who wrote much later, but who also had several independent sources of information and who, was probably acquainted with the work of the poet ? The fact is that both of them are equally guilty of having introduced in their narratives much extraneous matter ; and Barani like Ferishta very often resorts to the device of putting his own ideas in to the mouths of others. The counsels of Balban to Bughra

Khan or of the latter to his son Kaiqubad are illustrations of this tendency. The only excuse for Khusrau is poetic licence, and in the case of Qiran-us-Sadain this has been carried to extremes.

Qiran-us-Sadain has a prose counterpart in the Shash-Fath Kangda of Jalaluddin Tabatabai. In either case the authors have chosen a few facts from the main story and have described them in a setting entirely of their own. It is evident that Amir Khusrau, in spite of the fact that he was an eye-witness to the entire transaction, is not describing in cold historical form all that had happened in Awadh. Nor was his real intention to do so. His desire was to write an account of India; and, to make it presentable to the sovereign, he introduced the episode of the latter's meeting with his father. The letters in verse, which he says passed between Kaiqubad and Bughra Khan, merely represent the spirit of the incident and have little to do with the facts. The latter have been noted by Barani.

Undoubtedly, the poet does at one place observe :

این سخن چند که بدخواست است شاعری نیست که هم راست است

but in the very next line he remarks :

گر چه چنین راست نباید نهفت راست بے هست که نتوانش گفت

And in the latter category falls the part played by Nizamuddin who was responsible for whatever tension existed in the relations between Kaiqubad and his father. It is likely that the minister's influence had not yet declined when the poet was composing his *mathnawi*; and hence the omission of the part played by him. Assuming this to be the case, the poet had to adduce some reason for Kaiqubad's marching from Delhi with a numerous army. This he sets down to the hostile attitude of Bughra Khan. But if we remember the earlier incidents in the life of the latter, especially his secret departure from Delhi equally disregarding the precarious condition of his father Balban and Balban's desire to see him crowned king, Khusrau's portrayal of Bughra Khan's character seems unconvincing. It is an admitted fact that the enervating climate of Bengal had made him lazy and indolent. It is reasonable to presume that since the crown of Delhi had failed to make an appeal to his imagination when—a little earlier—it was actually offered to him, he would hardly care to fight for it now. Kaiqubad had done nothing to provoke the hostility of his father and therefore Khusrau's version that the latter moved from Bengal with hostile intent and that he plundered some places in Awadh does not appear worthy of credence. The poet is obviously guilty of *suppressio veri*. The style of his narrative supports this view. Though he attributes to Bughra Khan a hostile attitude he says nothing to lower his dignity or prestige. He even concedes to his former patron the claim of being an independent ruler of Bengal—which from a strictly constitutional point of view was untenable, because Bengal was a part of the Turkish Empire.

In the course of the exchange of letters with his son Bughra Khan emphasised the superiority of his claim on the throne of Delhi, and here Barani is in agreement with Khusrau. But this was a later development and it does not show that Bughra Khan had assumed a hostile attitude from the very start.

For the reasons noted above, Barani's account of the meeting between Kaiqubad and Bughra Khan is preferable to that of Amir Khusrau. It is more complete and also more independent.

VIII

ADILSHAHI ADMINISTRATION

By Dr. P. M. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D., University of Bombay.

The 'Adilshahi kingdom of Bijapur was founded by Yusuf 'Adil Shah in 1489. It was the most powerful and the most enlightened of the five states that arose on the extinction of the Bahmani kingdom, and at its zenith it spread from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. Aurangzib conquered it in 1686 and made it a province of his empire.

The political history of Bijapur as of the other Deccan Muhammadan kingdoms is well known. But such aspects of Muslim rule in the Deccan as administration, social and economic conditions, trade and industry, cultural developments have not been dealt with before. In this paper I propose to outline only one of these, *viz.* Administration.

The King, the Court and Ministers :—The king was the supreme power in the state; he was the ruler, judge, administrator, military leader, sometimes even preacher and leader of public worship. His duties were as all embracing as his authority.¹ The king was the shadow of God on earth (ظل الله). But only Muhammad 'Adil Shah seems to have claimed this distinction² which was jealously guarded by the Mughal Emperors as their special prerogative. In practice the king's sovereignty was limited by his feudal nobility. Though in theory the king was all powerful, he was never in a position to break the power of the aristocracy that had been created by the 'Adilshahi administrative system so faithfully modelled on that of the Bahmanis. So long as the king had personality and administrative capacity he held his nobles in check; but no sooner did his authority become weak and the control of the central power lax than they defied the sovereignty of the king. The perpetual struggle between the nobles and the king over the question of sovereignty is the keynote of the history of the Deccan Sultanates. This was the direct result of their administrative system. It was responsible for the break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom and the same factor weakened the strength of Bijapur in the later years of the 'Adilshahi dynasty.

The external symbols of the king's sovereignty were the throne, the *chutr* or the royal umbrella, the royal standard the right of issuing gold coins, the striking of the royal *naubat*, or drum, five times a day and the reading of the *khutba* in the name of the sovereign. The Deccan Sultanates copied these Bahmani institutions when they became independent. But, except the Sultan of Golconda, none of them—during the sixteenth century—arrogated to themselves the right of issuing gold coins or of striking of the *naubat* five times a day.³ Gold coins were first minted in Bijapur during the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1627–56).

From early morning till night the king's time was fully occupied. The early hours of the morning were spent in the company of learned men and poets. Also during this period the king received reports from various messengers from different parts of the kingdom. The king

1. This is the Islamic conception of kingship. Arnold : *The Caliphate* 27, 72. Cf. B. S. 348. For the king as leader of public worship, see also Burhan (I. A. XXVIII, 236.)

2. Faramin-us-Salatīn, 214.

3. Cf. Ferishta I, 536; C. H. I, III, 376-77.

4. Ferishta I, 537. Cf. Colloquies 74.

maintained an army of these reporters (جاسوس) many of whom were Brahmins. They were under the direct supervision of the prime minister, but had unhindered access to the king. Their duties were to report to the capital all the day-to-day happenings in the different parts of the kingdom and to carry letters from the officers in these parts to the capital, and *vice versa*.¹

The king studied the reports brought by the messengers in preparation for the open *darbar* which occupied the next three hours till the noon-day prayers.² On every day of the week, excepting Friday, the king held *darbar*, the full assembly of the court, during which no one was allowed to sit in his presence. The nobility had to stand on the right and left of the throne according to their rank and order of precedence. The *darbar* served the purpose of a council of state and was useful in ascertaining the trend of opinion among the officers of the kingdom. At this assembly any individual had the right of free access to the king and could lay complaints before him. Persons who were dissatisfied with the decisions or orders of officials, were permitted to lay their grievances before the sovereign as the final court of appeal.³ In this way the king came in direct touch with his subjects. Thus the royal routine was designed to serve various ends. It flattered the vanity of the king. It combined work with pleasure. The pomp at the *darbar* served to impress foreigners and natives alike, while some of the practices went to assure the subjects that the Sultan had their welfare at heart and would see justice done to them.

The discussion of vital matters of state did not take place in the open *darbar*. This was reserved for other times and select advisers. After the *darbar* was over the king rested for two hours and spent the remainder of the day discussing the problems of government with his ministers.

Though theoretically the king's authority was unlimited, in practice he took the advice of his ministers in deciding questions of state policy. The chief duty of these ministers was, of course, implicit obedience to the king's wishes. They held office during his pleasure and were responsible to him in the smallest matters. Thus for instance when Mustafa Khan Ardastani came into disfavour with Ali 'Adil Shah I., he was deprived of his office as *Vakil* and *Amir-i-Jumla*, transferred to the governorship of the newly conquered province of Karnatak and his office conferred on Afzal Khan Shirazi.⁴

The number of 'Adilshahi ministers was never fixed, nor were their duties clearly defined. There was thus, in modern phraseology, a complete absence of any well-marked division of labour and specialisation in departmental work. The same person could assume responsibility for two ministerial departments, holding, in addition, an office in the army to which he, along with the other state officials, inevitably belonged.

The principal minister was known as *Vakil-us-Sultanat*. His authority was second only to the king's. All *firman*s issued by the king bore his seal in the bottom left-hand corner. He advised the king on all matters of foreign policy and internal administration. But when the king took active interest in the affairs of state, the *Vakil* had no initiative in any matter whatever. If, however, the king was a minor, the *Vakil* was

1. -B. S. 131, 357 ; T.M. 93a. Cf. Tavernier I. 233-34.

2. Ferishta I. 536 ; B. S. 357.

3. B. S. 357. Cf. Ferishta I. 533.

4. Ferishta II. 85.

usually appointed the regent of the kingdom and his powers were unlimited; he could dismiss any officers from service, confiscate any estates and declare war on a neighbouring kingdom at his own will. Sometimes the king would give himself up to pleasure and entrust the whole management of the state to his minister. In this case also the powers of the *Vakil-us-Sultanat* were unlimited.

Next to the *Vakil-us-Sultanat* was the *Amir-i-Jumla* or the Minister of Finance. As the name implies the duties of this minister mainly consisted of supervising the finances of the kingdom; he may be called, in modern terminology, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was in charge of the annual payments made by the various *jagirdars* into the royal treasury, also the revenues received from the crown-lands and the tributes from the tributary princes. But very often this office was amalgamated with that of the *Vakil* and conferred on one person. Ibrahim I's minister Asad Khan was both *Vakil* and *Amir-i-Jumla*. So were Mustafa Khan Ardastani and Afzal Khan Shirazi, the ministers of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I. And during the reign of Ibrahim II his two successive ministers Ikhlas Khan and Dilavar Khan also occupied similar positions'. In Golconda we have the case of Mir Jumla the all-powerful Qutbshahi minister.

The *Amir-i-Jumla* was assisted by a subordinate officer called *Mustaufi-ul-Mulk*. This assistant was usually a Hindu and he had under him an army of Hindu clerks.¹ The work of keeping accounts and the management of the revenues of the kingdom was thus left exclusively in the hands of the Hindus.

The office of *Peshva* does not seem to have been a permanent institution at the 'Adilshahi court. During the Bahmani dynasty the *Peshva* was one of the ministers of the kingdom.² Under the Nizamshahs at Ahmadnagar he became the chief minister and appears to have enjoyed the same status as the *Vakil-us-Sultanat* did in Bijapur.³ In fact the Nizamshahi influence can be traced in this office, because a minister called *Peshva* was appointed at the 'Adilshahi court first at the instance of Chand Bibi, herself a Nizamshahi princess. During the minority of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, when Ikhlas Khan was both *Vakil* and *Amir-i-Jumla*, he conferred the office of *Peshva* on Afzal Khan at the request of Chand Bibi.⁴ This seems to be the only instance when the office of *Peshva* existed at Bijapur.

Another office which existed under the Bahmani kings but does not appear to have been continued in the 'Adilshahi kingdom was the office of *Vazir*. The *Vazir* at the Bahmani court was evidently an officer subordinate to the *Vakil*. And indeed in the seventeenth century when the office of the *Vazir* existed at the 'Adilshahi court, it no longer carried the Bahmani connotation. The *Vazir* was then what the *Vakil* had been earlier, the chief minister of the kingdom. In some of the *firmans* issued by Dilavar Khan during the minority of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, he calls himself *Vazir*. Muhammad 'Adil Shah also styled his chief minister *Vazir*. Similarly during the minority of Sikandar 'Adil Shah, Khavas Khan was the *Vazir* and had complete authority in the kingdom, and all the "amirs" of the Bijapur court considered it their duty to obey him.

1. Ferishta II 52, 80, 85, 99, 105; B. I. S. M., XI. ii 6.

2. Ferishta II 99; T. M. 93a; B. S. 131, 349.

3. Ferishta I 576, 581.

4. Cf. Ferishta II 198.

5. Ferishta II 99.

Diplomatic relations:—Diplomatic relations between the Deccan Sultanates and between Bijapur and Vijayanagar and Goa were maintained by means of ambassadors at the various courts. Thus Bijapur was always represented at Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Vijayanagar and Goa and other Deccan powers by Adilshahi ambassadors, and these states in their turn had similar officers at Bijapur.¹ The duties of these officials can hardly be compared with those of their counterparts in a modern state. Their main duty seems to have been to keep in close touch with political developments of the respective courts where they were placed and to keep their royal master at Bijapur informed about them. Withdrawal of ambassadors signified declaration of hostilities. In 1564 the ambassadors of the Deccan Sultanates, after presenting Rama Raya with the ultimatum of their masters, withdrew from Vijayanagar² and soon after the Muslim confederacy declared war on the Hindu Empire.

Besides resident ambassadors, special envoys were employed on special occasions to conduct negotiations between the Deccan states. The most conspicuous example is of Mustafa Khan Ardestani of Golconda, who later entered the service of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, acting as envoy-extraordinary to conduct the delicate negotiations which led to the Muslim confederacy.³ Many times Brahmin officials were preferred as envoys and were freely employed by all the Deccan Sultanates.⁴

Bijapur maintained diplomatic relations with Persia by sending occasional embassies to the Safavi court, a practice reciprocated by the Persian kings.⁵ These exchanges of envoys, however, had no political significance; they seem to have been purely a matter of diplomatic courtesy. Bijapur, as the first state in India to become Shia, about the same time as Persia under the Safavis, was naturally drawn towards the latter and the exchange of envoys was intended to show the approval of the step both of them had taken. Only once was an embassy from the Deccan sent to Persia with political motives. This was in 1548 when Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar, an enthusiastic Shia, demanded help from Shah Tahmasp Safavi to crush the Sunni Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur.⁶

The Deccan Sultanates also used to send occasional embassies to the Mughal Court at Delhi with messages of goodwill towards the Mughal dynasty. After Babur became master of Delhi in 1526, embassies from Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda waited on him with congratulatory messages from the Deccan Sultans. Also at the time of the accession of a new Emperor on the throne of Delhi, Bijapur, in common with other Deccan Sultanates, used to send missions to the Imperial capital with gifts and messages of felicitation.

Among the Deccan Sultanates themselves the practice of sending special envoys to offer congratulations to a king about to ascend the throne, was always observed. A breach of this custom was tantamount to declaration of hostility. On the accession of 'Ali Adil Shah I, in 1557, embassies came from all the neighbouring states to congratulate 'Ali. But

1. Cf. Pyrard II 27.

2. B. S. 95-96; Ferishta II 72. B. S. 437.

3. Ferishta II 72; Burhan (I.A., L. 143); T.M. 62 b.

4. Ferishta II 39, 57; Colloquies 292; Linschoten I 247.

5. B. S. 35; Burhan (I.A., XXVIII. 320); Ferishta II 33.

6. Burhan (I.A., XLIX. 199). No help came from Persia.

no such mission came from Hussain Nizam Shah.¹ The reason for his silence soon became clear, when he declared war on Bijapur. Similarly, with the arrival of every new Portuguese viceroy at Goa, the Deccan Sultanates used to send special representatives to welcome him.²

The Deccan Sultanates also resorted to another method to maintain diplomatic relations between themselves. This was inusual matrimonial alliances. The Sultanates hoped to establish friendly relations by this means as they were often at war and always at variance. But these alliances more often than not resulted in aggravating the malady they were expected to cure. The marriage of Mariyam, Ismail 'Adil Shah's sister, to Burhan Nizam Shah I in 1524, instead of bringing Ahmadnagar and Bijapur closer together, sowed the seeds of bitter hatred between the two. And the double matrimonial alliance of 1564, though it temporarily succeeded, never really healed the breach, for after the overthrow of Vijayanagar, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar remained as estranged as ever.

Provincial Administration:—Provincial administration of the kingdom followed the Bahmani system with such modifications as were found necessary. Ala-ud-din, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, had divided his kingdoms into four divisions, each of which was entrusted to an officer. During the reign of his son Muhammad these divisions were named *tarafs* and the officers in charge of them *tarafdars*. These provincial governors were supreme in their respective divisions and naturally they tended to become powerful. But during the early days of the Bahmanis, they were held in check by the strong personality of the king himself, who, every year, spent some time in touring the various divisions and in supervising the administration of his officers. Moreover, the *tarafdars* could be and were indeed transferred from one province to another. Mahmud Gavan, the famous Bahmani minister, pursued this policy and thus prevented the principal officers from acquiring vested interests in one particular *taraf*. He also subdivided each *taraf* into two, so that the kingdom was divided into eight divisions. This reform too was intended to control more closely the power of the *tarafdars*. But it failed to cure the evils inherent in the system, evils which were further accentuated by civil war. This ultimately resulted in the disruption of the kingdom and the establishment of the five Sultanates.

Usually one and sometimes even two of these *tarafdars* were also ministers at the Bahmani court. Mahmud Gavan was *Vakil-us-Sultanat* to Humayun Shah (1458-61) and also the *tarafdar* of the Bijapur division. Similarly during the succeeding reign, Khwaja Jahan who was *Vakil* to Nizam Shah Bahmani (1461-63) was also the governor of Telangana. And Mahmud Gavan who was made both *Amir-i-Jumla* and *Vazir-i-Kull* was retained in charge of Bijapur. Each of the *tarafdars* was *ipso facto* a military officer and held the rank of a commander of 2,000 horse. They enjoyed almost autocratic power. "They collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army, and made all appointments both civil and military in their respective divisions."³

The king's authority was supreme over all, and he could direct any detail of administration as he wished. But this prerogative was rarely

1. Ferishta II 67.

2. Linschoten I 220.

3. C.H.I., III 383. Cf. B. S. 512. For the duties of a provincial governor in an Islamic state see Margoliouth, 98-99: "Normally it was the business of the governor to collect the revenue. . . and after spending what was requisite on the province and drawing his own stipend, to forward the surplus to the capital."

used. Two Adilshahi Sultans, Ali and Muhammad, exercised it in an attempt to reform their administration. The question of foreign policy in all its aspects was dealt with exclusively by the central government.

Under the 'Adilshahi Sultanate the old designations *taraf* and *tarafdar* fell into disuse and the term *jagir* and *jagirdar* came into use. The old conception behind the *tarafdari* system also seems to have vanished. Under this system the Bahmani kingdom was divided into a definite number of divisions; this, however, was not the case with Bijapur. When Yusuf Adil Shah declared his independence he had to create a new oligarchy. But in his life-time he bestowed provincial governorship only on 'Ain-ul-Mulk of Goa. The rest of the kingdom appears to have remained as crown-lands. When Dastur Dinar's *jagirs* came into Yusuf Adil Shah's possession they were not bestowed on a *jagirdar* but were kept by Yusuf under his direct control and its officers were appointed by him. This arrangement continued till the end of the 'Adilshahi dynasty. In the course of time the crown-lands came to be divided among the amirs of the Bijapur court. For administrative purposes, therefore, the kingdom was divided into two groups, the *jagirs* and the crown-lands. (زمین سلطانی) After the fall of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar, the 'Adilshahi kingdom acquired new territories in the south, which in the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah extended up to Vellore and Jinji on the Coromandel coast. These new acquisitions were either bestowed on 'Adilshahi officers or left in the possession of their original Hindu chieftains who became vassals of Bijapur. So that after 1565 the kingdom consisted of three different provincial systems. First came the provinces given as *jagirs* to various officers of the kingdom. Then there were the crown-lands administered directly by a bureaucracy responsible to the king and the minister-in-charge appointed by the king, usually the Amir-i-Jumla. And last of all were the tributary states, paying an annual tribute to their overlord the king of Bijapur, and supplying him with men and provisions in case of war.

The kings of Bijapur never interfered in the internal administration of their vassal Hindu chieftains, but we have no data at all as to how these chieftains administered their respective territories. The rest of the kingdom was divided into administrative units called *parganas*. In the Karnatak they were usually known as *sammats* and in the Konkan as *tapas* which seems to be a Marathi corruption of the old Bahmani term *taraf*. These units were either bestowed as *jagirs* on the nobles of the kingdom or were administered directly by officers appointed by the king. But in either case the administrative machinery of these provinces was the same. Sometimes one noble had more than one *pargana* as his *jagir* and these were perhaps not in the same part of the kingdom. An officer in charge of a province was not necessarily given a *jagir* in that province, sometimes his *jagir* lay in another part of the kingdom altogether. Thus, for instance, while Shahaji was in charge of the southern conquered territories, his *jagir* was in the north at Poona. This, however, made little difference, for usually the amirs were in the capital and their *jagirs* were administered by an agent. We know that Shahaji's agent in his Poona *jagirs* was Dadaji Kondadev. Similarly when Afzal Khan was in charge of the *pargana* of Wai, he left it in charge of an agent and himself remained in the capital. Asad Khan, the chief minister of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I, had always been away from his *jagirs*, either in the capital or on military expeditions,

In theory the tenure of the *jagirdar* depended on the will of the Sultan. A *jagirdar* could be deprived of his office altogether or could be transferred to another division. But this prerogative seems to have been rarely used by the 'Adilshahi kings, and during the seventeenth century can be said to have lapsed altogether. Still a *jagir* was never hereditary and it was only in special circumstances that exceptions were made. The *pargana* of Mudhol was conferred as a *jagir* in perpetuity on the Ghorpade family, for their services to the estate, by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, and it belongs to the Ghorpade family to this day.

A *jagirdar* had three main duties to perform. He was the executive head of the districts under his jurisdiction; he was also the highest judicial authority in them, and finally, he was responsible for maintaining a fixed quota of cavalry and perhaps infantry of which he was the commander.

In fact a *jagir* was bestowed on a noble to enable him to maintain a certain number of cavalry. The king maintained only a part of the army of the state. The rest was recruited by the various nobles. This privilege to keep an army was known as *mansab* and it was an essential concomitant of a *jagir*. Under the Bahmanis, each *tarafdār* was a commander of 2,000, the *Amir-ul-amra* of 1,500, the *Vakil-us-Sultanat* of 1,200; and the rest of the nobility had troops varying from 1000 to 100. The same system of giving *mansabs* was also prevalent in the 'Adilshahi kingdom. But it underwent considerable modifications. During the seventeenth century a rank of 5,000 among the higher nobility seems to have been common. Shahaji Bhonsla was given the rank of a commander of 5,000 and Maloji Ghorpade of Mudhol of 2,000. These figures refer to cavalry only. How infantry was recruited and maintained is nowhere described.

Thus a *mansabdār* was automatically a *jagirdar*. From the income of the *jagir* were paid the expenses of the army and of the administration of the *pargana*, and a fixed amount seems to have been paid annually into the royal treasury. This practice resulted in many abuses and led to the oppression of the peasantry. Even when a *pargana* was bestowed on an officer, revenues from certain items were especially reserved by the king. In the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II we have more than one instance of the *jagirdar* paying to the king revenues derived from *bhet* and tobacco.¹ The *bhet* was the tribute paid by the subjects and petty chieftains to the king or his local representative on certain occasions, and naturally a provincial officer had no claim to it. The reserving of the revenue on tobacco is very interesting, as it shows that this was even then a lucrative crop. If the revenue derived from it were to be left to the *jagirdar* it would perhaps have meant the forced cultivation of more and more tobacco to the discouragement of other crops.

Each *pargana* had usually four officers. In the absence of the *jagirdar* his agent was the head of the administration of the *pargana*. Dadaji Kondadev, the agent of Shahaji in his Poona estates, was known as subhedar. But there was no specific label by which these deputies were designated. In revenue matters the agent was helped by two officers, one responsible for the collection of the revenue and the other for accounts. And the fourth officer was the Qazi who was generally appointed by the Sultan. He was the judicial officer for the division, though the work of dispensing justice was also done by the *jagirdar*. He also seems to have been

1. B.I. S.M., XI, i, 47-48; XII, iii, 32.

responsible for the supervision and maintenance of the Muslim religious endowments in his jurisdiction.

So far as the crown-lands were concerned, the head of the administration of the *pargana* was known as *subbedar*. In some state documents he is also referred to as *Sarhavaladar*. This officer was in charge of the entire administration of the division and was in fact known as the king's deputy or agent (نایب منیب). He was also the head of the garrison stationed in the division for the preservation of order.

The subdivision of the *pargana* was known as *mamla* or *taluka* or *karyat*. It was in the charge of an officer called the *Havaladar*.

Agrarian system :—There is no first-hand evidence to show the nature of the agrarian system in Bijapur and we have consequently no information as to what share of the produce was claimed by the king. The demand of the state on the peasant was undoubtedly heavy both in Vijayanagar and in the Mughal Empire. And though no direct evidence exists that the same was true of the Deccan Sultanates, we have no other alternative but to assume that the same conditions prevailed under the Sultanate rule in the Deccan. Sabhasad in describing the revenue administration of Shivaji gives the distinct impression that under the Sultanate land revenue was farmed out to the local officials. The British officers who completed the surveys of the districts which formerly comprised the kingdom of Bijapur are agreed that revenue farming of some kind existed in them under Muhammadan rule. Major Jervis and Baden-Powell are both agreed that the Kothi system of land tenure in the Konkan, essentially a system based on revenue farming, can be traced to Yusuf 'Adil Shah.¹

The very administrative system of the Sultanates encouraged the farming of revenue. Provinces of the kingdom were made over to the grandees for the upkeep of their quota of the army. They collected the land revenue, and other taxes if any, in their respective divisions, and they were expected to pay a certain fixed amount to the royal treasury. So long as this amount was paid, the officials of the treasury were not concerned how the taxes were collected. There was no direct supervision of this branch of administration, a state of things bound to lead to the oppression of the peasant. That the grandee was expected to collect all the taxes is made abundantly clear in the *firmans* issued by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II to Vyankoji.²

Most of the kingdom was divided among the nobles; but even in the case of crown-lands it seems that the officers that were entrusted with the collection of revenue had to pay into the state treasury a fixed amount annually collected from the territories under their jurisdiction.

The chief function of the administration was the collection of revenue. And in this the officer of the *pargana* was helped by two other colleagues: the *Deshmukh* and the *Desai*. The *Deshmukh* was entrusted with the task of supervising the collection of revenue, while the *Desai* was responsible for keeping the accounts. Sometimes the *Deshmukh* and the *Subbedar* were referred to in the state documents by only one general term, namely *Huddedars*, *Adhikaris*, *Amaldars* or sometimes as *Amils*. An attempt was made from the capital to keep a certain amount of supervision on these officers and

1. Satara, D.G. 335; Ratanagiri, D.G., 213; Jervis 75, 76, 83; Cf. The Agrarian System of Moslem India, 188.

2. B.I.S.M., XI, i. 47-48; XII, iii 32.

to safeguard the interests of the peasant. For this reason the *Desai* had to submit his accounts to the minister in charge at Bijapur. But the system of collecting revenue was altogether pernicious and the officers often harassed the peasants for private gain. In case complaints were carried to the capital redress was possible, but such complaints were rarely made as the peasant was afraid of retaliation by the local officers.

The revenue officers of the *taluka* were known by the same names by which the *pargana* revenue officers were known, namely *Deshmukh* and *Desai*, but this *Desai* was generally referred to as *Karkun* in state documents.

Village Organization :—The village was the last unit of administration in the kingdom. From ancient times, whatever the central government in India, village administration was never interfered with ; and under 'Adilshahi rule in the Deccan the villages were left as much to themselves as those under Mughal rule in other parts of the country.

The village officials were three in number : the *Patil* or headman of the village, the *Kulkarni* or the accountant and the village watchman. All these offices were hereditary. The first duty of the village headman was the collection of revenues which were to be handed over to the provincial authority. He was also in charge of the police arrangements of the village, but the actual duty of watch and ward was entrusted to a watchman, usually a person of the lower class. In case of war it was of course the duty of the state to protect the villages. How far the Adilshahi state succeeded in discharging this duty is another matter. The *Kulkarni* was the village accountant and responsible for all the details of the revenue, agricultural holdings and other property in the village. But by far the most important village official was the *Patil*. Apart from his revenue and defence duties, he was also responsible for the settlement of the village disputes with the help of the village panchayat. And lastly he was the leader of the village in all matters and the most influential person in it. If any co-operative work was to be undertaken in the village he took the leading part ; if any state officials came to inspect the village he attended on them ; if the village had to be represented at any place for any occasion he represented it. In short the *Patil* was the spokesman of the village and though responsible to the government, he was always a man of the people.

The village headman and accountant were remunerated by means of *inam* lands granted to them. The *inam* or rent-free land and the office going with it was known as *watan* in the case of the headman and *miras* in the case of the accountant. Though both terms were first employed by the Muhammadan rulers, the practice implied by them was of ancient origin: From the dispute that was existing between Narsu Jagdale of Masur and Bapaji Mussalman of Karad about the *watan* of the headmanship of Masur, during the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shahi II, it is clear that the *watan* of the village headman was regarded as an institution of great antiquity. Apart from the *inam* land these two officials claimed some minor taxes in the shape of an annual supply of shoes, oil, vegetables, cloth, etc. from the various members of the village community.

The village was essentially agricultural as all Indian villages have always been. Besides agriculture the other occupations of the village are those that are subsidiary to it. A farmer got his implements—the axe-blade, the ploughshare, the plough and the cart—from the smith and carpenter, who were thus essential to him. There were also the village

barber, shoe-maker, potter, washerman. These and other artisans have from times immemorial been serving the needs of the village community.

The peculiarity of the village occupations was that they were just what were required to make the village community self-contained and self-sufficient, and so every village had as many professions as were required to serve the needs of its mainly agricultural population. Besides the *Patil* the village establishment usually consisted of twelve artisans necessary for the life of the village community.¹ These are known in Maharashtra as the *balutedars* and the institution is known as *bara balute* (बारा बलुते). The twelve professions were represented by the Mahar who was the village watchman, the carpenter, the smith, the shoe-maker, the washerman, the potter, the barber, the astrologer and priest, the accountant, the *Mang* to do the menial work and generally help the village watchman, the *Gurav* or the person in charge of the temple of the village deity and the goldsmith. This was the usual complement of professions in a village, but the number varied according to the size and needs of a village. Sometimes two small villages situated near each other would share their artisans, in other cases if a village had any Muslim endowments and some Muslim population, there used to be also a Muhammadan *balutedar* who looked after the mosque and the spiritual life of the Muslim population.²

We have already seen how the village accountant was remunerated. In remunerating the holders of these professions necessary for the village, the *baluta* or grain share-system was followed; and it is this system that gave the village servants the name *balutedar*. The institution of *balutas* or the payment of village servants by an annual charge against the crops is one of the characteristic features of a Deccan village. "The actual payment consists of a fixed amount of grain and fodder on the crops cultivated for grain and fodder. On the other crops it is nominally a similar charge commuted for a quantity of grain and fodder to cover what is supposed to be the due amount."³

The *baluta* dues were to be paid by every farmer to each *balutedar* and so naturally none was admitted within that category whose services were not indispensable practically to every member of the community. Thus brick-layers, well-diggers and similar other professions were not included among the *balutedars* the reason being that their services were not continuously required by all the villagers.

Justice and Police :—We have already seen that the policing of the village was left to the villagers themselves. In the case of important towns an official called *Kotwal* was in charge of the police arrangements. In the capital itself the chief of police was known by the same title, *Kotwal*. He was responsible for the safety of the citizens and their property and for maintaining peace and order in the capital. And it was his duty to trace robberies and punish miscreants.

In the village the administration of justice rested in the village council, or the village panchayat, an institution of great antiquity. Failing to arrive at a mutual understanding the parties to a dispute in the village used to refer the matter to the *Patil*. He used to try his best to arrive at an amicable settlement, failing which he would refer

1. Grant-Duff I 29; A. S. M. 235; Cf. I. V. C. 16-17.

2. Grant-Duff I 30 n.; Village Communities in Western India, 96.

3. Land Labour in a Deccan Village II. 122. For remuneration to the village priest, see S. P. S. S. I. 72.

the case to the panchayat. This was a cosmopolitan body consisting of the *Patil*, the *Kulkarni* and all the village servants (*balutedars*). The parties to the disputes laid the case before this council whose decisions were signed by all the officers and were binding on the litigants. Thus the village panchayat closely conformed to the idea of a village council in ancient Hindu times.

As a rule litigation was settled by the village panchayat with the help of documentary or oral evidence. But very often the crude and time-honoured method of judgment by ordeal was resorted to and usually proved satisfactory to both parties. It is doubtful whether this method was followed to any great extent and whether trial by ordeal really meant an ordeal by fire or by water. There is no evidence to show whether extreme forms of this primitive method were employed. A modification of this form is seen in reference to the local deity. Two small notes with the names of the litigants were thrown before the deity and a child was asked to pick one up and the party whose name was so selected was supposed to be the guilty party. Or sometimes betel nuts were used with a slight variation in the same method. These practices were heathenish and contrary to Muhammadan law as well as to reason. It was confined to the Hindus only and if one of the two litigants was a Muhammadan and had agreed to trial by this method, he could go back on this decision and appeal to a proper legal authority. But the decisions of the panchayats based on documentary evidence were binding on all litigants alike.

An appeal could be laid before the local officers or in the last resort before the king who was the fountain-head of justice. But the officers usually preferred that disputes should be settled by a court of the people. We have two instances in which disputes were referred to Benares and Paithan to be decided by the Pundits there. It must be noted that neither Paithan nor Benares was in Bijapur kingdom, but these two places were the centre of Hindu learning and disputes were referred to Pundits there for arbitration. Thus we have the instance of 'Abdul 'Ali, the 'Adilshahi officer at Athani referring a religious dispute to the Brahmins at Benares.¹ In this connection the case of Narsoji Jagdale of Masur² (in Satara district) is also very illuminating in that it shows the pro-Hindu tendencies of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II. In the reign of this Sultan there was a dispute between Narsoji Jagdale and one Bapaji Mussalman of Karad regarding the Patil *watan* of Masur. The case was first decided by the panchayat of Masur which decreed in favour of Jagdale. Being dissatisfied with this decision, the defendant Bapaji Mussalman appealed to his own panchayat at Karad which, however, confirmed the original decision. Bapaji then went direct to Bijapur and complained to the Sultan that the panchayats of Masur and Karad were partial to Jagdale being his co-religionists, and, therefore, their decision should be set aside. But even this allegation of miscarriage of justice could not induce Ibrahim 'Adil Shah to order a retrial of the case before him. What he did was to order a retrial by the Pundits at Paithan remarking that it was a well-known place and that cases were often referred there for decision and that partiality or corruption was never suspected there. The case was accordingly transferred to Paithan where the council of the Pundits after examining the evidence confirmed the original decision and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah accepted this decision and enforced it.

1. S. P. S. S., I. 156, 163.

2. Rajwade XV. 22—28.

However, it was not always that such appeals were referred to Benares or Paithan. Very often they were decided by the *jagirdar* of the *pargana* concerned or his officers. Besides these officers there were *Qazis* in every *pargana* and important town who administered the Quranic law. But they seem to have served the need of the Muslim population and there is no evidence to show that Muhammadan law was applied to Hindu cases where one party was a Hindu and one a Muhammadan. Above all was, of course, the king who was the final law-giver and the highest source of justice in the kingdom. It is doubtful whether cases from different parts of the kingdom were referred to him often, but there was at the royal court the machinery for enquiring into such disputes, and decisions were forwarded to the local officer concerned under the seal of the king. In the case of European merchants the king seems to have been the only source of justice. We have the instance of the English factors in the kingdom who could not get redress for their complaints as the king (Muhammad 'Adil Shah) was ill.

Reforms of Muhammad 'Adil Shah :—It was Muhammad 'Adil Shah who first became conscious of the evils of the administrative system that had been handed down since the days of the Bahmanis. Possibly the superiority of the Mughal administration brought home to him the shortcomings in his own. Afzal Khan Shirazi, the prime minister of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I, made an attempt to introduce departmentalisation in the administration of the kingdom, but his reforms evidently fell into disuse during the minority of Ibrahim II. It was, however, Muhammad 'Adil Shah who undertook the task of overhauling the entire administrative machinery. But its evils were far too deep-rooted to be remedied by a mere stroke of the pen.

Muhammad 'Adil Shah's first step was to bring all the forts in the kingdom under the direct supervision and responsibility of the king. Hitherto the forts of the kingdom were included in the *jagir* in which they were situated and they were garrisoned and administered by the *jagirdar* concerned. The dangers behind this system were evident. Muhammad 'Adil Shah directed that the officers of the forts were to be directly responsible to him. These officers were to be three in number : the *killadar* or commander of the fort, one assistant and a personal agent of the king to report important matters to his master at Bijapur. Even these officers were not to remain in charge of a fort for more than three years, after which period they were to be transferred to another fort.

Another way in which Muhammad 'Adil Shah sought to limit the power of his nobles was by occasional inspection of the army maintained by them for the service of the king. Every *jagirdar* was compelled to keep a roll of his army. This was inspected from time to time by inspectors appointed by the king. These officers checked whether the actual number of soldiers maintained by the amir amounted to that entered in the roll. Thus *jagirdars* could not misappropriate revenues from their *jagirs* for their personal gain.

All the state servants in the capital and learned men who received royal patronage were paid monthly salaries. A register was kept in which the names of all such individuals were entered. And if any of these neglected their duties or in any way showed that they were unfit for royal patronage, they were either fined or were dismissed from their position. The king's children and other members of the royal family were given a fixed monthly allowance.

Municipal regulations for the supervision of the markets in the capital were introduced and public health regulations to keep the streets of the capital clean were framed. Whether these extended to the towns in the kingdom is not evident. Regulations were made to make the weights and measures in the kingdom uniform.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. S. M.	... Sen, Surendra : Administrative System of the Marathas.
B. I. S. M.	... Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal (Quarterly.)
Burhan	... Ali bin Azizullah Tabatabai : Burhan-i-Maasir, translated by King and Haig in the Indian Antiquary.
B. S.	... Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi : Busatin-us-Salatin.
C. H. I.	... The Cambridge History of India.
D. G.	... District Gazetteer.
E. F. I.	... W. Foster : The English Factories in India.
F. A.	... Fiziuni Astrabadi : Futuh-at-i-'Adilshahi.
I. D. A.	... Moreland, W. H. : India at the Death of Akbar.
J. A. S. B.	... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
L. S. B. I.	... Baden-Powell, B. H. : Land Systems of British India.
M. N.	... Zuhur bin Zuhuri : Muhammadnama, translated by B. D. Verma.
N. C.	... Numismatic Chronicle.
R. A. D. N.	... Annual Report of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.
S. I. M. C.	... Supplementary Catalogue Indian Museum, Calcutta.
S. P. S. S.	... Shivakalin Patrasar Sangraha.
T. M.	... Rafi-ud-din Shirazi : Tazkirat-ul-Muluk.
Tuzuk	... Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, translated by Rogers and Beveridge.

IX

PRE-MUGHAL LAHORE

By M. Abdulla Chughtai, Deccan College Post-Graduate
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In legend the origin of Lahore is attributed to Lauh (Lava), the son of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana. Thus it may be interpreted as the city of Lauh, the suffix *our* or *oura* or *ur* being equivalent to *city*. According to Muslim sources Lahore was founded by one Chach son of Behind, after which it passed into the hands of the Shahiyah dynasty, who extended their dominions to the boundaries of Ghaznah. The Ghaznavids took Lahore from this dynasty, made it their capital, holding it till 1186. During the period of the Ghaznavids Lahore acquired a great position in the Islamic world. To them succeeded the Ghurids, the last of whom, Aibak, lost his life in 1210 while playing polo in Lahore. Here he was buried, and his mausoleum remained a place of pilgrimage till much later times. Lahore of the days of the Shamsia Sultans is to some extent eclipsed by the occasional incursions of the Mughals from Central Asia and of the Khokhars, a very powerful tribe whose headquarters was in Northern Punjab. Lahore was completely sacked in 1241 by the Mughals and up to the reign of Balban it remained a city of ruins. Balban rebuilt it in 1270, and appointed his son Prince Muhammad Sultan as governor of Punjab. In 1248 he met with martyrdom in Lahore on the banks of the Ravi in in the Nayar gardens.

The Khaljis and the Tughluqs devoted much attention to the south and west of their dominions. This gave many opportunities for revolt in Lahore, instigated on several occasions by the Khokhars, whose Chiefs — Gulchander, Shaikha and his son Jasrath — occupied Lahore for some time. When Mubarak Shah reconquered and occupied Lahore in 1421, he found it in a ruined condition. After him it fell again into the hands of the Khokhars. Timur also took and held it for a little time.

Under the Lodhi regime Lahore was again the scene of strife between the Lodhis and the Khokhars. Daulat Khan Lodhi, the governor of Lahore, was recalled by Ibrahim Lodhi, but he managed to stay on in Lahore sending in his stead his son Dilawar Khan, who was maltreated by Ibrahim at Agra, whereupon Daulat Khan invited Babur to India.

Another aspect of Lahore during this period is its contribution towards literature and culture, a contribution which is of very great importance from many points of view. We have ample evidence that some of the famous poets of the period of the Ghaznavid dynasty, like Masud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, Abul Faraj Runi and others, belonged to Lahore. Awfi's great biographical work furnishes us with definite chapters on these poets from Lahore. A number of historians lived at Lahore and they composed their works there. Among such may be mentioned Fakhr-i-Mudabbar, the author of *Adab-ul-Harab*, Sadr-ud-Din Nizami the author of *Taj-ul-Maathir* and several others. Many religious men of repute also belonged to Lahore such as Imam Saghani, Omar, son of Saeed, and Abu Abdillah. The last named is said to have left Lahore for Khurasan in search of knowledge. Abul Qasim from Lahore came to Asfarain. Lahore was also visited by Al-Biruni and Hakim Nasir Khusrau as seen from the account of their works.

[Note :—This brief Paper was read before the Congress, being a summary of an extended Paper, which was, however, not submitted for publication.—Ed.]

X

THE STATE DEMAND ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE
UNDER THE SULTANS OF DELHI.

By I. H. Qureshi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., St. Stephens College,
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Writers on Hindu legal theory say that the state should demand a sixth of the produce as its share ; but this figure soon became a stereotyped term to denote the state demand. There is concrete proof that the demand was higher. A modern writer on Hindu polity has estimated that the cultivator had to pay from forty to fifty-seven per cent of his produce as land revenue and irrigation charges. This applied to Kautilya's days: new taxes and cesses were gradually added to the main demand, which only nominally remained at a sixth of the produce ; when old taxes were compounded by an increased land revenue, new ones raised their head. Towards the end of Hindu rule in Northern India, the burden on the cultivator had grown almost unbearable, and yet in theory it was only a sixth of the produce.

Three factors would count most in the adoption of an agrarian policy by the Muslims: their own background of thought and custom ; their desire to meddle as little as possible with the existing system and the natural difficulty experienced by foreigners in finding out all the intricacies of a complex system. All relevant literature shows that the Muslims were fully alive to the necessity of reconciling the cultivator ; it would be natural for them to adopt the lowest scale levied on *dhimmi*s in Muslim countries. This is a double *'ushr* or a fifth of the gross produce which was not too great a departure from the theoretical one-sixth of the Hindus. The Muslims would be greatly influenced by the writings of Al-Biruni who mentions that the state charged a sixth under the Hindus nor would the local officials be too anxious to tell the conquerors that they should expect more from the land. Thus all probabilities were in favour of the earlier Sultans demanding a fifth of the produce.

However, the matter has been taken out of the realm of conjecture by the fresh evidence discovered in the *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah*, which mentions that the *kharaj* under Qutb-ud-din Aibak was a fifth of the produce. The only other explicit reference is in Barani who says that 'Ala-ud-din Khalji raised the demand to a half of the produce : but this was a special measure and we read that Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah again reduced it. The next monarch to interest himself in agrarian matters was Ghiyath-ud-din Tughluq who is believed by some to charge only a tenth. I, however, hold that the relevant sentence in Barani does not refer to the portion charged by the state. A similar view has been taken of Firuz Shah's demand but a critical examination of the passage tends to support the view that the demand under this monarch also was a fifth of the produce. The details given by various chronicles of the enhancement of the state by Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Doab can be more easily understood if the original demand is taken to be a fifth of the produce.

No change is recorded after the death of Firuz until the reign of Sher Shah who, according to some writers, charged a third. This view is based on a passage in 'Abbas Sarwani, translated in E. and D., but I

have not been able to trace it in the original. All the manuscripts examined by me omit any such reference. Additional evidence is adduced from the A'in, but, in my opinion, the passage has been misread. Dorn mentions that Haibat Khan was asked to charge a fourth from the province of Multan ; this, in my opinion, was the real rate charged by Sher Shah. Babur says in his Memoirs that he raised the demand by thirty per cent which would bring the demand under the Sultans to the level of a fourth. However, if Sher Shah did charge a third, which I consider unlikely, the demand must have been increased either by Babur or Humayun. The probability, however, is that Akbar was the first monarch to raise the demand to a third, and a critical reading of the A'in seems to support this view. Akbar, in raising the demand, seems to have been influenced by Timurid tradition.

SECTION IV.

I

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ON MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR.

By Radha Krishna Parma, M.A., Jammu.

Of all the regions of India Kashmir alone claims to possess an uninterrupted series of historical documents. Nevertheless, Mirza Haider Duglat (1543-44) in a moment of exasperation remarked that no one knew anything of the past of Kashmir from its own writers. No less an authority than Sir Aurel Stein has challenged Mirza Haider. For, after long and patient researches he found an historical gem in the Raja Tarangini written in 1148 A.D.—that remarkable historical encyclopædia of Kashmir.

The Raja Tarangini of Kalhana was continued in the fifteenth century by four Pundits who brought their narratives one after the other down to the occupation of Kashmir by the Mughals in 1586 A.D. This series is the last word on the history of Kashmir in Sanskrit. It was hurriedly and very defectively translated into English by Mr. Jagdish Chandra Dutt of Calcutta in 1898 A.D. These important documents need to be translated afresh and to be published with an elaborate introduction and critical notes.

The Mughals came to Kashmir with their own historians whom the intelligent Kashmiris imitated. Thus we come across the following Kashmir historians who wrote their narratives in Persian :—

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| 1. Haider Malik | 1617 A.D. | |
| 2. (i) Pundit Narayan Kaul | | } 1712 to 1740 A.D. |
| (ii) Mohd. Azam | | |
| 3. Pundit Birbal Kachroo | 1835 A.D. | |
| 4. Hassan Malik | 1900 A.D. | |

That these authors followed one another in an almost mathematical sequence is not without meaning. They followed one another at intervals of about a century. This was because they wrote in a period of tyranny and tribulation when life was so insecure that to attempt even a line of history would have been fraught with danger.

All these works are in Persian. They are still in manuscript having neither been translated nor printed in spite of their historical merit. This is certainly a gap in the historian's sources which I have taken upon myself to fill.

II

MUGHAL MINIATURE No. 13 IN THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT AUSELEY ADD 173.

By Prof. Nayer L. Ahmad.

Percy Brown reproduced this well-known painting in his book, 'Indian Painting under the Mughals.' There he gives credence to Bernier's story about an alleged incident at the Court of Shah Jahan by citing the testimony of this picture. Laurence Binyon also in his book, 'The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls,' made certain statements about this picture. Professor Ahmad controverts the views of both these art critics by referring to original contemporary evidence in Persian chronicles.

III

RATNAWALI AND TULSIDAS

NEW LIGHT ON ANCIENT TRADITIONS BY THE RECENT DISCOVERY
OF OLD MANUSCRIPTS

By Ramdat Bharadwaj, M.A., LL.B., L.T.

Ratnawali was the wife of Goswami Tulsidas, the greatest medieval poet of Hindi literature. Their birth-place, parentage, marriage, and some other particulars, have of late become topics of keen controversy. Latest investigations and discoveries, however, have eclipsed all the unfounded allegations and brightened up the sane traditions about them. In the following lines I will try to establish on documentary evidence :—

That Goswami Tulsidas was born of Atma Rama and Hulaso at Soron (Etah), in a Shukla Sanadhya Brahman family and Bharadwaja gotra.

That Goswami Ji married Ratnawali, had a son named Tarapat who expired a few years after, and by chance inspiration from his wife took to renunciation in 1624 v.s.

That Ratnawali was the daughter of Pundit Dinbandhu Pathaka of Badari, was born in 1597 (v.s.), and lost her mother Dayawati in the same ominous year when Tulsi disappeared.

That Ratnawali wrote 201 chaste *dohas* or couplets, which are available from several places, and died in piety and devotion to the memory of her lord in 1651 v.s.

That Badari was washed away by the Ganges in Vikrama era 1657 and was later repopulated as it exists even to-day.

That the celebrated poets of Brajbhasha, Nandadas and Krishna Das, father and son, were related to Goswami Tulsidas as cousin and nephew respectively.

Pundit Govinda Vallabha Bhatta deserves special credit for his discovery of some very valuable manuscripts, which throw profuse light on Ratnawali and her work and also on the early career of her spouse Goswami Tulsidas. Some more manuscripts have also come to my view, mainly through the kindness of Pundit Bhadra Datta Sharma.

Of these manuscripts Nos. 7 and 8 are available in the personal library of my friend Pundit Har Govind Panda of Kasganj. No. 2 (b) is in possession of Babu Gaya Prasad Gupta of Budayun, and the rest are with Pundit Govinda Vallabha Bhatta of Soron.

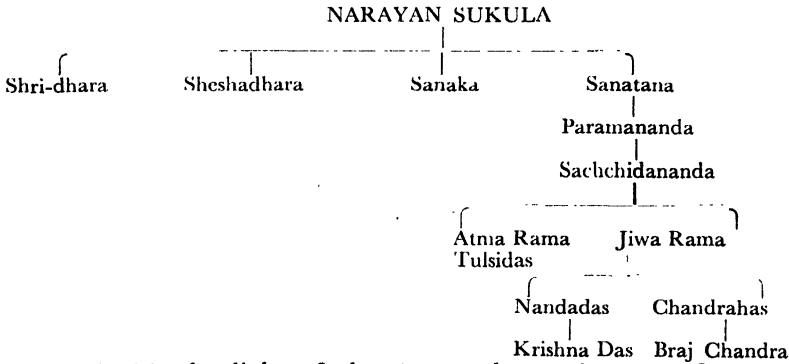
(1) The 'Ratnawali Charita' or the Life of Ratnawali, the spouse of Goswami Tulsidas, by Pundit Murali Dhar Chaturvedi who was born in 1749 (v. s.), more than two hundred and forty-eight years ago, i.e., 98 and 69 years after the demise of Ratnawali and Tulsidas respectively. Two manuscripts of the book are available : (a) the one completed by the author himself in Soron- kshetra on Friday the 1st of Shravana Shukla in 1829 (v.s.), (b) the other copied by his pupil Rama Vallabha Mishra in Soron on Saturday the 6th of Margashirsha in 1864 (v.s.).

(2) The hitherto unknown *dohas* or couplets by Ratnawali in four manuscript editions, namely :—

- (a) 'Ratnawalikrit Doha Ratnawali' a collection of 201 *dohas* made by Gopaldas for Munshi Madho Rai Kayastha Saksena of Budayun, on Monday the 30th Amavasya of Bhadrapada in 1824 (v.s.)
 - (b) 'Doha Ratnawali' a collection of 201 *dohas* made by Shri Ganga Dhar Brahman in Varahakshetra (near Jogamarga) on Monday the 3rd of Bhadon Sudi in 1829 (v.s.)
 - (c) 'Ratnawali Laghu Doha Sangraha' or small collection of 111 *dohas* by Ratnawali, by Pundit Rama Chandra in 1874 (v.s.) and
 - (d) 'Ratnawali Laghu Doha Sangraha' or a collection of *dohas* of Ratnawali by Isur Natha Pundit at Soron, on Monday the 13th of Maha Shudi in 1875 (v.s.)
- (3) The Bala-kanda of Shri Rama Charitramanasa, copied by Raghunath Das at Benares in 1643 (v.s.) and 1508 (Shaka era), for Krishna Das son of Nanda Das.
- (4) 'The Aranya-kanda of the Ramayana, copied at the instance of Guru Shri Tulsidas for his brother's son Krishna Das of Soron-chhetra, by Lachhman Das at Kashi Ji, on Friday the 4th of Ashadha Shudi in 1643 (v.s.)
- (5) The 'Sukara-chhetra Mahatmya' or the Glory of Sukara-kshetra by Krishna Das and a few stanzas by Murali Dhar Chaturvedi, both copied together by Shiva Sahaya Kayastha at Soron, on Wednesday the 11th of Kartika Badi in 1870 (v.s.). It throws profuse light on the family of Tulsidas and Nanda Das.
- (6) 'The Tika or commentary by Seva Das on the 'Bhaktiras-bodhini' of Priya Das, the latter too being a commentary on the 'Bhaktamala' of Nabha Das. Seva Das wrote it in 1894 (v.s.), and has thrown some light on Tulsidas, Ratnawali, and Nanda Das, and has also mentioned Badri as the residence of Ratnawali's father.
- (7) Two leaves of Bhramara Gita by Nanda Das, at Soron on a Monday of Magha in 1672 (v.s.) copied by Bala Krishna at the instance of his Guru Krishna Das son of Nanda Das. It throws light on the family to which Goswami Tulsidas belonged ; and also shows that he was Bharadwaj by gotra, Shukla by alla or shasan, and Sanadhya Brahman by caste, that he was the author of Ramayana. These leaves are very worn and torn and brittle.
- (8) The 'Varsha-phala' written and completed by Krishna Das on Saturday the 13th of Magha Masa in 1657 of the Vikrama era, and copied by some body at Sahswan (District Budayun) on Thursday the 3rd of Margasir Krishna in 1872 (v.s.). It is a small work on astrology, which was written at the desire of his learned uncle Chandra-hasa. Before concluding the book, the author has made a slight reference to his family to the effect that he was son of Nanda Das who was son of Jiwa Rama, a Sukula Brahman, and that his father Nanda Das changed the name of his village from Ramapur to Syamapur, and the author has also feelingly mentioned that Badari, the birth-place of Ratnawali, was washed away by the Ganges which rose in flood towards the close of the month of Ashadha in 1657 (v.s.).

The manuscripts Nos. 5 and 7 deal, as has been indicated above, with the geneology of Goswami Tulsidas, Nanda Das and Krishna Das ;

the former from Narayana Sukula downwards, and the latter from Sachchidananda downwards, as given below.



Revised in the light of these researches and some of the existing published literature, the life of Ratnawali and the early life of her lord Goswami Tulsidas would run thus :—

The ancestors of Tulsidas lived in Rampur¹ (later named Shyampura² by Nanda Das), a village about two miles east of Soron in Etah. Certain circumstances compelled Pundit Atma Rama, the father, a Shukla Sanadhya Brahman³ of Bharadwaj¹ gotra, to move with his old mother and his wife Hulasi⁶ to the Yogamaraga Mohalla of Soron; but his brother continued his residence in the village. Tulsidas lost his mother a few days after his birth, and soon after his father too. The burden of his care, therefore, devolved on the aged shoulders of his grandmother.

As a child he would often repeat Rama-Rama, hence came to be known as Ramabola⁶ or Ramola. He was a mere boy, when his uncle Jiwa Rama⁷ also joined the majority, leaving behind two sons. Of these, the elder was Nanda Das⁸ who was a devotee of Lord Krishna, celebrated poet of Braj Bhasha, father of Krishna Das⁹ and husband of Kamala. The younger was Chandrasah¹⁰. No doubt a financial crisis

1. Cf. Nos. 1 and 8

सनक सनातन कुल सुकुल, गेह भयो पिय स्याम (रत्नावली)
 प्रचुर पयध लौ सुजस रामपुर ग्राम निवासी
 सकल सुकुल सेव ललित भक्त पद रेनु उपासी
 चन्द्रहास अग्रज सुहृद परम प्रेम पै मै पगे । (भक्तसाल)

2. Nos. 1 and 8.

3. Mss. Nos. 5, 7, 8; Ratnawali quoted under note 21.

4. Mss. No. 7.

5. Cf. गोद लिए हुलसी फिरे तुलसी सो सुत होय (रहीम)
 रामहिं प्रिय पावन तुलसी सी
 तुलसिदास हित हिय हुलसी सी (तुलसी)

6. Cf. राम को गुलाम रामबोला नाम राख्यौ (विनयप०)
 मोड़ दीनो संदेस पिय, अनुज नन्द के हाथ (रत्नावली)

- 7: Mss. Nos. 5, 7, 8.

8. Mss. Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8.

9. Mss. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8.

10. Mss. Nos. 5, 7, 8.

stared them all in the face. Tulsi and Nanda both studied under the loving care of Nri Sinha, whose pathshala still exists in a dilapidated condition at Soron, and to whom Tulsi has bowed and paid a tribute in his invocation of the Ramayana¹.

Tulsi was a lad of robust health, fair complexion,² and good character. As he grew up he became proficient in the various branches of learning, which led Pundit Dinabandhu Pathaka³ and his wife Dayawati to marry (1609 v.s.), to him their daughter Ratnawali born in (1597 v.s.), who was beautiful, religious, intelligent, and well-read. Pundit Dinabandhu belonged to Badari⁴, the birth-place of Ratnawali. It stood opposite Soron, the holy Ganges⁵ flowing between them. Once it got submerged, but again rose up and still goes by the name Badaria; the river, however, has left its old course and made room for its miniature, a product of human artifice, somewhat resembling the one at Hari-ki-pouri in Hardwar. Beloved of all, Ratnawali won with her services the love of her grandmother-in-law, who shuffled off her mortal coil soon after. Tulsi had taken to reciting the Puranas as his profession and had earned a name. The couple had a son named Tarapati who to their utter grief, did not live long.

Fifteen years after marriage that is when Ratnawali stepped into the 27th⁶ year of her age, it so happened that Ratnawali had to go for Raksabandhan, by her husband's consent,⁷ to her brother at Badari. Tulsi also went on a professional tour; but on his return he felt lonely, rather extremely. Impulsive as he was then, he swam across the flooded river at night and reached his father-in-law's home. Surprised to meet him at such an unusual hour, Ratnawali asked her spouse how he could cross the flood, and on learning the acute intensity of love he bore for her she simply observed, I am right glad to see you, my lord, I am fortunate that you love me so well. Your love for me has incited you to cross the Ganges. Surely divine love must help one to tide over this world⁸!

1. वंदौ गुरुपद कंज, कृपासिन्धु नर रूप हरि
महा मोह तम पुंज, जासु वचन रविकर निकर

—तुलसी कृत रामचरितमानस

2. दियो सुकुल जनम सरीर सुन्दर (विनय पत्रिका)
भलि भारत भूमि भले कुल जन्म
समाज सरीर भलो लहिकें (कवितावली)
3. दीन बंधु कर घर पत्नी दीनबंधु कर छाँह (रत्नावली)
4. जनम बदरिका कुल भई (रत्नावली)

5. A good description of Badari and Soron is given in रत्नावली चरित्र Mss. 1 (a) and (b).

6. बैस बारही कर गह्यौ सोरहि गौन कराय
सत्ताइस लागत करी नाथ रतन असहाय (रत्नावली)
7. धिक मो कहूं मो वचन लगि, मो पति लह्यो विराग
8. भई वियोगिनि निज करनि, रहूं उड़ावती काग ॥
हों न नाथ अपराधिनी, तौउ छमा करि देउ
चरनन दासी जानि निज, वेगि मोरी सुध लेउ ॥ (रत्नावली)

Continued footnote on the next page.

Who could check the course of events ? Tulsi's mind took a sudden turn : the conjugal love was immediately transformed into the divine. So at once he left Badari, left Soron too ; became a recluse and disappeared (1624 v.s.)¹ No search could trace him. The mother of Ratnawali also died the same year². The devoted but forlorn Ratnawali gave up all enjoyment, denied every luxury and led an ascetic life, until she left this world of misery on the Chaitra Amavasya of Vikrama Samvat 1651,³ bequeathing to women-folk her treasure of 201 chaste couplets,⁴ all full of repentance, noble advice and morals. About six years after, Badari, her birth-place, itself yielded to the rapacious flood of the Ganges in the Ashadha of Vikrama-era 1657.⁵

Here ends the documentary evidence.

From Badari, as the tradition goes, Tulsidas travelled very widely, some time working miracles, resided at Chitrakuta and Ayodhya, founded Rajapur,⁶ and finally settled down at Benares where he closed his eyes after an illness on the 7th of Shravana Shukla in 1680 (v.s.).

But Goswami Tulsidas and his spouse Ratnawali are still alive in our hearts.

Contrast :—

तिया सो सनेह बिन पूछे पिता गेह गई
निसा भूली सुधि देह भजे वाहि ठौर आग हैं
वधू अति लाज भई रिस सों निकस गई
प्रीति राम नई तन हाड़ चाम छाए हैं (प्रियादास)

1. सागर कर रस ससि रतन संवत भो दुखदाइ
पिय वियोग जननी-मरन-करन न भूल्यो जाई (रत्नावली)

2. *Ibid.*

3. भू सर रस भू बरस पूरि
सुरग गई लहि सुजस भूरि (मुरलीधर चतुर्वेदी)

4. रत्नावली (जीवनी और रचना) by me. It contains all the 201 dohas with annotations and different readings (In press, with the Ganga Pustaka Mālā, Lucknow).

5. Ms. No. 5 (last verse).

6. कुछ लोग बताते हैं कि राजापुर उनकी जन्मभूमि है। पर इस बात के विरुद्ध और लोग कहते हैं कि नहीं, उनका जन्म वहाँ नहीं हुआ। पर गुसाई ने वहाँ एक मन्दिर बनवाया या गाँव बसाया। ... इन सब बातों से अनुमान होता है कि अब लों ठीक ठीक निर्णय नहीं हुआ कि तुलसीदास का जन्म कहाँ हुआ।

—गुसाई तुलसीदास का जीवन-चरित
लेखक रेवरेण्ड एड्विन प्रीक्स
(तुलसी ग्रन्थावली p. 45)

IV

THE ENGLISH IN MADRAS AND MIR JUMLA (1652—55).
(BASED ON ENGLISH FACTORY RECORDS)

By Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Patna College.

The period of the administration of Aaron Baker as President of Fort St. George¹, which had replaced Bantam as the E. I. C's eastern centre of government (1652), was significant and critical in several ways. Externally the Anglo-Dutch War² had broken out and the spectre of Dutch menace loomed large before Englishmen. Internally, the period witnessed the first of the "Caste disputes," the subsequent recurrence of which caused "much inconvenience and loss to (Madras) Government," and, was also "occupied by bitter dissensions in the Council." Nawab Mir Jumla rose up in rebellion against his nominal master, the Sultan of Golkonda³ and so the regions in the vicinity of Fort St. George were plunged into the calamities of a civil war.⁴

The influence of these events on the position of the English at Madras, particularly with relation to Mir Jumla, was not inconsiderable. The Fort St. George factors wrote to the Company (18th September, 1651): "... Our Nabob (Mir Jumla) is lately up in Armes against the King of Golcondah, his Master, whose commands hee slighteth, intending, Soe farr as is conceived, to keepe what parte of the country he hath conquered to himselfe, which if hee can accomplish, he will soon bee as great a King as his Master, and his yearely Revenue little inferiour to it. What the issue of these things wilbee the Alimighty onely knoweth... , in the meane tyme wee that live here amongst them shalbee sure never to want troubles on every side."⁵

Uncertainty of the situation in South India was a source of deep anxiety for the East India Company. Dutch hostility and competition formed a widespread menace to the English not only in Europe, but also in Persia, Bantam and other places in the East.⁶ At Delhi and Surat, the E. I. C.'s factors had been seriously endeavouring to prevent the (internal) trade from passing entirely into the hands of the Dutch.⁷ On the East Coast the local wars had almost ruined the cloth business in the principal towns, and made inland trade impracticable, while the superior Dutch forces⁸ had rendered coasting trade hazardous. The prospect of the Danes giving up their strong settlement of Tranquebar to the Dutch seemed another untoward danger for the English.⁹ While on the East Coast attempts were made to recover the local trade, on objective which was facilitated by the raising of Fort St. George to the rank of a Presidency¹⁰. Reconnaissance voyages had to be undertaken by the English to open up their trade with Pegu and Bengal.¹¹

1. From September 1, 1652—January 20, 1655.

2. J. C. De, *The Anglo-Dutch Dual in Eastern Waters* 1652—54 J. I. H. April, 1940. Letter Jesson, at Agra.

3. Love I, 112, 114-116, 154; Bruce I, 499 (1654-55).

4. Bruce I, 499.

5. Love I, 115; F. E. F. 1651—54. 290.

6. *Ibid*, 453, 456, 462, 473-5, 482-3, 485-6, 498; F. E. F. 1651—54. p. 204-205.

7. *Ibid*, 451, 461, 496.

8. *Ibid*, 484.

9. *Ibid*, 485.

10. *Ibid*, 484.

11. 454, 463, 470, 471, 480-1,

In these trying circumstances one of the most pressing problems for the English East India Company was the question of the defences of Fort St. George, which "formed the only security to the inland trade and the principal protection to the Company's shipping." Fort St. George was to the English what Pulicat was to the Dutch. As the Dutch had strengthened the fortifications and garrison of Pulicat and tried to secure better privileges from the Nawab, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George held that if the Company wished to extend their trade on the Coromandel Coast, they must strengthen the Fort and increase its garrison (of 26 English soldiers). But for reasons of economy the Company was opposed to any addition in the defensible strength of the Fort. However, on getting intelligence of the probability of a war, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George considered (Letter to Co., January 14, 1652), the dangers of the situation, arising from the "superiority of the Dutch power in India" to be so great, and the need for acting for their own security to be so urgent, that, even in the absence of orders from the Bantam authorities, to whom they had been referred by the Company regarding the completion of Fort St. George, they were resolved to build up the Fourth Curtain of the Fort and complete the other two unfinished ones. They hoped that they would not incur the Company's displeasure because the expenses for providing materials and laying the foundation would be met by raising money "from the delinquencies of this townspeople in relation to former orders and constitution of government concluded by our predecessors"¹. From Dutch records² also it appears that fear of Dutch attack on Fort St. George led the English factors under President Baker to fortify the castle at Madraspatam. They raised a "Bastion towards the sea flanked with a dozen canons"³ from which the English could fire at Dutch ships and where the English ships could safely lie at anchor⁴.

Besides the danger of external attack by the Dutch; the need of security in cases of local wars and internal disturbances caused by the caste disputes and of the protection of Company's trade from ruin as a result of desertion of artisans, painters and workmen, also led the English factors to fortify Madras.

They observed that the greater part of one curtain of the Fort, being laid with loose bricks, might be easily pushed down, and that though unwilling to spend the Company's funds on building, they must be forced to do it, "lest to save a penny, they lost a pound." They did not consider themselves safe in the face of "daily broils" occurring in the town, and hoped that if the Company would allow them "a sufficient garrison, they might be able to reduce these people to better government." They considered it risky to advance money to the merchants so long as the caste disputes were not amicably settled.⁵

The English could count on one advantage. The attitude of Mir Jumla was more favourable to them than to the Dutch. During 1651-52 the Dutch had sent a commission to the Nawab praying that their privileges be enlarged and that they be allowed to rent some neighbouring towns, with permission to trade without payment of customs in return

1. F. E. F. 1651—54, 96; Love I, 104-105 and n; Bruce I, 462, 475, 484, 499.

2. Letter from Director Laurens Pit, written from "the Castle of Geldria" to Governor General Jan Maetsurijker at Batavia.

3. *Ibid*, Batavia to Amsterdam (*Hague Records*, 19th January, 1654).

4. *Ibid*, Pulicat to Batavia (*Hague Records*, 3rd September 1653).

5. F. E. F. 1651—54, 156f; Bruce, *op. cit*, 475.

for a large sum of money. The Nawab had received the Dutch agent coldly and referred him to the king of Golconda, then at Gandicotta, and even "at the close of the season, the result of the negotiation was not known".¹ But as regards the English, the Nawab, far from placing any obstruction in the progress of the fortifications of Fort St. George, had "quietly allowed this to be done".²

But though the Nawab did not impede the fortifications of Fort St. George intended for internal and external purposes, he was careful not to allow the English to be so placed as to be able to defy his authority. This is quite clear from the details concerning the establishment of the *bankshall*. It appears from the Brahmans' Declaration (April 4, 1654) that when the Nawab ordered a *bankshall* (warehouse) to be built of straw, Greenhill the Agent at Fort St. George, "insisted that lime and stone should be used," when the work was begun with them, the Nawab "still hindered it." There ensued "great trouble," to allay which the Agent sent Venkata to the Nawab's camp, allowing him to spend 200 pagodas to "make up the breach" and asking him to raise the money in the town.³

The charges and countercharges in course of the dissensions in President Baker's Council throw incidentally very interesting light on the relations of Mir Jumla with the English. The Nawab appeared to be very keen on strengthening his financial resources by (i) procuring his share of customs and revenue at Madras, (ii) having commercial relations with the Company's Merchants, and (iii) endeavouring to gain control over production and consumption.

As successor to the Hindu Raja, Sri Ranga, by virtue of conquest, Mir Jumla had inherited the suzerain's claim to half the customs and revenues of the port and city of Madraspatam respectively. For the collection of his share of customs and revenue, the Nawab had his officers stationed at Madras, San Thome, Mylapore and other places. The services of such officers were indispensable to the Nawab, for attempts at depriving him of his due share were probably not infrequent. In their letter of January 14, 1652, the Fort St. George factors admitted that they did not bring the manner of raising funds for the construction of the fourth curtain of Fort St. George to "publick accompt" for prevent "all pretensions of the Nabobs invoisters" (i.e. ministers or clerks for collection of customs). Mallapa, the Nawab's Adigar (*Adhikari*) at Madras, constantly attended the choultry to see that his master's share of the customs were duly credited. Besides this, he also endeavoured to increase the customs on articles of consumption, and in the words of President Baker, he had "striven tooth and nail to impose customs on "petty things" sold in the market, e.g., betel, herbs, etc. Such impositions of "new customs" on provisions were considered (March 1, 1654) by Greenhill to be an invasion of and contrary to the privileges of the English at Madras, and he complained that the President had not made any protest. Greenhill also complained that the two Brahman brothers had assisted the Nawab's officers, both at Madras and San Thome, in thus invading the privileges of Madras, so much so that the free movements of Englishmen were stopped and they could scarcely "peep out of town either to carry out or bring in anything (though necessaries only) for they were

1. Bruce I, 463.

2. Letter of Pulicat factors to Batavia 3rd September, 1653; Love I, 116; F. E. F. *op. cit.*, 204—20 5n.

3. F. E. F. 1651—54, p. 261; Love I, 141.

sure to be invaded by the Junkaneers¹ (customs officers), who would demand according to their sweet will sometimes 3, 4, 5 or more *fanams* upon a pagoda.”² Greenhill therefore felt that some remedy was overdue.

In reply, the President (29th March, 1654) denied that he knew (as was alleged by Greenhill) that the Company's privileges in Madras had been invaded by the Brahman Kanappa in matters regarding customs. He knew of the impositions of the Nawab's *Adigar* but was confident that the *Adigar* had been “withstood in this attempt” so far as was possible for the President and Kanappa. To Greenhill's charge that he had made no opposition against these petty customs and rather allowed their continuance, he replied that he had often complained in his letters to the Nawab, a fact to which many persons might testify. The Nawab, however, had given his final answer, that (i) the President must look after the Company's merchandise and (ii) he should be left free to deal with the customs alone; (iii) such customs as were usually paid in the time of ‘Ayapa Naigue’ (Ayyappa Nayak, who held the government of Poona-malle) and the Hindu King ‘must and should be paid still.’ Moreover, the President did not consider that any harm was done to the Company's interests if these customs were paid on such petty things as herbs and betel; for the amount, if paid by the townsmen, was very insignificant, being only 6d. a day, and of it, the Company would get one-half and the Nawab the other half³; and so the Company are neither gainers nor losers by it.”⁴

It is evident from the Brahmans' Declaration (1654) that as Raga Pattan, the Town *Conicoply* (Kanakkapillai) or accountant, informed Mallapa, Nawab's *Adigar* at the Madras choultry, that during the rule of three successive native rulers over the territory round Madras, the Brahman brothers “cut off some petty customs” which had been formerly levied, Agent Ivy turned the conicoply out of the town. Agent Greenhill was however induced by Seshadri and the servants, Timmanna and Rudriga, to invite him back. So the Nawab became aware of the particulars, and “for that trouble the townspeople paid 100 pagodas for a glass to give the Nabob.” and for making up the breach between the Nawab and the English, Mallapa and Seshadri induced Annam Rago to underrate the cloth, which the English sent to the Nawab from 400 to 282 pagodas.

The Nawab used to get half of the fee for licensing slaves. Traffic in slaves produced some evils. John Leigh⁵ brought a charge against the Brahman Kanappa that he had taken many bribes in licensing stolen children in Madras. He regarded it as highly dishonourable for the Company to allow such a trade in Madras, when it was disallowed in Pulicat or St. Thome and observed: “They will venture their necks for 9d. for the custom is but 18d, and the Nabob hath 9d. of it.”⁶ Malpractices connected with slavery were, however, strictly punished. John Leigh wrote in his narrative (c. July 1654). “For Cannapas taking of bribes for selling of children he was fined 16 pagodas. When I was informed by the old Talliar that he knew of 27 children for which he

1. From *chungam*, a toll.

2. F. E. F. 1651-54, pp. 235-6; Love I, 123, 130.

3. Love I, 134n

4. F. E. F. 1651-54. 254.

5. Love I, 131 and 128.

6. Love I, 131 and n, 71 and n.

had received pagodas; but 16 pagodas cleared his life deservedly forfeit to the Law for 4 children, and also it covered the greatest scandal that ever was brought upon the Hon'ble Co. The Nabob sent for the first stealer of them and made him a slave for ever to carry stones for a great effort. Hee had better a beene hanged, but the Law is staking through their Bodies, and the receiver Death likewise; and we covered this for 15 pagodas . . .¹.

It appears from the remonstrance of Greenhill to President Baker (March 1, 1654) concerning the two Brahmans, that they had commercial relations with Nawab Mir Jumla which adversely affected the Company's affairs. They were charged with endeavouring "to subvert the Company's free-trade here by inciting the Nabob to monopolize it". Venkata was accused of having failed to deliver the specified goods to the Company, within the stipulated time, of having disposed of some of them to the Nawab's servants, of having abused and intrigued against other merchants, and of having accused them before the Nawab of selling cloth at very cheap rates.

Moreover, it is evident from the charges of the painters that the Brahmans were very anxious to gain the Nawab's favour. In the first place, they understood to provide him with "paintings at the best hand." Venkata professed before the painters and others that he was the Nawab's servant, drawing 6 pagodas a month, and that he would "give them much employment, selling the result to the Company at 50 per cent profit for the Nawab". Secondly, Venkata informed the Nawab of the Company's affairs and understood to procure him a share in the Company's "adventure." But as this was not done, the Nawab became angry. Venkata tried to placate him by giving false explanations, but as they were not accepted, he boasted that he "looked for" (would side with) Verawassante Rayle (Viravasanthi Rayalu Sri Ranga) and that the Nawab would be compelled to run away within two months. He even swore to this effect and lost 100 rials².

During 1651-52 the Nawab had granted an additional *firman* to the Company, authorising them to make purchases of coast cloths and other goods, without restriction, in all the towns of the district. But this grant could not yield the best results owing to the wars between the Kings of Golconda and Bijapur and the Hindus.³ However, we knew from the charges of the painters, weavers and other inhabitants of Chinapatam (Madras) against the Brahmans that the latter induced Ivy to declare, by beat of drum, that sale of cloths would be a monopoly of the Company. It meant that none should sell a single piece of cloth manufactured there to any Englishman (privately) or transport any to San Thome or Pulicat and that the Company should have the exclusive right to secure all cloth manufactures, and the power of controlling everything in the town. But the Brahmans took bribes to allow cloth to be transported to San Thome and Pulicat and intrigued against the Company's control.

They even tried to win over Mallapa, the Nawab's *Adigar* at the choultry, "to crowne" him with that power, if he would have acted with them. But as he was very well disposed towards the townspeople and the Company, and his dealings with them were fair and considerate,

1. Love I, 135-36. See also Love I, 130.

2. F. E. F. 1651-54, p. 239.

3. Bruce I, 463, letter of Greenhill and Gurney at Fort St. George to the Company, Jany. 14, 1652; F. E. F. 1651-54, p. 99.

he refused to allow himself to be thus embroiled with the English. As he did not comply with the request of the Brahmans, they, in order "to breed troubles and for their own ends," planned to displace him in the hope of getting a more pliable successor. They falsely accused him before the Nawab of having cheated him of about 700 pagodas¹. They complained against him to Sayyid Ibrahim, the Nawab's governor of Poonmallee, who summoned both Mallapa and Venkata to settle the dispute. Further, the testimony of the town accountant being desired President Baker sent Ragabatanda (Raga Pattan) the Town *Kannakkapillai* Town conicoply or accountant at the choultry to give evidence in the matter. But as Venkata feared Raga Pattan, he induced the President "to send William Dawes (Secretary of the Council) with them to keepe him in awe"². Mallapa was dismissed and so his successor was afraid to favour the Company³, and he caused much disgust and trouble in the town⁴.

The Brahmans' Declaration (1654) and the English factory correspondence in general throw some light on the commercial activities of Mir Jumla during this period.⁵ It shows that his goods were carried to Pegu⁶ and Persia customs-free, as if these were Company's goods⁷. It was, indeed, impossible for the English to deny such remission of customs to the Nawab, if they were "to continue in this country"⁸. If they had pointed out the amount of customs payable in Persia by the Nawab, the latter would have referred to the English gains at Masulipatam, where they had not to pay the customs like the Dutch⁹, *i. e.*, the Nawab could point out that such remissions would be neutralised on the ground of reciprocity. The disposal of his goods to the English was also a source of much profit. Rustom Beg, an officer of his, having met Agent Greenhill "on an appointed day" near St. Thomas's Mount, was invited to come to the fort. There Greenhill brought goods of him on such terms that Rustom Beg requested the Nawab to employ him in future bargains on his behalf. The Nawab disliked all English endeavours to interfere in the commercial operations within his jurisdiction. Moreover, as in a dispute between Seshadri and Virappa, the Nawab's agent, Greenhill interfered on behalf of the former, the latter broke his promise to supply goods to the English from Alamparai and had recourse to the Dutch instead. The Nawab came to know of it and began to trade there. After his quarrel with the Dutch Greenhill got his permission for the trade of the English merchants. However, as some of them supplied goods to the Dutch, the Nawab again stopped the English from trading. Customs having been exacted at Carrer on rice sold in private trade, Greenhill on his way from Masulipatam stopped there, and on being visited by 'the Braminee Governor', beat him. This led the Nawab to prohibit the English from selling rice at Masulipatam.

The above mentioned details plainly show the pre-occupations of both the E. I. C. and Mir Jumla with their respective interests and

1. F. E. F. 1651—54, p. 239.

2. Love I, 123.

3. F. E. F. 1651—54, 239.

4. Love I, 123.

5. They seem to form part of his scheme of establishing his own monopoly in trade.

6. F. E. F. 1651—54, 206-207. For trade with Macassar, *Ibid*, 290-91, 269-70.

7. *Ibid*, 262-63. See also pp. 67, 117-18, 125-26, 157, 206, 228, 256-57, 282.

8. Letter of Madras to Surat (October 19, 1653). *Ibid*, 206.

9. *Ibid*, 154.

troubles during the period under review. The former endeavoured to maintain outwardly friendly relations with the Nawab, as in the past, and to secure the defences of Madras against all possible emergencies, both internal and external. The Nawab, in his turn, did not want to be embroiled with the English, at a critical juncture, when his attention was taken up with the task of consolidation of his position in the Carnatic and with his efforts to be independent of the Sultan of Golconda. However, he had necessarily to endeavour to strengthen his financial resources and secure commercial and economic advantages in relation to the E. I. C. in pursuance of his scheme of monopoly. Moreover, he was anxious to engage the activities of the Company in their internal pre-occupations; by abetting the caste disputes, refusing to decide them, even when they were referred to him, and utilising the dissensions in the Madras Council for his own advantage, and thus prevent them from sending any possible help to the Raja of Chandragiri, whose dominions he was now consolidating as his own. Thus, already during the period under review, we notice the faint beginnings of a rupture¹ between the English and the Nawab, which widened in the following period.

V

A CHAPTER FROM GOLCONDA HISTORY

By Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A., T. N. I. College, Bhagalpur (Bihar).

Most of the Qutb Shahi rulers were lettered and thoroughly alive to the interests of scholarship. They patronised scholars and set an example of application to the march of intellect. The noble ancestry and Persian nativity of the Qutb Shahis² were convincing guarantees of their accomplishment and fine taste.

Subhan Quli (r. 1512-1543 A.D.), the progenitor of the Qutb Shahi line, never seized any territory from the Bahmanis, but remained content with whatever he had received from his royal patrons making accretions by wresting lands from the Hindu rulers. In course of time he flung himself upon the whole land from Warrangal to Masulipatam and Rajmahendri and took some sixty or seventy big and strong forts that lay on that region.³ Subhan had the satisfaction of knowing that the sun of the Qutb Shahis had risen. His conquests increased the limits of Golconda, established its power and increased its dignity.

The Muslim chroniclers, however, do not mention Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk's (the title adopted by Subhan after his accession) literary attainments. Nevertheless, he was not illiterate. While serving as a *Sipahsalar* under Sultan Mahmud Bahmani he was addressed in the royal firmans as *Sahib us Saif wal qalam* or the master of the sword and the pen.⁴

The parricide King Jamshid (r. 1543-1550) succeeded his father Quli Qutb and the years of his reign serve to illustrate his ideas. The unknown

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1. Letter from Greenhill and Chamber, at Madras, February 4, 1656.
 2. Mss. *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript) folio 173.
Mss. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript) folio 54.
Hadikat-ul-Alam, vol. 1, page 9.
 3. Mss. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, folio 82.
 4. *Hadikat-ul-Alam* vol. 1. p. 11.

author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi* writes¹ that, the Sultan was accomplished; he had a great liking for poetry and had to his credit some verses.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah, son of Quli Qutb ul Mulk succeeded his brother Jamshid in the year 1550 A.D.² and ruled for about thirty years.³ A ruler of enlightened ideas and artistic temperament, Ibrahim exerted a decisive influence in the sphere of education and culture. His age witnessed a marked development of education stimulated by royal appreciation and patronage. Scholars and students were provided by the state with free meals and given, in addition, a stipend of one *fulus* per head.⁴ The magnificent royal palace inside the fort of Golconda provided accommodations to the big-wigs, printers, painters, book-binders and writers.⁵ The Bijapuri envoy Rafiuddin who happened to visit the royal court of Golconda observes in his *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* how a large number of scholars and writers were found to be engaged in studying and writing histories, daily occurrences of the court and the country, stories and other miscellaneous subjects. There were ulemas and scholars who were found deeply engaged in academical discussions and literary debates.⁶

The royal princes were accomplished and cultured. Mirza Husain Quli, the second prince, was well versed in logic and the sciences. The fourth prince Mirza Abdul Fatah was proficient in *Ilm-i-Qirrat*⁷ (the proper manner of reading the Quran).

In the words of the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi* the capital city, Golconda, developed into a big town having a mixed population of natives and foreigners, of scholars and artists and of merchants and men of various other professions.⁸ The Sultan took particular care of his subjects and kept them above all wants.

Abdul Fatah Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580-1612) the successor of Ibrahim, displayed on his accession to the throne a taste for scholarship by giving handsome rewards to men of literary fame.⁹ Intelligent and learned, pure in character and of literary bent of mind, Muhammad Quli kept company with the learned.¹⁰ The officials of the court were all highly educated. Ulemas danced attendance on him and under royal orders imparted education to the people of the city.¹¹ The newly laid royal city named Hyderabad contained a number of *khankahs* and madrasas.¹² It is related that, out of four lacs of huns secured as revenue collection from the city, a large and a greater portion was disbursed in rewarding the Saiyids and ulemas¹³ and supplying them with two free meals per day.¹³

Muhammad Qutb Shah had received proper training in his young age. He was taught the Quran by Qazi Muhammad Samnani and the

1. Mss. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, folio 207.
2. *Ibid* folio 225. Date of accession given as 12 Rajab 957 H
3. Mss. *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, folio 189.
4. *Ibid*, folio 192.
5. *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, folio 192.
6. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, folio 392.
7. *Ibid* folios 395, 396.
8. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, folio 397.
9. *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, folio 194.
10. *Ibid*.
11. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi*, folio 427.
12. *Ibid*, folio 429.
13. *Ibid*, folio 435.

military science and archery by Chand Miyan Yusuf.¹ The Sultan possessed a keen wit and he enjoyed the society of men of letters. He had made his mark as a master of arts and sciences, and a writer of prose and verse. His pen-name was *Zil-ul-lah*² (the shadow of God).

Every morning the Sultan read one *juz* (or book) of the Quran (consisting of 30 *juz* or books), so that, he completed the reading of the whole Quran in one month.³ Sultan Muhammad also excelled in the art of letter-writing. The marginal notes that he left on whatever books of prose and poetry that he read shows his vast erudition and power of excellent composition. He wrote several *ghazal*, *rubā'iyat* and *tarkīb band*⁴ (a species of poetry).

The author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi* who wrote his book at the instance of the Sultan closes his writing in the fifth regnal year of Muhammad Qutb Shah. The concluding portions of his book deal with quotations from the Sultan's verses relating to the praise of God, the Prophet and 'Ali,' the fourteen Imams and condolence on the death of Imam Hussain.⁵ The poems evince a poetic inspiration, a keen sense of veneration and a religious fervour on the part of their author.

Abdulla Mirza or Abdulla Qutb Shah (r. 1612—1626 A.D.), who succeeded his father Muhammad Qutb, received while young proper training under best tutors. Mir Qutbuddin Niyamat-ullah, called the "Umda Naqba" (prince or leader) among the Saiyids and connected with the royal family at Persia was Abdulla Qutb's first guardian tutor.⁶ Qutbuddin was appointed *Rufi jumlat-ul-Mulki* and he kept the young Abdulla in his house.⁷ When the prince reached the age of five, Qutb-uddin died and the boy was placed under the care of Mirza Sharif Shahristani, the son-in-law of the deceased Qutbuddin and a noble of the court.⁸ For three years the prince remained under the guardianship of Mirza Sharif and on the death of the latter the boy was placed under the surveillance of *Munshi-ul-Mamalik* Khwaja Muzaffar Ali.¹⁰

A beautifully decorated mansion was erected for the prince near the residence of the new tutor. For the training of the prince in the Quran and theology, Moulana Husain Shirazi, the royal librarian was appointed as the *mua'lim* or preceptor.¹¹ Further, Malik Yusuf and some other nobles were engaged in teaching the boy riding and hunting.¹² A few horses, elephants, some *charg* and *baj* (that is, hawks and falcons) and few *qushchu* (falconer) were placed at the disposal of the prince for the purposes.¹³

The protector had grown old by the time the prince reached the age of eleven. It was for this reason and also on account of the fact that the Sultan could no longer bear the pangs of separation from his son that, prince Abdulla was removed from the tutelage of Khwaja Muzaffar Ali and taken to the royal harem.

1. *Tarikh-i-Muh. Qutb Shahi*, folio 540.

2. *Ibid*, folio 572.

3. *Mss. Hadiqat-us-Salatin*. Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript, folio 64.

4. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 65.

5. *Ibid*, 65.

6. *Tarikh-i-Muh. Qutb Shahi*, folio 573 *et seq.*

7. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 21.

8. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 22.

9. *Ibid*, folio 24.

10. *Ibid*, folio 26.

11. *Ibid*, folio 28.

12. *Ibid*, folio 29.

13. *Ibid*, folio 30.

For the princes' reception gold embroidered velvets were spread on the road that the prince and his retinue had to pass through.¹ After the private meeting of the father and son,² the latter was taken to the hall of the public audience³ where the public offered him presentations in cash and kind. The poets of the court composed odes commemorating the occasion and were suitably rewarded for their labours. Prisoners were liberated⁴ and charities and gifts bestowed on Saiyids, teachers and students.⁵

On the death of Muhammad Qutb Shah, prince Abdullah was raised to the throne at the age of eleven years and five months.⁶ His accession was signalised by offerings and gifts to poets, nobles and the public. In culture the young Sultan was at once a product and a specimen of the intellectual tendencies of his age. He extended his patronage to men of merit no matter to what region or country he belonged. The court of the young Sultan, thus, contained a galaxy of intellectuals in spheres of politics and literature.

Allami Fahami Sheikh Muhammad alias Ibn Khatun, who had been sent to Persia as an envoy during the late reign, was appointed on his return from the mission in the first regnal year of Abdullah Qutb, the Assistant Peshwa and Dabir of the court.⁷ Capable of a vast deal of hard work and skilfully mingling war and diplomacy, Sheikh Muhammad rose to the office of Peshwa⁸ and Mir Jumla.⁹ With leanings for learning, Mir Jumla held discussions with poets and orators on holidays¹⁰ and taught the students at the madrasas. Works on Arabic, such as, *Diwan-i-Mutanabbi*, *Diwan-i-Khakani* and Anwari, and the *masnavi* of Mulla Rumi were constantly read at the literary society of Sheikh Muhammad and debates held on the philosophies that those works contained.¹¹

The Mir Jumla was potent enough to bring to the court a literary circle and group of officials who formed a rare combination of the idealists and the practical men of affairs and their basic loyalty to the crown and the country constituted the very corner stone of Qutb Sahahi monarchy.

Among the persons who had acquired a commanding position in literary affairs and those that participated actively in the literary coterie of Sheikh Muhammad, and the Mir Jumla were:—

1. Mirza Qasim Khorasani, who was originally a Mughal mansabdar but later had resorted to Golconda where he received awards in cash and kind. It is said that, Sultan Abdullah Qutb had fixed for Qasim an annual salary of 3,000 huns and bestowed on him many villages.¹²

2. Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmad Gilani, who was at first in the service of Mahabat Khan, the Mughal general.¹³

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1. *Ibid*, folio 39.
 2. *Ibid*, folio 40.
 3. *Ibid*, folio 43.
 4. *Ibid*, folio 39.
 5. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 43.
 6. *Ibid*, folio 69. *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, vol. 1, p. 301.
 7. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 83.
 8. *Ibid*, folio 189.
 9. *Ibid*, folio 355.
 10. *Ibid*, folio 362.
 11. *Ibid*.
 12. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 394.
 13. *Ibid*.

3. Miran, the son of Qazi Zahirudin Muhammad-ul-Husaini Al Hanafi who was well-versed in the arts and sciences. Miran was appointed as the Dabir (writer or secretary) of the court.¹

4. Hakim Abdul Jabbar Gilani, who held the office *Rauza-i-K'ham*, that is, the priest who read the achievements of Imam Hussain on the 10th Muharram.² He was promoted to the office of *Munshi-ul-Māmalik* and later made the Dabir in the 16th regnal year of the Sultan (1640).³

5. Muhammad Saleh Beg Astrabadi, the *Sar-i-Naubat* (commander-in-chief) of the Army.

6, 7 and 8. Ali Akbar Dakhini, Saiyid Tahir Dakhini and Karim Khan Lari.⁴

9. Mir Muhd Saiyid, who began as *Sar-i-Daftar* of the court and rose to the office of havildar of Murtazanagar and Masulipatam and later to the post of *Sar-i-Khail* (or the Master of the Horse).⁵ His rise to power was meteoric, and his position and dignity unique. He obtained from the Sultan an ornamented ink-pot and a pargana that yielded a revenue of 30,000 hunns in present. He was permitted to keep a number of stalwart Arab, Khorassani and Iraqi retainers who accompanied him whenever he went out of his house to the court.⁶

10. Mulla Wais, the *Munshi-ul-Mamalik* who was entrusted with the work of writing farmans, and later made *Sar-i-Khail*. The Mulla was known by the name of *Haft Qalam* because he had command over seven kinds of calligraphy.⁷ He became a royal favourite and was given a jagir of four lacs of hunns. He was favoured with unusual privileges, such as, beating the naqqara (a royal prerogative), having a gold flag, elephants and horses.⁸ Unfortunately these prerogatives turned the head of their recipient and made him proud as Lucifer. He was found to be in intrigue with Bijapur⁹ against his benign master, for which he was at first pardoned but later, on account of his persistence in political intrigue he was flogged and exiled to Bandar Abbas.¹⁰

Among the litterateurs and poets of the court who deserve special mention are :—

1, 2. Maulana Raunaki and Kaisar-Maddah.¹¹

3. Mulla Khalfi Sostari.¹² He was in charge of the medical college during the reign of the late Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah. Sultan Abdulla included him among his body of close associates. The Mulla was adept in Mathematics and other arts and sciences. He was proficient in *Ilm Zafar* (or the art of making amulets) and *Ilm-i-I'adad* (or numbering) and was a facile writer of qasidah, ghazal, qat'a, rubaiye and masnavi. He has been highly spoken of by Allami Fahami Sheikh Muhammad in his valuable work entitled *Tazkara Asyan*. The Mulla died in the 13th regnal year of Abdulla Qutb (1047 H. or 1627 A.D.).

1. *Ib'id*, folio 395.

2. *Ibid*, folio 396.

3. *Ibid*, folios 591 and 594.

4. *Ibid*.

5. *Ibid*, folios 446 and 447.

6. *Ibid*, folio 450.

7. *Hadiqat-ur-Salat*, folio 500.

8. *Ibid*, folio 601.

9. *Ibid*, folio 604.

10. *Ibid*, folios 609 and 610.

11. *Ibid*, folio 75.

12. *Ibid*, folio 493 *et seq*.

4. Mir Saiyid Muhammad Asfarani. He was originally employed in the Mughal court at Agra, but later he migrated to Golconda in the fourth regnal year (1038 H.) of Sultan Abdulla Qutb.¹ The Sultan showed him special favour and made him reside near the royal court. The fame of Mir Saiyid reached distant lands, and in recognition of his merit the Shah of Persia sent him presents consisting of robes of honour and valuable horses.² Charitable and magnanimous Mir Saiyid spent the last farthing of his princely income in gifts. He passed away on the 18th Rabi ulawwal, 1047 H. corresponding to 31st July, 1637 A.D. On his demise the Sultan of Golconda fixed 3,000 huns for the maintenance of his family,³ and appointed Mir Abdul Qasim his eldest son in the group of personal attendants.

5. Mirza Muhammad Zauhari Tabrezi. He was sent as an envoy to the Mughal court at Agra. He accompanied the Mughal ambassador Mir Hafizullah on his return journey to Agra.⁴ Mir Muhd died at Golconda in 1047 H.

6. Mirza Hamza Astarabadi the nephew of Mirza Beg Kandaraski. He came from Persia to the court of Golconda during the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah. He was given the office of *Sar-Khail* and taken into the intimate circle of the Sultan.⁵ Later, he was made the havildar of Golconda fort. He died in Shawwal, 1047 H. (Feb. 1638 A.D.).

7. Mirza Afzalullah Shirazi. A Saiyid and a high noble of Persia, Afzalullah came to Golconda during the early years of the reign of Sultan Abdulla Qutb. He is the author of the notable work called '*Hazar Hadis*' which deals with the religious rites of the Shias.⁶ The strenuous mental labour which Mirza had to undergo in the compilation of his monumental work caused him a serious ailment and he died in 1047 H. In the absence of any legal heir the property of the deceased was entrusted at the orders of the Sultan to the care of an honest *amin* till some of his distant relatives laid claim to it.

8. Sheikh Harun Jurairi. He was a maulvi of the madrasa attached to Langar Faiz Asar.⁷ He was versed in the Muhammadan Law and he taught *Ilm-i-Fiqh* (knowledge of religion and law) to the students. On his death in Zilka'ad 1347 H. (March 1638 A.D.) his family was supported by the stipend that it received from Langar Faiz Asar.

9. Mulla Taqi Shirazi. He was originally a member of the Sultan's corps of personal attendants. Later, he was sent as a plenipotentiary to the court of Ahmadnagar, and then to Emperor Shahjahan's court at Daulatabad.⁸ He died at Agra while serving as a permanent envoy at the Mughal court in 1047 H.

10. Malik Ambar *Sar-i-Jamdar* (head of royal wardrobe department) died in Zilka'ad 1047 H. (March 1638 A.D.)

11. Hasan Beg Shirazi. He began his career as the Kotwal of the capital city and gradually rose to be the Superintendent of the Kasar

1. *Ibid*, folio 494.

2. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 495.

3. *Ibid*, folio 496.

4. *Ibid*, folio 497.

5. *Ibid*, folio 498.

6. *Ibid*, folio 499.

7. *Ibid*, folio 500.

8. *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*, folio 500.

Hayat Mahal On his death two of his sons were appointed in state service on a salary of 1,000 hun.¹

12. **Malik Ilmas.** He was the havildar of the masons. The Hayat Mahal Palace was constructed under the supervision² of the Malik.

13. **Moulana Arab Shirazi.** He was the best calligraphist of the day.³

14. **Mirza Abdul Qasim.** He was one of the high nobles of Gilan. At first, he was in the service of Emperor Shah Jahan; he came to the court of Golconda in the 15th regnal year of Sultan Abdulla Qutb.⁴ He was offered a salary of 3,000 hun and a big house to live in. He imparted lessons on Science, Mathematics, Logic, Poetry, as well as Arabic and Persian.⁵

15. **Nizamuddin Ahmad alias Hakim-ul-Mulk Gilani.** He was sent to Persia on embassy.

VI

MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH OF JODHPUR AT THE BATTLE OF DHARMAT

By Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Jodhpur.

On hearing about the illness of Emperor Shah Jahan, when princes Aurangzeb and Murad marched towards Agra, in 1658 A.D., Prince Darashikoh, with the consent of the ailing emperor, deputed Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur to check their advance. But unfortunately, almost all the imperial nobles intrigued with prince Aurangzeb, and therefore the Maharaja could not get any information regarding the movements of the opponents, until the armies of both the princes (*i. e.*, Aurangzeb and Murad) joined near Depalpur and finally moved towards Ujjain.

Later on, in a pitched battle between the Maharaja and the two princes Qasim Khan, the commander of the Imperial forces, and fifteen other Muslim nobles with their associates, pretending shortage of munitions stopped firing of their guns and slipped away from the field.

Under these circumstances the Maharaja was obliged to face the enemies with only seven Hindu nobles. But in the course of the fray when the Maharaja himself got wounded, and many of his warriors had fallen and further resistance became impossible, Rathor Ratan Singh, the Raja of Ratlam, took over the command to save the life of the Maharaja the leader of the Rathor clan, and with repeated and earnest requests made him to retire in spite of his reluctance to do so.

We quote here some authorities in support of the above fact :—

1. Ishardas writes in his “*Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*” :—“Jaswant wanted to ride into the struggle and get slain, but Maheshdas, Askaran and other Pradhans seized his bridle and brought him away” (*see* p. 21 b).

1. *Ibid*, folio 501.

2. *Ibid*, folio 504.

3. *Ibid*, folio 506.

4. *Ibid*, folio 533.

5. *Ibid*.

2. Mir Muhammad Ma'asum writes in his "Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai":—

"The Maharaja was wounded and fell down from his horse. His devoted Rajputs wanted to take him to a safe place. He forbade it, saying They did not listen to him, but removed the wounded man full of severe pains" (*see* p. 50 b).

3. Aqil Khan writes in his "Vaqa'at-i-Alamgiri":—"The Raja, in spite of his receiving two wounds, stood firmly and encouraged the Rajputs as far as possible" (*see* p. 31).

4. Manucci writes in his "Storia Do Mogor":—

"The Raja never ceased to fight most desperately until at length he saw himself left with only the smallest remnant of his force." (*see* Vol. I p. 259).

5. Francixio Bernier writes in his "Travels in the Mughul Empire":—

"Jaswant Singh displayed extraordinary valour, disputing every inch of ground with skill and pertinacity. With regard to Qasim Khan, although it cannot be denied that he deserved the celebrity he had hitherto enjoyed, yet upon the present occasion he approved himself neither a dexterous general nor a courageous soldier: he was even suspected of treachery, and of having canceled in the sand, during the night that preceded the battle, the greater part of his ammunition, a few volleys having left the army without powder or ball. However this may be, the action was well supported and the passage vigorously opposed. . . . It was then the Qasim Khan ingloriously fled from the field, leaving Jaswant Singh exposed to the most imminent peril. That undaunted Raja was beset on all sides by an overwhelming force, and saved only by the affecting devotion of his Rajputs, the greater part of whom died at his feet. Fewer than six hundred of these brave men, whose number at the commencement of the action amounted to nearly eight thousand, survived the carnage of that dreadful day. With this faithful remnant, the Raja retired to his own territory" (*see* pp. 38-39).

But Khafi Khan writes in his book called "Muntakhib-ul-Lubab":—

"Every minute the dark ranks of the infidel Rajputs were dispersed by the prowess of the followers of Islam. Dismay and great fear fell upon the heart of Jaswant, their leader, and he, far from acting like one of the renowned class of Rajas, turned his back upon the battle, and was content to bring upon himself everlasting infamy. Qasim Khan and other Imperial nobles were also obliged to follow him" (*see* Vol. II, p. 18).

The language used by Khafi Khan is itself a proof of his malignity against the Hindu Maharaja and therefore it is apparent that he simply tried to divert the charge of treachery and cowardice from one of his co-religionists to a Hindu ruler.

As regards the charge of pride or delay in action brought against Maharaja Jaswant I by Col. Todd in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" as under:—

"The battle which ensued . . . was lost by the temerity of Rathor commander-in-chief, who might have crushed the rebellious hopes of Aurangzeb, to whom he purposely gave time to effect a junction with his brother Murad, from the vainglorious desire to conquer two princes at once. Dearly did he pay for his presumption, for he had given time to the wily prince to sow intrigues in his camp, which were disclosed as soon as the battle joined" (*see* Vol. II, p. 980).

We quote here two passages from Bernier's travels which themselves will repudiate the above charge : -

1 "But Shah Jahan privately suggested the same measures of caution and forbearance, which were practised in the case of Sultan Suja" (*see* p. 37).

2 "It appears certain, indeed that he (Aurangzeb) was at this time totally incapable of opposing any effectual resistance, and that Qasim Khan and the Raja might have obtained an easy victory The two commanders, however, compelled by their secret orders quietly to take a position on the banks of the river, and to content themselves with disputing the passage" (*see* p. 38).

It is quite clear that though the Imperial Muslim nobles, as well as some Hindu Mansabdars left the battlefield and a large number of the Maharaja's own warriors were killed he went on facing the princes bravely even after being wounded more than once, but was forcibly removed from the field by his kinsmen and ministers. Moreover the fight was a domestic quarrel among the princes and did not effect Marwar

VII

AURANGZEB'S CHARACTER

By Girdhar Gopal, M.A. (Alig.), LL. B.

Mathew Arnold says that character is three-fourths of life. Nay character comprehends whole life. But character does not deal so much with intellectual acquisitions as with social adaptations and cultural adjustments. Dr. Sarkar after twenty years fruitful research has written five volumes on Aurangzeb, but he has delineated the character of Aurangzeb in a cursory manner, only bringing out his intellectual and individual virtues and omitting to collate his social vices, which formed an unavoidable part of his character. The effect has been that the presentation of Dr. Sarkar gives an incomplete and one sided view. It is with respectful reluctance that I attempt a short account of Aurangzeb's character in the light of the very facts given by Dr. Sarkar himself but comprehending all of this activities.

As a matter of intellectual appreciation, Aurangzeb was a great Persian and Arabic scholar as evidenced by the embellishment of his huge correspondence. He had sufficient familiarity with subjects like Theology and Jurisprudence. He was adept at speaking Turki and Hindi languages. He patronised the codification of Fatawah-i-Alamgiri the greatest digest of Muslim law in India and which has been of great use to posterity. He retained his wonderful memory upto last.

Physically, Aurangzeb was brave and fearless in an unusual degree and possessed cool and calculating courage even in the hour of the greatest crisis. At the age of fifteen, he though unarmed compromised the furious elephant, and at the age of eighty-seven he stuck steadily and stubbornly at the siege of Wagingera. His fights at Dharmat and Khajwa tellingly testify that he defied death freely.

Aurangzeb in his habits was simple, abstemious, and also religious in his private life. He never drank ; only once he nearly did it when

hypnotised by the fascinating beauty of Hira Bai, a slave girl, who became also the heroine of his only romance. Aurangzeb punctiliously read his religious services even during the slaughter of raging battles. He wrote copies of the Quran for earning his livelihood and ordained that income out of this source should meet the expenditure for his funeral performances. Aurangzebs' diet was simple and frugal with no delectacies but with one strange exception of *Karonda*—a sour Indian fruit for making sauce.

This is sum and substance of Dr. Sarkar's depiction of the character of Aurangzeb. The above mentioned qualities undoubtedly merit great praise, and it must be said that in these respects he stood head and shoulder to his ancestors. But this does not finish the portraiture of his character, the social and cultural side still requires consideration.

In private life, Aurangzeb proved himself a puritan but in public life he played a part of pervert. Such was the paradoxical character of often much praised and often much maligned Aurangzeb. In personal virtues he excelled but unluckily in social virtues he showed himself a degenerate. His long and busy life is a conclusive evidence of this view.

As Viceroy of Deccan, Aurangzeb during the wars of Bijapur and Golconda from beginning to the end acted with no scruples and no discrimination. His conduct was condemnable. He obtained a sanction from his father for the invasion of Bijapur by bolstering up a totally false pretext about the illegitimacy of Adil Shah II, and secured a *carte blanche* in the matter. Bijapur was an independent kingdom and Aurangzeb had no right to confirm or question the accession of the Bijapur throne. To realise his end he seduced the Bijapuri nobles by offering bribes and Mansabs. As for Golconda, the lustre of its diamonds had created a prurience in his soul, and he took no time to precipitate a war, on it. He intrigued with Mir Jumla and with the liberal promises got him to his side. He suppressed the supplicatory letter of suppliant Qutab Shah to Emperor Shah Jahan, and sprung up an absolutely uncalled for war on him. He went so far as to treacherously order his son Sultan to "lighten Qutab Shah's neck of the burden of his head," for which Shah Jahan, when informed, reprimanded him sharply.

Aurangzeb's conduct during the fights for the throne was unspeakable. Shah Jahan had given a clear indication of his opinion that Dara should succeed him. As a dutiful and religious son, in view of his father's wishes and in accordance with the natural law of primogeniture universally observed for royal successions, he should have acquiesced in the accession of Dara. But it may be argued that Dara had turned renegade and had lost his right for the throne under Islamic injunctions. But did the religion of Islam whose cardinal principles are Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality, sanction the most humiliating treatment of his fallen elder brother? He paraded Dara in the poorest dress and adorned by his gaoler at his back; and then rejecting the pleadings of Danishmand murdered him at the dictated decree of his pliant theologians; and then finally as a perfection of refinement of his cruelty, he once again paraded the hacked body of Dara throughout the Bazaar. His saintly sister Jahanara put forth an equitable proposition of equal distribution of Shah Jahan's empire amongst the brothers but Aurangzeb curtly turned it down. Attempt is sometimes made to justify the conduct of Aurangzeb on the theory of the survival of the fittest whereby a man is free to carve out his own destiny with all his might and main; but

how can his heartless treatment of his brothers and father be justified. There could be no justification of his usurping the throne during the life of his father. But his treatment of his brother Murad gives the lie direct to any support from the survival theory. Aurangzeb after a confidential correspondence entered into a solemn treaty with Murad for the distribution of the realm and concerted action, which had the greatest sanctity of being sworn on Quran; but he chewed it down when it had served his purpose. Aurangzeb had affectionately nursed the wounds of his brother Murad congratulating him on his heroism and telling him that the Samugarh victory was entirely due to him and that his (Murad's) reign would date from that day; but the war over, Aurangzeb trapped and plied him with wine and presented him the chains. Both times he nursed his purpose. Finally, he honoured the sacrosanct treaty by digging up an old case and murdering his brother, Murad, judicially at the hands of his paid and tutored Qazis. Aurangzeb met this fate to Murad whose ears had been constantly dinned by the holy voice of his hermit Self that the throne will not emancipate his soul, yet the truth was that his soul was constantly hankering and hungering after the throne, for the attainment of which he was purblind to the injunctions of his religion and for which he, like his contemporary Cromwell, made a science of fratricidal murders.

Aurangzeb's treatment of his old father was also quite condemnable. He sieged the Agra Fort and tortured him by refusing his entreaties not to kill a living father with thirst. He put untold restrictions over his father making him a prisoner in name and in fact completely divesting him of every vestige of dignity of an emperor and at that an emperor most magnificent in the world. He wrangled with his father for the possession of certain jewels which formed the private property of Shah Jahan, and justified his demand propounding new political philosophies ludicrously based on divine-cum-communistic considerations. Doing such deeds, he hid his abject hypocrisy under the garb of self abnegation and self righteousness and wrote complacently to his procreator that he was compelled to take up the precious load of the crown out of sheer necessity and not from choice, for the peace of the country and for the defence and propagation of Islam.

Aurangzeb's repressive measures against Hindus, his imposition of Jazia, and his breaking of temples, might have been justified by his religion, but he in the first year of his reign granted a charter to a priest of Benares avowing that his religion forbade him to allow the erection of new temples but did not enjoin the destruction of existing ones; and then in the years following he issued a general order for the demolition of holy buildings of Hindus and even did not spare educational institutions. Clearly, his conception of Islam changed to suit his political fancies.

Aurangzeb's persecution of Sarmad, the renowned Sufi of Shia sect; his execution of seven hundred persons along with their spiritual guide Quttabuddin (of Bohra sect); his murder of a Shia officer named Tahawar Khan and of a Portuguese friar perpetrated in the name of religion, were really the product of his political hysterics.

Golkanda's wealth had been consuming every corner of Aurangzeb's heart. Shah Alam who did not like the prospect of the extinction of a brotherly kingdom was made a prisoner along with his four sons. Many Shia officers in the Imperial service naturally opposed the extermination of the last Shia kingdom; even many Sunnis considered

the unprovoked war between Muslims sinful ; but the rapacious emperor brushed aside all these flimsy considerations. He carelessly turned down the sane counsels of his two successive Chief Justices, Shaihkulislam and Qazi Abdullah, against the invasion of the two Sultanate Kingdoms. In reward one had to resign and the other was packed off to the Base Camp. The Golconda siege protracted for eight months and when he failed to succeed by force, worked up his art of bribing the enemy's generals at which he was a past master. Abdullah Pani was bought by gold who sold his master Sultan Abul Hasan to Aurangzeb by leaving the gate of the fort open in the night.

Aurangzeb could not brook the growing independence of Bijapur and he could find cause for everything at his sweet will. The ruler of Bijapur had helped Shivaji when Aurangzeb invaded his country. Aurangzeb took this as justification for his invading Bijapur. The sin of helping an infidel by the Muslim king was considered capable of no expiation though Aurangzeb had himself, by the treaty of Purandar, permitted and helped the infidel to invade the brotherly kingdom of Bijapur. During the distress of Bijapur siege, a deputation of Muslim theologians waited upon him, and reminding him of his professions of strict adherence to Muslim Law, wanted to know the justification of the unholy war between Muslims. Promptly admitting the truth of the argument he gave a palpably false assurance that he did not covet their territory but wanted Shambhuji's submission whom they were helping. If Aurangzeb had really cared to make friends with the Sultanate rulers it would have been very easy matter by guaranteeing the independence to both of them. But Aurangzeb's eyes were loth to see the pelf and opulence of these Muslim states. Aurangzeb's conduct reached the climax of callousness when he demanded that the Sultan's sister Padshah Bibi should enter his Sunni harem. Even when this was done he could not muzzle his insatiable greed. He went on increasing his demands without an iota of moral compunction, and continued the siege ; here too his artful means succeeded to do what his militarism failed to do. Bijapuri generals Abdul Raof and Sharza Khan surrendered.

If Aurangzeb's personal character merits clear commendation, his social character calls for severe condemnation. He masqueraded all his life under the garb of his religion. The great religion of Mohammad can never justify such a life as his. The Islamic religion has perhaps the most developed code of ethics, but he, while professing himself to be the doughty champion of Islam, at every step of his life he tore himself away from all ethical considerations. The irresistible conclusion to which his life dispassionately considered, leads to, is that he prostituted his religion for his political aggrandisement. Machiavelli sundered politics from religion ; Hobbes subordinated religion to politics ; but Aurangzeb abused religion for politics. He was cruel and suspicious, cunning and treacherous, hypocrite and irreligious, corrupting and rapacious and perhaps all in the extreme degree. By such short sighted conduct he virtually pulverised the greatest empire of the times so ably founded by Babur the warrior and so ably consolidated by Akbar the great. The cause of the downfall of the Moghul Empire is wrongly laid at the door of his weak successors ; even if a second Akbar were to come after him, he too would have found the task of supporting the tottering edifice as unmanageable, because the foundations had been hollowed down intrinsically.

Aurangzeb's own dying testimony supports the above analysis of his life. When about to die he made a searching review of the past, as persons

usually do, and wrote letters to his sons and left wills for their guidance wherein he made candid confessions that he had not done any true Government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry and was carrying with him a caravan of sins with faint hopes of being forgiven; and counselled his sons for peace and protection of the peasantry which he had failed to achieve and to make a distribution of the empire amongst themselves to avoid war and bloodshed—the advice which he himself had swiftly turned down when tendered to him by his sister Jhanara during his fights or the throne. Arnold has truly said that Truth sits on the lips of the dying man.

VIII

“NAWAB MUNIR-UD-DOWLA NADIR JUNG, A MINISTER OF SHAH ALAM”

By Syed Hassan Askari, M. A., Assistant Professor, Patna College, Patna.

The political history of Hindustan in the latter half of the 18th century was considerably influenced by a number of adventurers, both native and foreigners. The study of their respective career is indeed highly instructive. Munir-ud-dowla, Raza Quli Khan Bahadur Nadir Jung, a Persian emigrant, and the ancestor of the well-known Bhiknapahari Nawabs of Patna, is a character in Indian history of the early years of Shah Alam's reign, who has not yet attracted the attention of scholars, which for his services and activities he deserves well. For at least about¹ 14 years he was engaged in the royal service being the emperor's most trusted counsellor and medium of communication with the English. It was mainly by virtue of his high² lineage, sagacity and diplomatic, as well as administrative, talents and not through any back stairs influence, as in the case of some of his³ rivals, that Munir-ud-dowla became the most important figure round the person of Shah Alam, being Naib Wazir, administrator of the royal household and Divan-i-Tan and Divani-Khalsa but for the commitments of the English to Shuja-ud-dowla, he might have even supplanted the latter as the Vazir of the titular Emperor Shah Alam. He was described by the 'Governor Cartier, not without justification as "one of the best and ablest ministers". He played some part in the negotiations that led to the grant of the Diwani and the restoration of Oudh to the vanquished Shuja-ud-dowla, and in fact, shaped to a great extent, the relations between Shah Alam and Ahmad Shah Abdali, the King and the Company, and the Mughal sovereign and his Persian Vazir.

1. Letter of the Governor to the king, November 6, 1769 (C. p. II).

2. We have got the testimony of Aqa Babhani, author of *Mirut-ul-Ahwal* supported by family tradition, that Raza Quli Khan, originally an inhabitant of Khorasan was a descendant of the celebrated Sufi saint Zindapir Ahmad Jan (died 536-II 42). His forefathers had been among the nobles of the Safavid sovereign of Persia and he himself had served king Tahmasp II, before the dynasty was first supplanted by the western Afghans and ultimately swept off by Nadir Shah. The latter being informed of Raza Quli's sagacity and wisdom forced him out of his voluntary retirement and after some time sent him along with an embassy to the court of emperor Mohammad Shah in India. He never went back to his native land and was respected and favoured by the Timurid.

3. "The illiterate Ruffians" Husamud-dowla who stopped at no baseness "pandering to his worst pursuits" (Keene's F. M. E.) and the Kashmirian Abdul Ahad, "with his plain manners" are instances in point.

4. C. P. II p. 427.

One who wants to trace and unravel the labyrinth of Anglo-Mughal politics, and understand fully how, among other factors, Shah Alam's choice of associates affected the fate of the king and the country, cannot but critically examine the political career of one who was regarded by many and who himself always professed, "to be a loyal servant of the king, a well wisher of the Company, and a sincere friend of the vazir, the Governor, and the other great English chiefs."

Munir-ud-dowla's early career in India is largely shrouded in obscurity. According to the Patna historian, Ghulam Husain², he had entered the service of Nawab Intizam-ud-dowla, the son to the Vazir, Itamad-ud-dowla Qamruddin Khan, and himself a vazir and premier noble of emperor Ahmad Shah. Munir-ud-dowla is also spoken as one of the faithful courtiers of emperor Alamgir II who appears to have been the first to send him on an embassy³ to Ahmad Shah Abdali. A letter of Shah Alam to Governor, Verelst dated May⁴, 16, 1768, says, "Ever since His Majesty was the heir-apparent, Munir-ud-dowla has attended on him. He has also served former king and was very loyal to His Majesty's royal father." Munir-ud-dowla's letter to Verelst, dated April 1, 1768, mentions that for twelve years he had served the throne with unexceptionable integrity". Another letter of Shah Alam, dated March 29th, 1768 speaks of "these twelve years past" during which "Munir-ud-dowla administered the affairs of the royal household agreeably to His Majesty's will and pleasure. "A year later in April, 1769, Munir-ud-dowla wrote to Governor Verelst about the "13 years" since he entered His Majesty's service". Thus there remains little doubt about the year 1756 forming the starting point of Munir-ud-dowla's active service under the Timurids. We don't know how far the historian Ghulam Husain is to be credited when he claims that it was his father, Syed Hidayat Ali Khan,⁶ who had introduced Munir-ud-dowla to emperor Alamgir II.

When the emperor's eldest son, Prince Ali Gohar, better known as Shah Alam, being impatient of the control, and afraid of the designs of the powerful and unscrupulous vazir, Ghaziuddin, Imadu-mulk, contrived in May,⁷ 1758 so escape from Delhi, he was accompanied, among others, by Munir-ud-dowla and Hidayat Ali Khan. Flying into the territories of Najib-ud-dowla, the prince moved, by way of Bareilly⁹ and Moradabad into Oudh, whence he started for Allahabad whose ambitions but thoughtless Governor, Muhammad Quli Khan a cousin and

1. C. P. C. p. II 348.

2. *Seyar-ul-Mutakharim*, Lucknow text, p. 658.

3. *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, Volume II p. 75.

4. *Ibid*, p. 270.

5. C. P. C. page 303.

6. do do 253.

7. do do 248.

8. S. M. 658 Ghulam Ali, the author of 'Shah' Alam Nama, says that it was at Miranpur to which the Prince had been invited by Najib-ud-dowla, and where he passed his rainy season, that Raza Quli Khan Bahadur paid his obeisance to the Prince, having been preceded only slightly before, by Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, the father of the Patna historian. The latter met the Prince at Miranpur, in August, 1758, (S.A.N. printed text 63) Sayer, refers to the King, and not to the prince. In view of the fact however, that Agha Raza Ali, who was no other than Raza Quli Khan, was sent, at the end of the year 1756, as ambassador to Ahmad Shah Abdali (Delhi Chronicle-Sarkars Mss. 70) while about that time Hidayat Ali Khan was Foudjer of the Shikohabad (Irvin's Article in *Indian Antiquary* 1907), there is some difficulty in accepting the statement in Sayer

9. S. A. N. 105.

10. This is to be referred from a reference in S. M. 648 see the above 2.

11. *Ibrat Nama*, p. 9.

rival of Shuja-ud-dowla, had held out the alluring prospects of an easy and profitable conquest of Bihar and Bengal, as the position of the usurper, Mir Jafar, appeared to be insecure after the recent revolution, and interested chiefs like Balwant Singh of Benares, Sundar Singh¹ of Tikari and Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur, were ready to assist in the expedition. Munir-ud-dowla and Hidayat Ali Khan,² who had been left behind at Miranpur to collect an army and other necessities of war, rejoined the prince³ at Benares while the latter was on his march towards Bihar. They were present⁴ in the camp of their master at Phulwari, 7 miles west from Patna, where Raja Ram Narain, the astute Deputy Governor of Bihar, having failed to get in time the expected reinforcement from Bengal, had presented himself in the improvised Durbar of the prince in March 1759. Much as the Patna historian, who was an eye witness of the whole thing, and thoroughly alive to the exigencies of the situation, tried to persuade his father and Munir-ud-dowla to give better and saner advice to their princely master about keeping the Raja in honourable custody and in regard to the plans for seizing the fort of Patna,⁵ these elderly and experienced personages, known very little for their military virtues, held their peace and allowed matters to drift because they were completely eclipsed by the brave but youthful, inexperienced and self-willed governor of Allahabad, who was the real soul of the expedition, but was doing⁶ exactly what he ought to have avoided—Weakness within more than pressure from without—which led to the utter discomfiture of the prince and the complete failure of his first invasion of Bihar, the graphic but sickening details whereof are available in the pages of Sayer and elsewhere, need not detain us, for, Munir-ud-dowla, then only one of the crowd of self-seeking, incompetent companions of the Shahzada, did little but dance attendance upon the latter and his spirited but imprudent commander-in-chief. His real worth was, however, recognised when his services were requisitioned, at least on two previous occasions, for conducting an embassy and conveying letters to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ghulam Ali says that when the prince started from Rewan Mukandpur (whose Raja had given him refuge) in order to invade Bihar for the second time, he wrote letters to Shuja, Najib, and other Rohilla chiefs, and above all, to the Abdali king, asking them for aid and support and to put a check upon the rapacious raids of the Mahrathas. Ghulam Husain's version is more definite that it was after the news of his father's murder (7th Rabi II, 29th Nov. 1759) had reached the prince that

1. Balwant did nothing beyond advancing a paltry sum to the Prince and Pahalwan arrived too late and was also not trusted. Sundar Singh, the only man of ability and sworn hostility to Mir Jafar and Ram Narain, who might have given a turn to the events, was unfortunately assassinated by an ungrateful Muslim lad before the appearance of the Prince in Bihar.

2. The historian, Khairuddin mentions Munir-ud-dowla and not Hidayat Ali (I. N. 39 VI.) who was commissioned by the Prince to enlist soldiers.

3. S. M. 660. At Dandnagar, we find the Prince favouring also a brother of Munir-ud-dowla, named Mukhlis Khan (S. A. N. II).

4. S. M. 661—663. On the 16th March, 1759, Raja Shitab Rai was presented to the Prince by Munir-ud-dowla (S. A. N. 72), a significant fact for future.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* page 669.

7. Levity of the Prince, Mughul dissensions and lack of unanimity among the other nobles, absence of a leader with a military genius and real organising capacity, as also the secret wire pulling and treasonable collusions with the enemies for which at least one, Nowbat Khan, was subsequently punished with death (S. A. N. 80) really account for the defeat which is, however, generally ascribed to the timely arrival of the Bengal army and the inopportune desertion of Mohd. Quli, because of the hostile move of his cousin Shuja.

he, on the written advice of Hidayat Ali Khan, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, under the title of Shah Alam at Ghatowli, (December 24, 1760) and sent robes of the respective offices of vazir and premier noble to Shuja and Najib and despatched Munir-ud-dowla to the Abdali king to seek his assistance and support and acknowledgment of his title.

Munir-ud-dowla must have stayed behind at Patna, or been sent away on some errand by Shah Alam, for we find him arriving at Husainganj, on 6th Rabi II *i. e.*, 29th December 1759, and being favoured with a grant of a horse by Shah Alam while the latter was proceeding to Bihar to try his sword again with the wily Raja of Patna and his English supporters. It was he who presented Zainul-Abedeem Khan, the Naib Nazir, on 25th Rabi II, *i. e.*, 21st January, 1760. He does not appear to have been present on the occasion of the coronation, for he does not figure in the list of recipients of honours and titles, and, moreover, writes letters of congratulations, along with that of Shuja-ud-dowla, on that auspicious occasion, we find him also sending an embroidered Palki which was graciously accepted by the emperor. He is also mentioned as sending information that Raja Ram Narain was collecting a large force to wage war with the Emperor, whereupon Aqidat-ud-dowla (Kamgar Khan) was appointed to proceed against him. The date, 13th Jamadil *i. e.* January 21, 1760, given for the receipt of this information, is probably incorrect, or the information may have been supplied second-hand, and from a place other than Patna, for Munir-ud-dowla must have left the imperial camp and set out towards the west for the Abdali after the interview with the emperor, in January, 1760.

He is said to have resided in the court of the Abdali King during the whole of the latter's campaigns against the Maharattas and must have seen the momentous events happening in the west. No less important changes were taking place in the eastern Subhas of Bihar and Bengal. The emperor's forces being now considerably strengthened, at first defeated the over-confident Raja of Patna, at the battle of Masumpur near Dehwa nala, on the 9th February 1760. But unwise delay in following up the victory saved Patna and allowed Miran's army to come up and beat back the Imperialists, at the battle of Sherpur on 2nd February. The bold plan of the flank march to Bengal to capture its defenceless capital, Murshidabad miscarried. Even the efforts of the French adherents led by the veteran, Law, produced no better results, and the third siege of Patna¹ proved a failure like the first two. By this time a fresh revolution in Bengal had brought on the Musnad a new nominee of the English in the person of Mir Qasim. Much

1. S. M. 656—669 S. A. N. 73—84 See also I. N. and T. S. A.

2. S. M. 661.

3. The Delhi Chronicle (Sarkar Ms.) refers to Agha Raza Ali (Quli ?) who has gone as an ambassador to A. S. Abdal and being offered very hard terms returned on 14 1757. He is also mentioned under date 28-2-1757 as the "one who during Abdali's stay in Delhi had set down at the gate of the fort and seized people for forced labour. Again we read, in the same book, about Agha Raza who had started for the Abdali Shah receiving a Khelat of Conge on 2-7-57. G. H. Samin also informs us of "Agha Raza Khan" who was sent to the Indian Emperor to the Abdali while the latter was on his way to India in 1756 (I. A. 1907) see also C. P. C. II. page 75.

4. S. A. N. 97.

5. S. M. 677.

6. Delhi Chronicle The Arabic month taken from S. A. N.

7. S. A. N. 101.

8. *Ibid*, 102.

9. *Ibid*, 109.

against the wishes of the new Nawab, the triumphant diplomatist merchants of England saw the necessity of¹ conciliating one whose title was still held in awe throughout Hindustan and was publicly acknowledged by² the great Afghan King, who was reported to be forming plans for the restoration of the empire.

While the emperor was still at Patna, where in the English factory, he was made to hold Darbar and confirm Mir Qasim as Subadar, vesting the fiscal administration in him, in return for a yearly sum of Rs. 24 lakhs, he waited³ impatiently for the arrival of Munir-ud-dowla who had been sent as his envoy to the Abdali monarch. He had not failed to do his duty, for, not only in his presence⁴ had the Afghan Majesty exhorted the Rohilla chiefs, Shuja, and other Omarahs to acknowledge the title of Shah Alam but he had also obtained from the victor of Panipat, before the latter's departure for his native country, an injunction⁵ to all the Indian princes and to the English to obey their legitimate emperor. Governor Vansettart in⁶ a letter to the Abdali, dated March 1, 1761, refers to the latter's "orders to Mir Qasim and Col. Sabit Jung (Clive) to be obedient to the will of Shah Alam" and assures him that "he as His Majesty's faithful subject, was obedient to the will of Shah Alam who had been brought into the fortress of Patna," and further that "he was ready to accompany him to Delhi." Such assurances were repeated in another letter, sent on⁷ March 26, 1761 wherein the Governor wrote further that "If it should be the Shahanshah's pleasure, he (Shah Alam) will be escorted by troops to Delhi." It was the recognition and the awe of the Abdali and the letters of Munir-ud-dowla,⁸ Shuja, Najib and Ahmad Khan Bangash which left no alternative to the English and Mir Qasim but to coin the Sikka and read the Khutba in the name of Shah Alam.

But despite their promises and the exhortation of Shah Wali Khan, the Prime Minister of the Afghan King, to Governor, received on 23rd May, 1761, either to accompany the king to Delhi himself or to send an experienced general there," Shah Alam found that the English were not to be persuaded to support his cause further than they had already done. Being impatient to recover his capital and throne, and having received invitations of his mother, Zinat Mahal, Najib and Shuja, Shah Alam quitted Patna and was escorted up to Karamnasa, which formed the boundary between Bihar and Oudh. Before he had crossed the river, and during the course of his journey, he came across the tents of the "Cream of the grandees, the faithful and well wishing," Munir-ud-dowla, who had returned from the west. He had been already preceded by such envoys⁹ of the Abdali as Mohd. Ali Khan and Asmatullah Khan who carried letters which enjoined upon Shah Alam to hasten to Delhi. The emperor was received, at¹⁰ Sarac Syed Razi, near modern Mughal Sarac, by Shuja who had been instructed by the Abdali King to render all possible assistance to his lawful monarch for ending the confusion of

1. C. P. C. III.

2. An envoy of Abdali named Nasrullah Khan, had arrived with presents in the court of Shah Alam on 23rd Ziqad i.e. July 8, 1760 while the latter was still trying his conclusion with his enemies in Bihar.

3. S. M.

4. S. M.

5. S. M.

6. C. P. C. I.

7. Dp.

8. S. M.

9. C. P. I. 1175.

10. S. A. N.

11. S. A. N. (Sarkar's)

12. S. A. N. (Sarkar's no. 72.)

13. S. M. 16.

his affairs and restoring his empire, but who to quote Keene,¹ "carried out the letters of these instructions by retaining him for some two years in honourable confinement surrounded by the empty signs of sovereignty, sometimes at Benares, sometimes at Allahabad and sometimes at Lucknow.

Munir-ud-dowla, who "had returned from the Abdali, having become completely successful² in his mission, rose high in the favour of his royal master." "To him was given the privilege of presenting such great officers of Nawab vazir as Mir Naim Khan and³ Raja Daya Ram." It was at his suggestion that Rai Dayanat, who had been raised to the rank of a Raja⁴ and "had begun to act with full power and authority over all the affairs of the royal⁵ household and, consequently, excited the jealousy of Munir-ud-dowla, was deprived of title, imprisoned and finally ordered to be trampled down under the feet of an elephant, on the charge of embezzlement. He had gained such confidence of Shah Alam that when the latter held consultation on confidential matters relating, probably, to Malwa, no one was allowed to remain in the royal presence⁶ except him, the vazir, and the Raja concerned in the affair. He was again called upon to lead an embassy to the Abdali king who was reported to have appeared again in India.⁷

It was from Shewrajpur in the environs of modern Cawnpore, where the emperor was staying during the rainy season, that Munir-ud-dowla was sent with suitable presents to request the Abdali King to "continue and strengthen the ties of friendly relations so that prosperity might be restored and the great confusion that raged in the country, owing to the selfishness of the omara's, rapacity of the Deccanese, and defiance of the Afghans, Sikh and Jats, and of the zamindars and Rajas, might be ended."⁸ We find him also accompanying Yakub Ali Khan, the Afghan plenipotentiary, and reaching Panipat but⁹ returning to Sonipat when they heard of the assembling of the Sikhs troops. The news of the 17th December, 1762, tells us of the¹⁰ return march of the Abdali, on the 12th, after settling the tribute of Hindustan at 40 lakhs of rupees with Najib and Munir-ud-dowla."¹¹ Munir-ud-dowla returned to the imperial camp when it had been moved towards Sikandra and was invested with robes of honour and created Khan-i-Saman or comptroller of the royal household.

The Abdali king, preoccupied as he was with the affairs nearer home, and in the Punjab, where the harassing tactics of the ever defiant Sikhs

1. Fall of the Mughul Empire p. 70. Keene, however, misses the emperor's personal desire to recover Karah, and the territories in C. P. Malwa from the Deccanese and the Bundells. (S. A. N. 47).

2. Ibrat Nama p. 81.

3. S. A. N. 82.

4. S. A. N. 71.

5. I. N. 81.

6. S. A. N. 107.

7. C. P. C.

8. S. A. N. 139. I. N. 85.

9. S. A. L. 139.

10. Delhi Chronicle (Sarkar's Ms.).

11. Delhi Chronicle (Sarkar's Ms.) Sir J. N. Sarkar writes that during the autumn of 1762 the Abdali king called Najib and Munir-ud-dowla, among others to put the affairs of the Delhi empire in order, and it was agreed that the Afghan king would call upon all the Indian princes to recognise Shah Alam and instal him in the ancestral capital. Najib and Munir-ud-dowla undertook on behalf the Indian Government to pay to the Abdali a tribute of 40 lakhs of rupees a year F. M. E. II, 487.

required his constant vigilance, could not commit himself to lend any armed aid to Munir-ud-dowla's royal master, but the prestige of his name and authority was still a factor to be reckoned with and, consequently, the beginning of the year 1763, saw a definite, though ultimately abortive, attempt on the part of Shah Alam to march towards Delhi to recover his throne with the help of the Muslim princes who could not disregard the mandate of His Afghan Majesty. Shuja-ud-dowla who had been allowed by Shah Alam to sign¹ state papers for the first time in that capacity, did show a genuine desire to escort the king with the help of the Par-Rohillas, and, if possible also of an English force² from Bengal. Unfortunately the enmity of Shuja's quarrel with Ahmad Khan Bangash who had failed to respond to the proposal, of the advance to Delhi, was alleged to have assumed the special privileges of royalty, occupied territories evacuated by the Maharattas after 1761, and also encroached upon some territories in the Doab on which he had no claim, and above all, had offended the vazir by harbouring one of his chief Naga officers who had kidnapped one of his dancing girls led to a definite attempt by the emperor and vazir to take Farukhabad. Ghulam Ali³ informs us that an appeal to the clan spirit of the Afghan led to the strengthening of the hands of the defiant Bangash chief by the secret help which he began to receive from the trans-Gangetic Rohillas.⁴ Najib, however, came to the aid of the imperialists partly because of his sense of loyalty and obligation⁵ to the Abdali and the Indian sovereign and his vazir, and, probably because his old enemy, Imad,⁶ had been sent by Surajmal with 3,000 active Jats to join Ahmad Khan. He found, however, that his Afghan troops began to desert him. The imperialists had already suffered a loss of prestige by the defeat of Himmat Bahadur,⁷ at the hands of the great grandson of Chatarsal, the Raja of Bundelkhand, and the formidable coalition now was likely, to make the situation rather critical. But Najib's tactful management and the injunction of the Abdali to all to strive for the common object of aiding their lawful sovereign to reach his capital led to the settlement of the dispute. Though peace had been concluded and the plan of marching to Delhi had begun to be discussed again and again, nothing came out of the talk. The Rohillas had already become lukewarm and an inopportune sectarian⁸ riot between Shia soldiers of the vazir and the Sunni followers of Najib, resulting in the unfortunate murder of a respected Afghan Pirzada broke the coalition of the only two people who might have done something in the direction. Najib who was very ill at the time took leave of the emperor who returned with his vazir to pass the rainy season at Sheorajpur.

1. S. A. N. 157.

2. The Abdali had at first gone back upon his promises and offered vizarat to Imad on his return home and after Panipat but he revised his opinion afterwards.

3. Sarkar.

4. C. P. C. I. 1,000 European troops and some guns were requested for by the vazir. Shah Alam also wrote letters to the effect. But Mir Qasim stood in the way and the English themselves were not willing to risk such a difficult journey.

5. Irvine's Article on the Bangash Afghan of Farukhabad. J. A. S. B. 1878.

6. S. A. N. 152.

7. S. A. N. 153.

8. His commitment before the Abdali and his sense of gratitude for the aid rendered by Shuja at the siege of Suketta, and at Panipat urged him to this step.

9. J. A. S. B. 1878.

10. S. A. N. 118.

11. S. A. N. 165.

Nothing much of importance is available about the activities of Munir-ud-dowla, since his return from his last embassy to the Abdali till we come to December 1763, when we find Mir Qasim, the vanquished and expelled Nawab of Bengal, seeking his mediation to engage the king and his Vazir and enlist the support of the Rohillas. Mir Qasim "was invited to the court by artful encouragement" "in consequence of the English Major's representations and those of Nawab Mir Jafar" so as to prevent him from going to the Jats and the Rohillas who were not disinclined to assist him. The part played by Munir-ud-dowla both before and after Buxar, though only incidentally mentioned in available Persian records, is nevertheless, important in that he thereby showed his true colours. Indeed, "the good offices" of this "well wisher of the English" whom we find in great favour and confidence of the king and who was also present in Benares camp of Raja Beni, a secret enemy of Mir Qasim, as also the wire pulling of Munir's old friend, Raja Shital Rai, the real author of the Diwani episode, might have involved the ex-Nawab of Bengal into immediate troubles had not the ambitious Nawab Vazir of Oudh been overpowered by his cupidity and lust for territorial conquests. It was against the wishes of the emperor, influenced as he must have been by those who had his confidence, and through whom the "Petition of allegiance of the Farenghi (English) gentlemen" was constantly pouring into the court, that Shuja embarked on his plan of capturing Bihar and measuring his swords with the English victors of the fugitive ex-Nawab of Bengal.

The utter inaction of the emperor, both at the battles of Pachapahari (Patna) and Buxar, can be easily understood and accounted for. In between the two events brisk negotiation was going on, and we find Mir Jafar writing to Munir-ud-dowla, on 10th June, 1764, expressing satisfaction at the friendly disposition of the court" and requesting the emperor, on the same date, to send Munir-ud-dowla to him. The historian, Ghulam Husain, a common friend of Dr. Fullerton and Munir-ud-dowla, advised the emperor, through his father, to leave his Vazir in the lurch. Ghulam Husain and Munir-ud-dowla drew up a Shuqqa on behalf of the emperor and the former conveyed it secretly to the English camp, taking due care that even Shetab Rai and his agent, Sadhu Ram so friendly to the English and yet in the service of the Vazir, should know nothing of it lest the "Emperor and Munir-ud-dowla should be landed in difficulties". The plan, however, miscarried owing to an inopportune difference between Dr. Fullerton and Major Carnac, the English General. Major Munro proved a better General and diplomatist. His secret moves no less than his brilliant generalship gave the decisive victory to the English against

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- (1) C. P. C. 1, P. 257. (2) C. P. C., 1, P. 274. (3) C. P. C. 1, P. 262. (4) C. P. C., 1, P. 80. (5) C. P. C., 1, P. 263. (6) we find M. Dowla presenting Raja Shitab Rai before the emperor as far back as 18 Rajab, 1172, i.e., February, 1759, while the latter was on his way to Phulwari Sherif (Patna.) (7) S. H.A. N. 161.
8. C. P. C. 1, p. 318, 319.
 9. C. P. C. 1, p. 318, 319.
 10. S. M. 758 The writer has in his possession some unpublished correspondence exchanged between Dr. Fullerton and the saintly poet Mir Hazin then at Benares.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. See C. P. C. 1.
 13. S. A. N. 185.
 14. "C. P. C. 1, p. 351. 352.
 15. C. P. C. p. 358.
 16. Khulasatul Tawarikh by Kalyan Singh, p. 402. (Nawabzada Mohammad Mahdi's Ms.)

the proud and imprudent Vizar in October 23rd, 1764. Ghulam Ali tells us how, before the battle of Buxar, the English chief had "secretly conveyed their assurances of allegiance and loyalty and made offers of Peshkash through some well-wishing courtier of the emperor". No wonder that when, after his defeat, the Vazir fled across the Ganges, leaving Raja Beni to persuade Shah Alam to join him, there was no response. On the other hand, the emperor began to send Khilats to Major Munro and other chiefs who had obtained the victory and also Khilats and swords to Nawab (Mir Jafar), Vansittart and Major Carnac through his devoted minister Munir-ud-dowla. It was Munir-ud-dowla who sent Suchit Ram for Benares with a letter and presents from His Majesty to the Major and when the latter arrived there, he was presented by Munir-ud-dowla himself before the emperor. Indeed, if the historian, Fakir Khair-ud-din¹ is to be believed, Munir-ud-dowla had been actually sent by the emperor after Buxar to reconcile and win the friendship of the English and invite them to His Majesty.

The events of 1765 show Munir-ud-dowla in close association with his old acquaintance, Raja Shitab Rai, in pushing forward the interests of the English and regulating their relations with the country Powers. Early in January² 1765, Mirza Najab Khan who had reasons to be dissatisfied with his cousin, the vanquished Nawab Vazir of Oudh, and was already in secret³ correspondence with the English chiefs, actually joined the emperor with a small force from Bundelkhand. This, to quote Broome, helped to strengthen the English in cavalry, the want of which they had hitherto found a serious drawback, and on the arrival of a European contingent from Patna, the English General determined to bring Shuja to action. The proud but desperate Vazir, having suffered another defeat had enlisted the support of the Marhattas and his old rival Imdad. When the triumvirate attempted to capture Korah Mirza Nayaf its newly appointed⁴ Foujdar, put up a fight but being overwhelmed thought it advisable to surrender⁵ and court the favour of the victor. His apparent defection made the English General suspicious of all the Indians and half inclined to treat with the enemy. If the historian Khair-ud-din, is to be believed, "Munir-ud-dowla⁶ and Shitab Rai, urged the General to arrange the troops and engage the enemy but the latter delayed action. Mirza Najaf, however duped Shuja and rejoined⁷ the imperialists, and the Nawab of Oudh, having been defeated for the third time, fell back on Farukhabad. Munir-ud-dowla was present⁸ in this battle which was fought near Korah on May 3, 1765.

1. I. N. 108b. Broome informs us that "on the day following the battle of Buxar the Emperor wrote to the British Commander, congratulating him upon the victory; and representing that he himself had hitherto been then a state prisoner in the hands of Shaja-ud-dowla.....and was now desirous to place himself once more under British protection..... Broome also tells us about the interview of Major Munro with the Emperor and the latter's offer of the whole of Shuja's dominions to the English on payment of the usual Peshkesh, as also the Diwani of the following, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the 19th November. Major Munro was authorised to enter into terms with the Emperor, and to afford him protection." R. P. B. A. by Broome 485-86.

2. Broome, P.
3. C. P. C. 1, P. 3
4. S. A. N. 207.
5. Broome 512.
6. I. N. 124.
7. S. A. N. 211.
8. Broome 513.
8. S. A. N. 211.

Munir-ud-dowla¹ and Shitab Rai were quite at one in denouncing the ill-advised step of their royal master who had sent the Kashmiri favourite, Saif-ud-din Muhammad Khan, with a special Shuqqa and the Khilat of the office of Bakhshi, to Malhar Rao Holkar which caused a good deal of correspondence² afterwards between the emperor, vizar and the Governor. The two acted in concert in bringing about reconciliation between the English and the fugitive Vazir. Ghulam Ali tells us that Munir-ud-dowla sent Raja Daya Ram carrying a reassuring message on behalf of the English Gentlemen which Shuja-ud-dowla, having been advised by Ahmad Khan Bagash, was so very anxious for. Shuja's letter from Bilgram to General Carnac, dated 16th May, 1765 and the latter's reply thereto, sent 3 days latter, give unmistakable proofs of the efforts put in by both Munir-ud-dowla and Shitab Rai in bringing about accommodation between the two parties. Both are referred to for 'particulars'. The meeting took place at Manikpur where matters having been amicably arranged, Munir-ud-dowla appears to have returned with the emperor to Allahabad.

As accordingly to Fakir Khair-ud-din, he was the "real cause of the submission of the English", which is, however, only partially true, his stars were in the ascendant and having gained great prestige he became the disposer of the affairs of the Saltanat. A shrewed man as he was, it occurred to him that as Shuja-ud-dowla had already been reconciled with the English, there was every probability of the emperor restoring to him the vizarat at their suggestion and, therefore, it was advisable that he should anticipate them and lay Shuja-ud-dowla under his own obligations. The emperor "who was a willing listner to Munir-ud-dowla's advice" was induced to sanction the measure and the latter sent robes of vizarat and Mir-Atash to Shuja-ud-dowla.

IX

'RACHOL'—ITS IDENTIFICATION

By O. Ramachandraiya, M.A., Hons.

Krsnadevaraya's conquest of 'Rachol' has been narrated at length by the Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz. Mr. R. Sewell identified the place with Raichur, in the centre of the Dakhan. His identification has long been accepted as correct, until in 1930 A.D., Rev. H. Heras preferred to question the same.⁶ He argues that for Nuniz and for the other Portuguese writers as well, 'Rachol is . . . nothing else than 'Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette'.⁷

Nuniz assigns the conquest of 'Rachol' by Krsnadeva to May

1. I. N. P. 124b.

2. C. P. C. p. 2730, 2758, 2759, 2760.

3. S. A. N. p. 214.

4. J. A. S. B. p. 1878.

5. Broome p. 521, 522.

See also Mirat-i-Aftab Nama where also read about the mediation of Munir-ud-Dowla.

6. 'Krishna Deva Raya's conquest of Rachel': *Proceedings of the fifth Oriental Conference*, pp. 348—354; *J. R. A. S.*, 1931, pp. 142—7.

7. *Proceedings*, p. 349.

1522 A.D.¹ Ferishta describes a battle for Raichur dated A.H. 927² (December 12, 1520—December 1, 1521 A.D.). Mr. Sewell believes that these are two versions of the same event.³ This would not be admitted by Father Heras, for Ferishta was clearly referring to Raichur by the river Krsna and to accept it would be to admit that 'Rachol' is identical with Raichur. He holds that they are different because the dates do not coincide.⁴

Father Heras advances several reasons that prompted him to conclude that Nuniz' 'Rachol' was no other than that of the Salsette basin. Methinks, there are more political than geographical. But, much more real than anything else, geography is inexorable and cannot be got over. We shall show presently that the theory of Rev. Heras founders irretrievably against the geographical surroundings Nuniz gave for 'Rachol'.

Earlier than Nuniz, Paes had spoken of 'Rachol,' while specifying the lands that bordered the empire of Vijayanagara. "*Paes here mentions*" comments Father Heras, "*Three countries as the limits at which the Vijayanagara mountains arrive. These three countries run from East to West. The Kingdom of the Deccan (viz. Golconda), the Kingdom of Ydallcao (Bijapur) and the city of Rachol.*"⁵ That by the kingdom of the Deccan Paes means the kingdom of Golconda is evident from another passage of his chronicle, when he points out the northern boundaries of the empire of Vijayanagara. These boundaries are the following:—the territory of Bengal, the kingdom of Oriyya, the kingdom of the Dekhan, the lands of the Ydallcao and those of the Ozemelluco (Nizam-ul Mulk of Ahmadnagara); now it appears that the kingdom of the Deccan is between the kingdom of Bengal to the East and the kingdom of Bijapur to the West.

Such kingdom cannot be another than Golconda; accordingly *the city of Rachol is placed by Paes west of the kingdom of Bijapur viz., in the present Goa territory.*⁶

This inference that 'Rachol' is to the west of Bijapur territory was necessary for Father Heras if his theory were to stand at all. But the relevant passages from the chronicle of Paes do nowhere warrant such a conclusion. "*And this kingdom (of Narsymga)*" records Paes, "*marches with all the territory of Bengal and on the other side with the kingdom of Orya, which is to the east, and on the other side to the north with the kingdom of the Dakhan, belonging to which are the lands which the Ydallcao has, and Ozemelluco*"⁷ It is plain that Paes is here placing only the Dakhan on the northern reaches of the empire. This Dakhan is also stated to have comprised the territories of Bijapur and Ahmadnagara.

1. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 326.

2. *Briggs* : Ferishta, III, pp. 48—51.

3. *F. E.* p. 153.

4. *Proceedings*, p. 348 and 351. Father Heras appears to have agreed with Mr. Sewell when the latter, for reasons we shall discuss elsewhere, assigned 19th May, 1520 A.D. (*F. E.* 147) for the battle ascribed by Nuniz to May 1522 A.D. For, like Mr. Sewell (*F. E.* p. 142) Rev. Heras states that Ruy de Mello seized the mainlands of Goa subsequent to the battle some time between February 1520 and February 1521 A.D.

Heras is wrong in taking A.H. 927 to correspond to 1519 A.D. (*Proceedings*, 348). It really begins with 12th December, 1520 (and ends with 1st December, 1521 A.D. (*Indian Ephemeris*, L. D. Swamikannu Pillai).

5. Was the city of Rachol a country?

6. *Proceedings*, pp. 349-350.

7. Sewell, p. 239.

There is absolutely no need to hazard the identification of the Dakhan with Golconda,¹ to demonstrate that the kingdom of Bijapur reached to the west. By 1520 A.D., Bijapur had extended her sway to the very gates of Goa. The real problem, therefore, is how to prove that 'Rachol' was to the west of the kingdom of Bijapur. Hereunder is given the passage from Paes by which Father Heras takes his stand. On the northern side, 'The *serras* reach as far as the kingdom of Daquem, and border upon the territories belonging to the Ydallcao, and upon a city called Rachol, that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga; there has been much war over it and this king took it from the Ydallcao. So that these ranges are in a way the cause (of the two kingdoms) never uniting and always being at war'.²

If the Dakhan were the kingdom of Golconda and Nuniz' 'Rachol' the fort city of the Salsette basin, Father Heras is left to locate a hill range that starts in the Salsette basin and runs to the east, cutting right across the plateau to divide the empire of Vijayanagara from the kingdoms of both Bijapur and Golconda. But for his impossible identifications, the passage itself is easily understood. These hill ranges touch the Dakhan where the lands belong to the Adil Shah and not on those of the Nizam Shah. Even among them, they border upon a city called 'Rachol'. This city had long been a bone of contention between Bijapur and Vijayanagara. The king of Vijayanagara was bent upon having it, for formerly, it was part of the Vijayanagara dominion. Just then it happened to be in the hands of the Adil Shah from whom Krsnaraya wrested it. Bijapur, however, did not cease to covet it. So that these kingdoms could never ally. This conflict was to a large extent due to the hill ranges that reached Bijapur at that city of 'Rachol'.

There has been much war over this city; and in this particular Paes is confirmed by Nuniz. Nuniz' 'Rachol' was a fort which was claimed by both the kingdoms with equal tenacity, at least from the time of Saluva Nrsimha. Nuniz refers to a testament of that monarch 'In which the king desired that . . . whoever should inherit this kingdom of Narsymga . . . should capture three fortresses that at his death remained in revolt against him . . . ; one of them was called Rracholl aud another Medegulla'.³

In the historical accounts of this part of the country, Raichur and Mudkal appear usually together. They are not removed one from the other by any considerable distance. In fact, Nuniz is definite that 'Rachol' was boundary of Mudkal. He refers to a subordinate of Krsnadevaraya in these terms - '*Bajapanayque is captain of Mumdoguel, which was a fortress of the Ydalcao and was taken from him by Crisnarao when he took Rachol, which was a boundary of it*'.⁴

Nuniz supplies yet another landmark by which his 'Rachol' may be placed. On his way to 'Rachol' Krsnaraya is said to have pitched

1. Father Heras evidently took the 'Belonging to' of the passage to mean, not 'comprising of', but 'ranged with', and went on to identify the Dakhan with Golconda. But to state that Paes too must have meant the same is to assert that Paes knew of Golconda, but not by its proper name; and that he was equally unaware of the Dakhan that it had split into five different kingdoms, including Golconda. It is more probable that Paes' knowledge of the Dakhan was confined to only two of its constituent kingdoms, *Viz.*, Bijapur and Ahnadanagara,

2. Sewell, p. 243,

3. Sewell, 316,

4. *Ibid.* 389.

his camp 'At the town of *Mollambamdym*, which is a league from the city of *Rachol*'.¹ According to Mr. Sewell, the Mollambamdym is Malliabad, as now called, close to Raichur.² If Mr. Sewell were correct in his surmise—and Father Heras does not challenge his identification—there is only one possible conclusion, that Nuniz' 'Rachol' is no other than Raichur of the Krsna-Tungabhadra doab.

Throughout, geography was very unkind to Rev. Heras' theory. This is proved to demonstration when he tries to equate the two 'Great rivers', between which lay Nuniz' city,³ to the almost unknown Zuarim and the Paroda of the Salsette basin. 'Near the angle formed by the union of these two rivers', writes H. Heras, "there stand still the ruins of the fort of Rachol".⁴

Mr. Sewell naturally identifies these two great rivers with the Krsna and the Tungabhadra. Nuniz requires of his 'Rachol' that it should be in the middle of the doab so that 'From each river to the city is three leagues'.⁵ True of Raichur, this is wholly untrue of Rachol. This latter is admittedly 'Near the angle' formed by the union of the Zuarim and the Paroda. Actually it may be seen on the map about seven miles down the confluence of these rivers. The surroundings affirmed of 'Rachol' by Nuniz are thus wholly absent in the case of Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette.

We shall now consider how Revd. Heras sets out to prove the proximity of 'Rachol' to Goa. Krsnaraya defeated the Adil Shah and was returning to the siege of 'Rachol,' when there came to meet him Christovao de Figueiredo,⁶ who took some Arab horses to be sold to the Raya. Father Heras 'gathers' from the Spanish original of the author, Faria Y Sousa, that Christovao had intended proceeding to Vijayanagara, but that, only after leaving Goa, he heard of the king's proximity while besieging 'Rachol'.⁷ He goes on to remark 'Now supposing that Krishna Deva Raya was then conquering Raichur, Figueiredo, while going to Vijayanagara, could not meet the Emperor, since Raichur is farther from Goa than Vijayanagara itself.'⁸

Apart from what Father Heras has gathered from the Spanish account of Faria Y Sousa, we obtain no evidence to prove either Figueiredo's intentions to proceed straight to Vijayanagara or his journey direct to 'Rachol' without visiting Vijayanagara on his way. We prefer Nuniz to Faria Y Sousa. He allows no scope for making any such suppositions.

He is quite definite that Christovao 'Was at that time in the city of Bisnaga with horse'.⁹, whence he proceeded to 'Rachol' to meet the king. There is nothing here, to forbid an identification of 'Rachol' with Raichur. For distance is not of any consequence in this context.

1. *Ibid*, 329.

2. *Ibid*, N.1.

3. *Ibid*, p. 331.

4. *Proceedings*, p. 313.

5. Sewell, p. 331.

6. Sewell, p. 343; Sousa referred to by Heras, *o.c.* p. 350

7. Strangely, Heras finds confirmation of this in Correa. (*Proceedings* 350). According to Correa, Governor-Lopo Soares sent Christovao, in 1517 A.D., to Vijayanagara with horses and elephants (Lendas da India, II, pp. 509-510). Heras notes, however, that 'the date does not seem to agree' (*Op. cit.*, p. 350, n. 3). Why then, does he find in this a confirmation of what happened more than three years later?

8. *Proceedings*, p. 350.

9. Sewell 343.

But then, if 'Rachol' were Raichur and not the Rachol of the Salsette basin, and also if the latter were still garrisoned by the Muslims, Father Heras would argue, the capture of the mainlands by the Portuguese 'Would not have been carried out with such speed.'¹ Mr. Sewell states that it took a mere ten days.⁴

To this the answer is two-fold. Firstly, one may remember that Ruy de Mello took advantage of the Adil Shah's difficulties consequent to his defeat at the battle.³ He appears to have taken the suggestion of the Raya to seize the mainlands.⁴ Nuniz tells that at the battle of 'Rachol' both Assad Khan of Belgaum and Ankus Khan of Pomda were present. Naturally, the *Tanadaris* around Goa were left with a poor defence. What little opposition there could be to de Mello's occupation was much further weakened by the discomfiture of the Adil Shah at the battle; and probably by the knowledge that the Portuguese had the backing of the Raya in what they did. Revd. Heras himself writes 'Certainly the capture of Raichur would have enfeebled the power of Adil Shahi Sultan in the neighbourhood of Goa.' But he would still maintain that '... the conquest of the fort of Rachol in the strategic corner of the peninsula of Salsette deprived the Sultan of his main stronghold beyond the river Zuairim. This explains the rapidity of the conquest of Salsette and probably other continental lands.'⁵

The second part of the answer, therefore, is that if as a consequence of the battle of Raichur, the *tanadaris* on the mainlands adjoining Goa were left undefended, the fort city of Rachol, if it were there, could not have been an exception. What is much more important, the *fort city* of Rachol in the peninsula of Salsette was not in existence at that time, but came into being at much later date. Speaking about the years 1533-35, Mr. Frederick Charles Danvers writes, 'Nuno da Cunha seized upon the country on the mainland opposite to Goa, for the protection of which a fort was erected at Rachol, but not without opposition . . .'⁶

Father Heras sees in Krsnaraya's offer of the mainlands of Goa to the Portuguese a 'Real donation.' He refers to Correa⁷ to prove that it was a 'free gift.'⁸ He then argues that this would not be possible for the Raya 'had not he any territory in that peninsula' of Salsette; but 'if you prescind of this conquest of Rachol no campaign of the Raya in that region is ever mentioned.'⁹

In truth, Krsnaraya was not prompted in this transaction by any motives of altruism or of a self-denying friendship. Castenhada clearly states that Krsnaraya desired full compensation in the form of a monopoly of 'all the horses that came to Goa.'¹⁰ The hard bargaining of a trade-pact has been given the glosses of a friendship, demanding reciprocity. This 'donation' of the emperor would have been only a conditional renunciation of his rights over those lands as having been Vijayanagara's of old.

1. *Proceedings*, 352.

2. *F. E.* 143.

3. Souza and Barros, quoted by Sewell, pp. 144-5. "

4. Krsnaraya sent a message to Ruy de Mello (Correa) asking him to take possession of the mainlands (Castenhada), promising to conform this later in a solemn treaty (Osorio)—Sewell, pp. 143 and 145

5. *Proceedings*, 351-52.

6. '*The Portuguese in India*' I, p. 413.

7. Correa II, 658.

8. *The Aravidu dynasty*, 59-60.

9. *Proceedings*, 352

10. Sewell 143. Osorio states that this arrangement had to be ratified. *F. E.* n. 145.

The territories of both Goa and Belgaum had originally belonged to the kings of Vijayanagara. But later, Mahmud Gawan captured them for his master 'Mahummud Shaw' Bahmuny.¹ Then they passed into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. But about the end of the year 1510 A.D., as soon as they heard of the capture and fortification of Goa by the Portuguese. 'The principal Hindoos of the city of Bilgao had broken out into rebellion against the Hidalcao and had cast the Moors out of the city and put themselves under the command of the king of Vijayanagara.'² A letter of this period from Fr. Luis to Afonso Dalboquerque at Goa, refers to the Raya's preparations to 'proceed with all this force of men to his places situated on the edge of the sea,' and advises the Viceroy to 'keep friendly communications with the King.'³

Castenhada states of Krsnaraya that "He had taken Belgaum by force of arms from the Hidalcao, with all the land appertaining to it as far as the sea...".⁴ But hardly had Krsnaraya turned to the conquest of the East from Gajapati of Orissa, the Musalmans appear to have re-asserted their power around Goa. Belgaum and the lands appertaining to it were slowly conquered back by the Musalmans. Krsnaraya's ambassador, "Retelim Chetim"⁵ approached Dalboquerque on 8th November, 1514 A. D. for a "treaty of peace and friendship...; to wage war against the Turks in the Kingdom of the Deccan..."⁶ Nothing came out of this embassy and Krsnaraya started on his invasion of the Kalinga country.

In the beginning of the year 1515 A. D., Dalboquerque vainly tried to persuade Adil Shah to make over to the Portuguese the mainlands opposite to Goa and the pass of the land of the Ghaut⁷. Since then, the Portuguese appear to have looked on to that territory with desire. When in the year 1520 A. D. hostilities broke out between Vijayanagara and Bijapur, they came into a tacit understanding with the Raya over those lands. In his turn, Krsnaraya most probably found it convenient to renounce his title over what was not his possession at the time. It was much more desirable that he should do so, for besides getting rid of a much disputed tract, he would be assured of a monopoly of all the horses that came to Goa.

View it how we will, on no grounds, either geographical or political, can the identification of Nuniz' "Rachol" with Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette be maintained. Mr. B. Sewell drew the most obvious and natural conclusion that when Nuniz wrote of the conquest of "Rachol" by Krsnaraya, he had meant none other than Raichur, the fort most strategically situated in the middle of the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab.

1. Belgaum was captured in 1474 A.D.—*Burhan-ul-Ma'asir* (Ind. Ant., 1899, p. 286.) Ferishta assigns the event to A.H. 877 i.e. A.D. 1472-3.

2. *Commentaries*, III, p. 36.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4. Sewell 143. Castenhada placed this event prior to 1520 A. D. Krsnaraya is not seen in any other campaign against this part of the country.

5. In January, 1512, Dalboquerque, on his return from Malacca, found Goa and suburbs invested by the Musalmans.

6. Ratnappa Vadeya. See Mr. G. V. Rao, "Krishna Deva Raya and the Portuguese"—*J. A. H. R. S.* X. p. 81. Father Heras thinks that "Retlim Chetim" stands for Radalingam Chetti.—See "*Early relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal*," *Q. J. M. S.*, XIV, p. 73.

7. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 307. See also *Commentaries*, chap. XXVII.

8. *Commentaries*, IV, p. 127 and note.

X

EAST INDIA COMPANY AND JAHANGIR

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SUMMARY

During the reign of Jahangir the East India Company passed through many vicissitudes and pitfalls, in order to establish its trade. The English made their first attempt to open trade in India in 1607, but they failed. In 1612, a factory was established at Surat by an agreement with local authorities which was confirmed by the Mughal Emperor. The conflict between the Portuguese and Mughals, in 1613, gave the English a favourable opportunity to acquire trade privileges in the Mughal Empire. By 1614 the factors of the Company were working at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Broach, Baroda and Agra. The Company sent Sir Thomas Roe, in 1615, as an ambassador from James I to Jahangir, for concluding a commercial treaty, on terms of equality. He stayed at the Mughal Court till the autumn of 1618, but failed in his object. However, Indo-British Commerce was more or less regular after 1614, and was making steady progress.

The English merchants of this period did not understand their position in the Mughal Empire. Their status and privileges were solely dependent on the *firman*s of the Emperor, which were revocable and alterable as the situation demanded. There could be no question of making of an agreement or convention, on terms of equality, between the foreign merchants and the Mughal State. Sir Thomas Roe misjudged the situation and in vain tried to secure such a treaty. The reason for this was quite simple, the English had nothing to offer in reciprocity whereas they wanted free trade in India. Attaching great importance to Jahangir's hobby to possess curious and rare things, they promised to bring toys and rarities of Europe for the mighty Mughal. Their promise to help him against his enemies was a thing to be scorned. The Indian merchants had nothing to gain by allowing the English to trade on equal terms as they never desired to go to England for their own commerce. The English realised after some time that their demands would never be fulfilled, but they went on doggedly with their schemes. Mercantilists at home, the English merchants of the seventeenth century, rather surprisingly, asked for free trade in India. Least restrictions on their activities appeared to them as intolerable wrongs. Being strong at sea, they grew insolent and they thought of reprisals against Indian shipping, for getting their demands accepted by the Mughal authorities. They tried this method in 1623 and were successful in forcing an unreasonable agreement on the authorities at Surat.

In 1624, however, the Mughals were able to persuade the English to accept their own terms which were very reasonable. They were allowed to trade throughout the Mughal Empire, paying the usual custom duties and conforming to the commercial practices of the country. The English fully realised their limitations, if they were to share in the lucrative trade of India. The foreign merchants had to rely on royal patronage and the goodwill of the local authorities and commercial magnates. The English began to cultivate cordial relations with all of them.

XI

A CONTEMPORARY DUTCH CHRONICLE OF MUGHAL INDIA

By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.

In the Dutch Record Office Hague, there are two copies of a 'Hindustan Chronicle'. One of them is on Asiatic paper. It gives an account of Indian events from the beginning of the reign of Humayun to the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign. The last portion beginning with 'In the year 1036' to the end is written in a different hand but the whole story is brought down to the accession of Shah Jahan.

The second copy is bound up with the *Report* of Pelsaert 'on the present condition of the trade' in India. The *Report* as well as the *Hindustan Chronicle* are written in the same hand. A comparison of this Ms. with the Journal of the Ship *Sa-dam* for 1629 reveals the fact that this Ms. was written by Saloman Deschamps who was an Under-Factor on the ill fated ship *Batavia* which sailed from Holland to the east in the fleet commanded by Pelsaert.

A comparison of these two Manuscripts with the *Fragment of the History of India gathered from Dutch sources and rendered into Latin* by Joannes De Laet (Antwerp, 1631) conclusively proves that another copy of this *Hindustan Chronicle* formed the basis of De Laet's work. De Laet, besides being a voluminous writer, was a Director of the Dutch East India Company. He tells us that he used a Dutch Chronicle compiled by Van den Broecke, the Director of the Western Hemisphere at Surat in the twenties of the seventeenth century. Van den Broecke sent 'a chronicle of Hindustan since the time of the grandfather of the present king based on materials which he had been able to collect' as an enclosure with his letter dated December 11, 1627 written on board the ship *Dordrecht* in the road of Sawally. It is reasonable to suppose that the Ms. on Asiatic paper is probably the original of Van den Broecke's chronicle. Van den Broecke referred to Jahangir as "the present king" and his chronicle must have closed with the events preceding Jahangir's death. Thus the additional section in a different hand in this Ms. must have been added by some one else. But as this forms a part of De Laet's Latin work published in 1631 it must have been added to between the years 1628 and 1631 in Holland.

But the second Ms. raises another question. Why should it have been bound up with a volume of Pelsaert's Report? Now Pelsaert started his service in India as the Junior Factor at the newly established Dutch factory at Agra where he rose to be the Senior Factor before he left India in 1627. Van den Broecke praises his good service, experience, and knowledge of the country and speaks of him as one well versed in the language of the country as well in the letter above referred to. Now in his *Report* Pelsaert speaks of a chronicle of the country which he 'intended to write separately'. The *Report* was written while he was still in the country. One might hazard the guess that before he left India in December 1627, Pelsaert had written this account. He must have been carrying it home with him when he left India on the ship *Dordrecht*. The relations between Van den Broecke and Pelsaert seem to have been very cordial. Is it likely, one might very well ask oneself, that there were Manuscripts of two separate chronicles of Hindustan on board

the same ship? Of course one cannot reject this as an impossibility. But it seems more likely that in compiling his chronicle Van den Broecke might have made use of his subordinate at Agra's knowledge of the language of the country. His chief at Surat could have easily asked Pelsaert, the Senior Factor at Agra, to send him a draft of a chronicle of India. Pelsaert could have easily done this work but one can imagine him retaining a copy of the draft himself. He could have then employed his own subordinate Deschamps on board the ship 'Batavia' to make out a copy both of his *Report* which he must have sent to Holland much earlier as well as of his chronicle. That would account for both the Mss. being bound in one volume. Whether Pelsaert wrote a draft which Van den Broecke utilised incorporating in it some material of his own as well or whether his superior at Surat palmed off Pelsaert's work as his own must remain an open question. It is difficult, however, to imagine Broecke sending the chronicle to Holland in his own name on the same ship on which Pelsaert was travelling. Pelsaert could have easily exposed his Chief in Holland. It is more likely, therefore, that Pelsaert might have been asked as a part of his Official duties to compile this chronicle. It is difficult to imagine Broecke and Pelsaert combining together to produce jointly a report to be submitted as an official paper in Holland. The chronicle, therefore, seems to have been the work of Pelsaert who however, could not claim any personal credit for it as he had compiled it during his day's business.

But if Pelsaert wrote it at Agra wherefrom did he obtain his materials? He could have only based his earlier account of the Mughal Empire on some Persian Ms. only. But none of the contemporary works in Persian now extant can claim the honour of being Pelsaert's original. The blunders of which Pelsaert is guilty in his account of Humayun and Akbar, could not have been committed by any Indian historian. It is not necessary to produce many specific examples of his ignorance or worse about these two reigns. Any serious student of Indian history would detect these 'howlers'. His muddle headed story of the conflict between Sher Shah and Humayun and his rather absurd chronology of Humayun's wandering after the birth of Akbar are enough to prove that he could not have used a contemporary Persian chronicle for the purpose of compiling his work. He dates Sher Shah's death in 1550 and makes Firoze Khan instead of Salim his successor. His account of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat rolls into one account what happened during two separate expeditions to that country. He succeeds no better in his account of the Mughal conquest of Bengal.

It is more likely then that Pelsaert consulted "several Persian chronicles. When he sat down to write his own account he sometimes got confused in the maze of Indian history though his Persian studies appear in the certain phrases which could occur in a chronicle compiled by a Dutchman only if he was translating a Persian Document. Thus he talks of 'the fire of enmity' breaking out between Humayun and Kamran. The Mirzas are described at one place to have 'wished to come under the shadow of King Akbar'. Mahabat Khan on learning of his own son's turning against him 'seemed without hands and feet'. Jahangir's victories are always described as due to 'God's grace'. His description of the time follows the Indian fashion speaking of *Gharis* and *Pahars*. The use of these terms was so outlandish in a Dutch text that De Laet hopelessly blundered in rendering them into Latin. Shah Jahan reaches Rohtas from Tonsa in 6 *pahars*. De Laet rendered that saying

that Shah Jahan 'fled so swiftly that he reached Rohtas in 36 days'. But the most conclusive proof is Pelsaert's description of the renunciation of Christianity by Hoshang and Fahmuras whom Jahangir had placed under the Jesuits, Jahangir took them away whereupon, adds Pelsaert, they were again united with and received among those of *our* faith.

Thus even though De Laet's book --and therefore, his original Pelsaert or Van den Broecke's chronicle--might have 'long marked as the best general account of India', its value in Europe was due rather to the fullness of its account than its accuracy. It is wrong to talk of its being based on 'a genuine chronicle of the empire' as Dr. Vincent Smith did. It is 'one of the early authorities for the history of the reign of Akbar', but its numerous blunders--of course so easily detectable sometimes--make it rather worthless as an independent source of the history of Humayun and Akbar. For the reign of Jahangir it is an independent compilation of contemporary events by a European contemporary and as such much more useful than in the earlier period.

SECTION V—MODERN INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., Keeper of the Records.
Government of India.

Let me thank you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the Modern Indian History Section of the Indian History Congress.

Before we proceed to examine any specific problem, we have to answer three definite questions. Can we reasonably agree to a chronological division and regional segmentation of history? If so, what should be the determining factor in ascertaining the line of demarcation? To what extent can a particular region be isolated for the purposes of historical investigation? As Sir Charles Oman so pertinently observed, the professional historian is unable to answer many questions in the simple affirmative or negative. Our answer is bound to be qualified by many "ifs" and "buts."

We believe in the unity of history; it is one of our cardinal creeds. History flows like a river from the forgotten past to the unknown future. It cannot, therefore, be divided into chronological compartments. When a historian puts a chronological limit to the subject of his enquiry, he does not deny, even by implication, the wider scope of his science; he simply confesses his own limitations. When we speak of "modern," "mediæval" or "ancient" history we do not ignore the intimate inter-relations of the different periods and the organic connection between the preceding and the succeeding ages. Convenience alone dictates a practice which conviction may find far from the ideal.

Regional segmentation of history also is not without serious difficulties. Can we isolate a particular geographical unit for historical investigation? Can we, to be more concrete, isolate India for such a purpose? Regional segmentation of history is based, to a certain extent, on logical and psychological grounds. Though we recognise the unity of history, every man feels a greater interest for his immediate neighbourhood. That is why we start with that branch of history which deals with our own country, our own people and our own times. That is the justification of the Indian History Congress and the Modern Indian History Section.

To return from the abstract to the concrete, when did the Modern Age begin in this country? "Modern", "mediæval" and "ancient" are relative terms and we cannot draw a line of demarcation which will hold good for all time. Chronological boundaries are liable to change, like the shifting course of a river. It is easy to say when the decline of the Moghul empire began, but is it possible to assign a precise date to its fall? The premonitions of the impending disaster were probably perceived as early as the first decade of the 18th century, but will it not be rash to assert that the Moghul empire ceased to exist with the passing away of the great Alamgir? When did the end come? With the invasion of Nadir Shah? With the murder of Alamgir II? With the British occupation of Delhi? The empire as a political entity ceased to function long before Nadir Shah exposed its hollowness to a horrified India, but the form survived the reality, and a Badshah continued to reside in the red fort of Shahjahan till the anachronism was

removed in the middle of the last century. Does the passing away of the empire synchronise with the advent of the Modern Age in India? Was the so-called Moghul period essentially mediæval in its political institutions, intellectual outlook and economic organisation?

In Europe the sixteenth century witnessed an intellectual revolution and religious upheaval that marked the end of mediæval faith and established the modern supremacy of reason. Blind faith gradually yielded place to reasoned conviction. Religion gradually ceased to enjoy any political importance, as the Church had been subordinated to the State. Science occupied the predominant place that formerly belonged to Theology. By this test Modern Indian History does not begin before the middle of the nineteenth century. Not until new ideas become commonplace can the new age be said to have fairly commenced. The royal astronomer of Jaipur was in close intellectual contact with his fellow scientists in the West. Jai Singh took every care to have the standard Western works on Astronomy translated into Persian, but he was far in advance of his times. He was not a typical representative of his age. Another pioneer was Ram Mohan of Bengal; but an age is to be judged not by its geniuses, but by the common man. The common man in Ram Mohan's days still confused faith with reason. The Age of Reason in India, the modern age, the scientific age is hardly a century old.

What will be the central theme of Modern Indian History? Many headings may be, and have been suggested. Pax Britannica, Evolution of Democratic Institutions, Growth of Capitalism, Decay of Rural India, Rise of Militant Nationalism, Passing of the Old Order, Diffusion of Western Learning, Growth of Vernacular Literature, will each make a catching title. As manifestations of the modern mind in India they deserve careful examination and analysis and some excellent monographs have already been written. Interesting as these movements are, they form nothing but a clue to the dominant force that gave our times their characteristic features. The central theme round which they will fit in a harmonious and consistent pattern is however different: it is the Fusion of Culture. Fusion of culture is not a new thing in India and the ancient Hindu colonies in the Far East. India has been from time immemorial the meeting place of many races; into this magic cauldron have been thrown diverse cultures, cults and creeds to be brewed into a wonderful potion that still brings solace and peace to millions of human beings. The intensity of our researches must depend on the extent of our sources; and when we come to modern times our sources grow in variety as well as in volume. India is no longer the fabulous land of the pagoda tree, it is an integral part of the busy world, within easy reach of every civilised country. Never before had the fusion of two cultures been more complete, the synthesis of two civilisations been more harmonious, the intercourse between different races been more fruitful.

Before concluding I feel tempted to make one enquiry which I hope will not be deemed impertinent. The Modern West has relegated religion to the background. What is the position of religion in Modern India? Has spiritualism completely yielded place to materialism under the impact of the West? The State in India does not derive its sanction from theology to-day. The king does not enjoin the employee to obey his employer. But are the current political creeds totally unaffected by the teachings of the old scriptures? That they are free from priestly influences is apparent. Mr. Gandhi is not a Brahmin, Mr. Jinnah is not a Mullah. But we are too near the events to have a correct

perspective. The unchanging East is having a mad orgy of changes, but it is too early to assert that she has cast her mysticism aside. Science has worked wonders in every sphere of life, but spiritualism may at the last resort seek refuge in the very science that shook its foundation so badly. Some day probably an Indian Tawney or an Indian Weber will take up this fascinating subject.

I am not inclined to blame my countrymen because more work on Modern Indian History has been done in the British Isles than in India. Our British friends had an early start. They had ready access to the contemporary official records, private correspondence of prominent personages and family papers preserved in the public and private archives of England, while access to archives in India was strictly limited. Only the fortunate few who could cross the sea and go to London and Paris in search of their sources could employ their time and industry to some useful purpose. Others had necessarily to confine their investigations to more convenient subjects, for which ample materials were available in India. But things of late have luckily changed for the better. The Government of India have recently thrown the portals of their record rooms wide open to all seekers for knowledge. The Provincial Governments are sure to follow the example of the Centre sooner or later. Our scholars must now exploit this unique opportunity to the best of their ability.

If our study is to be exhaustive and thorough, it will not do to confine our attention to the state archives alone. Equally voluminous records may be awaiting the scholar's scrutiny in private custody all over the country. The old records lying uncared for in the *Zemindar's Katcheri*, in the ancient temples and monasteries, in the family mansions of the rich, the grocer's ledgers, the banker's accounts, the Dhobi's bill, the farmer's wages roll, the house-wife's bazaar chits must all be laid under contribution, and every place from the Raja's palace to the peasant's hut must be scoured for them. A concerted survey must be organised in every province, in every district to bring these valuable private records to light.

We can do nothing better than to emulate the example of a noble son of the Punjab. Born in the land of the five rivers, Dr. Balakrishna transferred his sphere of activities to far off Maharashtra. He started his work in the British archives, but later turned his attention to the indigenous records in private custody. His was not a solitary quest, for in Maharashtra many sincere scholars have devoted their lives to this noble work. Our muse is an exacting mistress, she demands undivided devotion and the frail body of Dr. Balakrishna could not bear the strain. He died in harness. Two years back he presided over this section at Allahabad and his voice must be still ringing in your ears. Last year he sent a resolution to the Indian Historical Records Commission calling upon the Government of India to secure transcripts of all contemporary records relating to this country now preserved in lands beyond the seas. He passed away before his mission was fulfilled. It is for us who survive to take up his unfinished work. May his tired soul find peace and consolation in the assurance that his colleagues will do what he left undone, his friends will complete what he left unfinished and his countrymen will achieve his cherished hopes and devout desires.

The history of Modern India has yet to be written. To outsiders India is a land of complexities and contradictions. Her culture has never been exclusive, her conservatism has always been tempered with a

toleration all her own. Reverence for the old has never degenerated here to aversion to the new. Assimilation and not annihilation has been her racial policy. It will be our task to bring together and preserve for future generations their rightful heritage, the raw materials of Modern Indian History. It will be our duty to rescue from decay and dissolution those indigenous records on which Modern Indian History must be based. It will be our care to rouse the public conscience and to persuade the custodians of the public purse to do their duty by the archives in India, public and private.

I

THE MARATHA OCCUPATION OF GINGEE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.

Gingee assumed a new and strategic importance under the Bijapuri governors who ruled it for over two decades previously to its conquest by the Marathas in 1677. The fort was named Badshabad, and the neighbouring *killas* were put in charge of Muslim captains, while a number of fief-holders were settled on a quasi-military tenure in the surrounding country; and soon there was a very large influx of Muslims from the Deccan into the Gingee territory. But the Bijapur court became involved in a very bitter strife between the two leading factions among the nobility, the Deccanis and the Afghans. The latter party triumphed for the time being (1676); and Bahlol Khan, the Regent, and their Head, was driven to seek the friendship of Sivaji and enter into a short lived alliance with him through the mediation of the Golconda minister, Madanna Pant. Sivaji strengthened his alliance with Golconda whose ruler was "for the Deccanis fighting with the northerners" and whose Brahman minister was very favourable to his aims and helped his envoy, Prahlad Niraji, in making a treaty which should enable the Maratha ruler to have a free passage through the Golconda territory on condition of the Kutb Shah getting a share of the conquests. Mr. C. V. Vaidya sees in this diplomatic arrangement an even more far-seeing motive animating this expedition and quotes a long letter¹ written by Sivaji from Hyderabad, in March 1677, to Maloji Raje Ghorepade, in which he envisaged the claim that the Padshahi of the Deccan should belong to the Marathas and it was not good that a Pathan should be in power in the land.

An indigenous 18th century South Indian annalist, one Narayana Kone, who made use of all the material then available for his purpose, and wrote a chronicle of the history of the Carnatic in Tamil in 1803,

1. The letter runs thus :—"Adilshahi has been seized by Bahlol Khan Pathan. It is not good that the Deccani Padshahi should be in the hands of a Pathan (a northerner). The Padshahi of the Deccan belongs to us, the Deccanis. Our castemen, the Marathas, should go over to Kutbshahi which is a Deccani state. I forget all that your father, Baji Ghorepade, did to my father and I did to Baji what he did to me. Let the past be past. We will combine. Adilshahi can subsist no longer. You are a Maratha, and in order that you might be benefited came to Kutbshahi. My father Shahaji when he became supreme in Adilshahi, raised to dignity many Marathas, and your father, Baji, among them " (*Shivaji, the Founder of Maratha Swaraj*; (1931)—Chapter XXXV.

makes the same claim for Sivaji's expedition.¹ Narayanan writes that because the Mussalmans had ruined the Carnatic, transforming temples into mosques, and in order to restore the national honour, Maharaja Sivaji, ruler of the Maratha country in the Deccan, descended by the valley of Ambur in 1080 *fashi*, with 100,000 horsemen and gunners. Narayanan further says that "it is true that Shahji before his death had given to his younger son, Vyankoji, his jaghir of Bangalore. He had confided his son (Vyankoji) to the care of his Brahman minister Raghunatha Narayana Hanumanthe. For his part the latter considered Vyankoji as his own son and brought him up carefully as such."

"Fired by ambition, Vyankoji unjustly took possession eventually of the Nayak kingdom of Tanjore by force of arms. To pacify the country and to induce the Hindu population to admit his authority, he generously distributed all the wealth amassed in the state treasury by the previous ruler, Vijayaraghava Naicker; but far from succeeding, this only served to intensify the jealousies and bickerings of chiefs, and he had to fight them incessantly and raise armies, which was not possible without enormous expenditure."

"Then famine having taken its toll, it was not possible for him to levy heavier imposts on the inhabitants. Having deliberated, he determined to confiscate the wealth of the temples which drew on him the hatred of Hanumanthe. The latter therefore took leave of his master on the pretext of making in his old age the sacred pilgrimage to Benares. Really he went to see King Sivaji in order to inform him of the rapine and pillage indulged in by his brother.

"It is not therefore surprising that on the pious mind of Sivaji the account of his father's trusted minister made a painful impression and that he thereupon resolved to take steps to bring his brother back to a more scrupulous observance of his duties. But knowing the obstinacy and sullen temper of his brother, Sivaji immediately perceived that his endeavour would prove to be futile in a great measure. Besides, he had sent emissaries to his brother to claim his share of the possessions and acquisitions of his father."

"For fifteen years from the death of Shahji, Sivaji had left his younger brother to enjoy without any hindrance the revenues of Shahji's jaghir of Bangalore and other districts. If he reclaimed so tardily his share, it was not because he had any idea of enriching himself, but only to bring his brother back to a juster appreciation of the realities of the situation and of the Dharma that ought to be realised by any right-minded ruler. The best proof of his sincerity was that he had proposed to his brother to submit their differences to arbitration and he himself nominated three arbitrators for the purpose."

1. It is an important item of the History Section of the Mackenzie Manuscripts collection and claims to be a general history of peninsular India, Hindu and Muhammadan, down to A. D. 1878, with particular reference to the Carnatic and the Tondamandalam country. The author is a descendant of one of the former lines of rulers of Gingee and was particularly well-informed about the history of this place. The eighth section of the chronicle dealing with the lower Karnataka country is deserving of particular attention, having been recognised in its value quite early in the history of the accumulation and utilisation of the Mackenzie Collection. An English translation of this portion is now under preparation by the writer, while a translation into French, on the basis of a copy obtained from the India Office Collection, entitled, "*Histoire Detaillee des Rois du Carnatic*" was brought out in 1939 at Pondicherry. The version that Narayan gives of the circumstances antecedent to and concerning the Maratha occupation of Gingee is very interesting as a commentary that might really be authentic in very many places on the version or versions now prevailing.

II

According to the *Rairi Bakhar*, Sivaji is said to have declared to the Kutb Shah that if Golconda and Bijapur would but co-operate with him, he would conquer the whole of India for them. The Kutb Shah agreed to pay to Sivaji a daily subsidy of 3,000 pagodas; while the historian, Colonel Mark Wilks, informs us that Sivaji received from him, 100,000 pagodas in cash and also some jewellery.

With the main body of his army, Sivaji started on his Carnatic expedition, (March, 1677) compelled the ruler of Cuddapah-Kurnool to pay a tribute of five lakhs of pagodas and then advanced along the road of Cuddapah. Deviating for a time to bathe at Nivritti Sangham and to worship at the shrine of Srisaillam, Sivaji then descended into the coastal Carnatic by the Damal-cheruvu pass and pushed on with his cavalry and a body of Mavles and passed through the neighbourhood of Madras to Gingee, (usually named Chandy in the *Maratha Bakhar*). Arriving in the vicinity of that fortress, he proceeded to plant batteries for a regular siege of the place.

Gingee was then in charge of Rauf Khan (the Rup Khan of the *Bakhars*) and Nazir Khan¹ with whom Raghunath Pant had made one of his secret agreements even before he persuaded Sivaji to embark upon his southern conquests. The accounts given in some of the *Bakhars* would support the capture of the fort by treachery, which is not accepted by Sir J. N. Sarkar, as not being supported by any valid contemporary authority. The Jesuit testimony says that Sivaji carried the fortress at the first assault. The *Sabhasad* tells us that negotiations were opened with the Khans, assurances of safety were taken and they were induced to leave the place.

According to Martin's *Memoirs*, Nazir Khan had been, for some time previous to the descent of Sivaji, only concerned in endeavouring to prevent Sher Khan from getting the possession of Gingee; and he had been further cunningly informed that Sivaji was coming on behalf of Golconda and consequently did not scruple to send envoys to the Maratha as soon as he heard that he had entered the Carnatic. Nicolo Manucci, the well-known Venetian writer, had entered the item of Sivaji's capture of Gingee, in the *Storia do Mogor*, in these words:—"Sivaji" having no idea of allowing his arms to rust, asked the king of Golconda to grant him a passage to his campaign in the Carnatic and obtained by his valour and determination the great fortress called Gingee. He, like a dexterous falcon, pounced on many other fortresses belonging to Bijapur".

The best contemporary foreign account of the Carnatic expedition is in the *Memoirs* of Francois Martin a servant of the French East India Company, who had been in their service from 1665 and who compiled a daily journal of everything that deserved notice for a number of years, revising them later probably with the help of a copyist and supplementing

1. Rauf Khan and Nazir Khan were held by Krof. Sarkar to have been the sons of Khawas Khan, the leader of the Deccani party in Bijapur.

According to Kappelin, Nazir Muhammad was a brother of Khawas Khan; the *Sabhasad* makes him, as well as Rapul Khan, the sons of the Wazir Khan-i-Khauan. Sher Khan Lodi, the Pathan governor of Tiruvannamalai and the neighbouring forts and a good friend of Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry, was, naturally enough, an adherent of the Afghan faction and would not join forces with the commandants of Gingee even during the crisis of Sivaji's attack upon it. He was reckoned as a positive factor of help by the Kutbshahi government and others.

them with numerous corrections and notes. Two big fragments of his Journal have been preserved. His *Memoirs* which go down to 1694 constitute, in the words of Dr. S. N. Sen, a document of first rate importance. (Introduction to *Foreign Biographies of Sivaji*: 1929). Another scholar, Adrian Duarte testifies to its thorough dependability, particularly as regards the events at Golconda and Madanna's share in the whole affair of the expedition.

As an ally of Sher Khan Lodi, Martin closely watched the political movements that occurred in the neighbourhood of his own settlement. The French, we herein read, had indeed made an attempt to bring about an understanding between Sivaji and Bahlol Khan, the head of the then triumphant Afghan party in Bijapur and the Commander-in-Chief of the Adil Shahi army; and Martin had been even directed to approach Sher Khan with this proposal. Sher Khan however informed Martin that he could not write to his master, unless Sivaji took an oath on a *shalagrama* in testimony of his sincerity. Whether the French Director, Baron, made any effective attempt in this direction is not known for certain. Sher Khan attacked Sivaji near Tiruvati (west of Cuddalore), but was completely defeated, and taken prisoner along with 5,000 horse and 12 elephants and an immense quantity of treasure. This battle took place shortly after the acquisition of Gingee in June-July 1677 and is well detailed by Martin.

The movements of Sivaji as he proceeded down to Gingee drew the serious and anxious attention of the English at Fort St. George. The Madras Council, in their letter of 9th May, 1677, noticed that Sivaji had already passed Tirupati and Kalahasti, with an army of 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot. In their next letter of the 14th May, they recorded their ready compliance with his request for "some cordial stone and counterpoisons" which they eagerly supplemented with fruits from their garden, three yards of broad cloth and a few pieces of sandalwood, saying "considering how great a person he was and how much his friendship has already become and may import to the Honourble Company as he grows more and more powerful as it was obvious to them, especially when the army was very near and was only a day's march, they would not ask him money for such trifles though he had offered to pay money in his letter." This was followed by a further request from Sivaji for an additional supply of liquors and by a subsequent demand for some engineers, which was however politely refused, "with a civil excuse, fearing the enmity of the Golconda Sultan and the Mughals."

The *Jedhe Sakavali* tells us that Sivaji took Gingee and the whole of the Carnatic in Chitra Sudha (Saka, 1599) April 1677. The letter¹ of

1. "Sivaji applied all the energy of his mind, and all the resources of his dominions to the fortifications of all the principal places. He constructed new ramparts around Gingee, dug ditches, erected towers and executed all the works with a perfection, that Europeans would be ashamed of." The Madras Minutes and Consultations of April 1678 contain a reference to the fortifications erected by Sivaji: "Santaji with his army returned to Gingee castle, a great part of which is very strongly built since Sivaji took it, and there is a great store of grain and all things necessary for a long siege already laid in and he has a good stock of money, besides the rent of the country he had taken." The Consultations further inform us that "Sivaji after having examined the site of Gingee which offered great protection gave orders to cut off a part and to erect new fortifications." They also add that by February 1678 a large body of workmen were vigorously "labouring at Gingee for demolishing a portion of the wall and to fortify the area enclosed by it."

The Gingee fortress was in reality a cluster of three strongly fortified hills surrounded by a strong, enclosing, casemated and battlemented wall and by a deep ditch, while

Footnote continued on the next page.

the Jesuit, Andre Freire, dated July 1678, confirms Sivaji's conquest of Gingee and refers to the fortifications effected in the place and the great care taken by the Maratha invaders to its garrisoning and provisioning.

The South Indian Chronicler, Narayanan, above referred to, thus writes of the actual capture of the place and of the building operations undertaken by Sivaji in strengthening the great Gingee fortress.

"The ruler of Siringapatam and other chiefs paid tribute to Sivaji through their respective vakils. In addition, the chief of the Palayapattu, (fief) of Chittoor, the zamindars of Bommu-rajupalayam and Kalahasti, Bangaru Yachama Nayak (of Venkatagiri) and the officers of the Muslim Sultans went in person to Sivaji and presented to him in durbar all the chiefs beginning with the ruler of Wandiwash. Sivaji gained the friendship of all the Mussalmans from Satghar and Vellore and fortified all the important places in the country. He gave Arni and Vellore to Kanoji Sarboji Bosala and made for Gingee. It is thus that the Marathas took possession of all the country that had already been under the Sulah of Hyderabad."

"The Killedar of Gingee, Nizar Khan, and the Faujdar, Siddi Ambar Khan, defended the place and gave battle to the invader. But the army of the Marathas showed itself to be much the stronger. The battle was violent and the Chandrayandrug fort was first taken. Both parties suffered considerable losses. Then Sivaji took by assault the main fortress (of Rajagiri) whose bastions he strengthened; and he entrusted the kingdom of Gingee to his brother."

"All round the fortress of Gingee, there were then four encircling walls built by the Kovalan or (shepherd) dynasty and the Naicker rulers. Sivaji preserved the inner fortress which was at the foot of the Rajagiri hill and had the three outer walls, called *Adaya Valanjun*, demolished. He raised a strong wall in the form of a triangle, of which one side was to the right of the small forts. Chandrayandrug and Krishnagiri, the second near those of Krishnagiri and Rajagiri and the third towards Rajagiri, Chandradrug and the fort of Muthialu Naicker. King Sivaji established thus his rule which enforced respect for justice."

"It was thus that the Bhosla brothers (younger sons of Shahji) appropriated to themselves the state of Tanjore and the fortress of Arni. They got duly the tributes of the Nayak rulers of Trichinopoly and Madura and the Maravars of Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga. The Marathas of Tanjore likewise controlled a part of the country of Ramanathapuram, viz., Pudukkottai and Arantangi.

"In 1082² fasli, the Maratha Raja gave his purohita, Vedassi Baskara Pandita, the fortress of Arni and a portion of the adjoining territory capable of yielding an annual revenue of 100,000 pagodas. After having restored the fortress of Gingee and appointed Ram Raja, the king of this place, king Sivaji took himself to Tiruvannamalai. He was a devotee of Siva. It might be recalled that the Mussalmans had let fall into ruins and then converted into mosques the temple of Siva at Tiruvannamalai and the one dedicated to Samudra Perumal. Sivaji destroyed the two mosques,

tier after tier of battlements ran up to the steep height of Rajagiri, the principal fort, on the top of which was the citadel cut off from all approach by a deep chasm and capable of being held by ten men against ten thousand. For a plan of this great fortress, see the illustration of the fortress as it was at the commencement of the 18th century, in *Histoire de Gingi* par C. S. Srinivasachari, tra luite de l'anglais et annotee per Edmond Gaudart, Gouverneur en retraite, Pondicherry, 1940.

restored the temple of Siva and with the bricks accruing from the demolition of temple, dedicated to Samudra Perumal, he constructed a stairway all round the *mantapam* of thousand pillars built by the Naickers caused to be assembled 10,000 cows in the *mantapam*, to sanctify the installation of the Sivalingam and got performed the dedication ceremony. It is he that instituted also the festival called "Kartikai dipam" on the hillock on the sacred Nakshatra of Krittigai in the month of Kartik."

"Then he installed in the same temple of Siva, the idol consecrated to Samudar Perumal. The clerks and accountants of this temple spread themselves all over the surrounding region to convert mosques into temples and perform the consecration ceremonies therein. The ruins of these temples still exist."¹

The annalist, Narayanan, is very explicit with regard to Sivaji's attitude towards his half-brother, Vyankoji of Tanjore as noticed above. The meeting of the two brothers which was arranged in the month of *Shravan* proved fruitless, though there was much rejoicing and entertainment for 8 days. Vyankoji suspected Sivaji's aims and departed in the night without taking formal leave of his brother.² Sivaji then took possession of some parts of his territories, Jagadevagad and its surrounding region, and the provinces of Chidambaram and Vriddhachalam, to the north of the Coleroon. Martin informs us that "the ambassadors of the Naiques of Madura and of Maioursur were near Sivaji as well as the envoys of the paleagars (poligars) of Velour (Vellore), Oulourpatian (Ulundurpet) and others.

III

The object of Sivaji in getting possession of Gingee and the surrounding region of the Carnatic seems to have been discussed and defined by him with his advisers as early as 1675, because we learn from a letter dated December, 1675, Baron De La Haye says that he met Annaji Pant, one of the ministers of Sivaji, who admitted to him that if the Mughals were engaged in the north, his master would carry his arms on to the east coast and that he had already taken measures to minimise the difficulties attendant on the proposed expedition.

Madanna Pant of Golconda had been revolving, according to the account of Martin, plans to recover a part of the Carnatic for Hindu rule and "to make himself a powerful protector of Sivaji by virtue of the facilities that he gave him (Sivaji) to make himself the master of it; and perhaps they had still more far reaching designs... . He (Sivaji) had

1. Sivaji is said to have returned north from the Carnatic in the month of Kartik, 1599, Saka, Pingala, (October-November 1677) to the province of Gadag; perhaps he had made the necessary arrangements for the celebration of the famous *Kartik* festival before he turned back.

2. According to the *Sabhasad*, Sivaji required the return of his father's twelve *binudas*, saying: "I am, however, the elder son and have also distinguished myself more than you. It is not difficult to make new ones for myself, but I am anxious to have these, because they belonged to our brother." Sivaji was surprised at his brother's flights and remarked that he was at liberty to keep the *binudas* and said: "My badges are there in all the eight directions. My fame has spread over the sea-girt earth. What need I, then, of badges?" Martin says, however, that Ekoji (Vyankoji) crossed the Coleroon and came to see Sivaji in his camp on the northern bank of that river. "The first conversations gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to the negotiation, when Ecugy discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims." Then he escaped by a *catamaran* to the other side of the river; and Sivaji had Ekoji's men who were in his camp to be arrested, including Jagannath Pant.

many consultations with the minister (Madanna); orders were sent to the governors of various places in the Carnatic and to the pallagers (poligars) to give Sivagy whatever assistance he might demand of them; troops provisions, artillery, munition, etc., the Duke of Gingy was informed of everything and of the fact that Sivagy was the commander of the army of the King of Golconda and that he had orders to conclude the treaty about which they had agreed. Nasiramet (Nasir Mohammad, the governor of Gingee) who only sought the means of preventing Chircam (Sher Khan) from rendering himself the master of Gingy, did not make any alteration to the terms and got ready to receive Sivagy to whom he sent ambassadors as soon as he learnt that he was in the Carnatic."

Madanna feared that if his master, the Kutb Shah, should personally undertake the expedition against Gingee, it would excite the jealousy of the Mughal and cunningly suggested that Sivaji should be induced to take up this conquest. Appearances were to be maintained that Sivaji would ostensibly act in the interests of Golconda. Martin's *Memoirs* give us a clear indication of the motive which prompted Madanna Pant and Sivaji in projecting the Carnatic expedition of the latter. Madanna Pant, had within two years of his accession to the *wazirship* of Golconda (in 1674, according to the testimony of Baron's Letters and Martin's *Memoirs*) succeeded in getting the whole administration and revenues of the state farmed out to himself and only allowing a monthly stipend for the expenses of the Sultan. He had effectively changed the personnel of the administration to a considerable extent and removed many Pathan, Persian and Deccani grandees from their charges and put his own creatures into the chief offices. One of the most important features of Madanna's foreign policy was his co-operation with Sivaji in the conquest of the Carnatic.

Sivaji's refusal to entrust the fort after its capture to the officers of Golconda, in the words of Martin "opened Abul Hasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him" and "made him realise that Sivaji and Madanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interests".¹ Martin further adds that

1 Adraian Duarte :—already noticed in 'An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records'—*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XI, pp. 298—313—Duarte this explains the significance of Madanna's co-operation with Sivaji.

"Madanna's meeting with Sivaji at Golconda did not represent, as it was intended to appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Mahratha chief but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence Anagi Pent.....m'avoua avec beaucoup de franchise que si le Mogol continuait la guerre du cote de Laor.....que Sivaji porterait ses armes de ce cote la..... et pour avoir moins de difficulte a l'entreprise il avait envoye un ambassadeur a la Cour de Golconde. Baron a De la Haye. Ac. C.2 63. 316-7) that Sivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675. Since that time continuous negotiations had been in progress between his emissary, Raghunath Narain, and Madanna. The latter had already fully made up his mind to subsidise Sivaji with Golconda money to enable him to conquer the Carnatic for himself. Only the pretext for letting Sivaji loose into the Carnatic was wanting and the pretext had opportunely arrived in the request of Nazir Mahomed. When Sivaji finally set out on his mission as Golconda's accredited agent, and with the sinews of war which Golconda had supplied, nobody knew better than Madanna that Sivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give him. As Martin observes, Madanna "knew Sivaji too well not to realise that he would never keep the promise that he had made". The whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abul Hasan into pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Mahratta chieftain.

"We have reached the year 1677 which is, in several respects the year of the fullest maturity of Madanna's diplomatic system. Everything that the system stood for—absolute rule at home, a Brahman administration, the restoration of Hindu rule in the Carnatic, a firm alliance with Sivaji as the chief plank of national defence—all these had, by the

(Footnote continued on next page)

"Madanna's views were to place this part of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus, and by facilitating its conquest for Sivaji, to make him a powerful protector".

It is almost certain that the rapid initial successes of Sivaji in the capture of Gingee and Volconda (Valikandapuram) and several other forts within two months after his starting from his rendezvous should have been the result of the collusion of several principal captains of Bijapur whose court was torn by internal discord. Vellore itself did not seem to have fallen without a protracted resistance and operations that lasted for over fourteen months. Sivaji did not stay in the Carnatic long enough to secure Vellore personally.

It will be interesting to infer whether Sivaji was motivated by the idea of mere plunder or effective conquest and annexation. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has maintained that he was motivated to plunder alone. He says: "he could not have intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast, separated by two powerful and potential states, Bijapur and Golconda and situated more than 700 miles from his capital. His aim was merely to squeeze the country of its wealth and that a partition of his father's *jaghir* was only a plea to give a show of legality to the campaign of plunder." Dr. S. N. Sen, in his 'Studies in Indian History', maintains the contrary view that "there would be no difficulty in maintaining an empire situated some hundred miles away from the capital, provided the communications were safe and good".

Martin's *Memoirs* speak of havildars sent by Sivaji to govern Pondicherry and other places in the conquered territories. The appointment of such havildars shows that Sivaji had decided to annex and govern the country on a permanent basis. Martin has also praised the Brahman officers of the Maratha for their industry in utilising waste and uncultivated lands near Pondicherry and rendering them profitable. It may be said that the prompt appointment of havildars and subhadars for the government of the conquered country and the reclamation and cultivation of unprofitable lands by the officers justify that the Marathas wished to retain their conquests. In several of the forts which they acquired they found the expense of maintaining the garrisons, artillery and munitions to be too great and as at Bhuvanagiripatnam, near Chidambaram, ordered their demolition. A number of the followers of the ruler of Golconda who had accompanied Sivaji in his expedition, enlisted themselves in his service.

year 1677, became concrete accomplished facts giving expression to his aims and definitely influencing the history of the Deccan.

"Madanna doubtless favoured the existence in Central and Southern India of a community of Hindu and semi-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever-pressing encroachment of Moghul India from the North and West. Nothing short of such a theory can satisfy the facts of Madanna's rule since his accession to power in 1674. He had imposed himself and a Brahman bureaucracy on the Golconda state and one of the clauses of the Treaty of Kulburga stipulated this his brother Akkanna, should be vazier of the Bijapur State (Sarkar : *History of Aurangazib*, pp. 150) he had helped to establish Hindu rule in Central India, and use it as a defensive weapon against the constant menace of Mohomedan India from the North. These, doubtless, were the "vast designs" which Martin is always hinting at in his comments on Madanna's policy in the *Memoirs*".

The alliance with Sivaji was Madanna's greatest diplomatic achievement. Abul Hasan had his eyes opened to the deception practised on him by his minister only when the Mahratha officers bluntly refused to hand over the administration of Gingee to his lieutenants.

IV

Santaji,¹ an illegitimate brother of Sivaji, was appointed to the charge of Gingee and its dependencies and was assisted by Raghunath Nārāin Hanumante who was nominated *mazumdar* and Hambir Rao Mohite, in the general management of the affairs of the Carnatic. Havildars were appointed for the Pondicherry Kunimedu and Porto-Novo districts. Sivaji gave orders for the destruction of many small forts in the plains and for the construction of some fortresses on the mountains and heights he had noticed.

Martin's *Memoirs* give ample testimony to the fortifications of Sivaji. The Marathas were said to have built ramparts about 20 feet thick behind the original enclosing walls and equipping them with barracks and guard-rooms built into them as intervals. Such ramparts were more probably the work of the lieutenants left behind him by Sivaji. The *Sabhasad* also says that Sivaji took several other forts besides Vellore, built new ones and conquered a territory yielding 12 lakhs of hons. It further goes into a very significant point. "Chandi (Gingee) was a place well suited to be a capital like Bijapur and Bhagnagar. The king might have stayed there. But there was a vast kingdom on the other side also and it was necessary to protect it. So he appointed Raghunath Narayan as Mazumdar and stationed him at Chandi with a force under Hambir Rao Sarnobat; and himself started from Chandi with two sardars, Anand Rao and Manaji More, together with their armies. He came up the ghats, took the forts of Kolhar and Balapur, took possession of the country, built some new forts, destroyed the turbulent Paleagars and appointed Karkun Rango Narayan as Sarsubhedar and made over this territory also to the management of Raghunath Narayan. He stationed Manaji More with his army in the Kolhar territory and having taken Anand Rao with him, proceeded to Koppal and thence to Lakshmesvar".

Hambir Rao Sarnobat and Raghunath Narayan had to wage a bloody and decisive struggle with Vyankoji who had collected forces from the poligars that were four times as numerous as theirs; but they secured a victory over him and captured many of his horse and elephants and a great quantity of jewels and also Bhivji Raje, Pratapji Raje and many other men of note. They then proceeded to Tanjore and concluded peace with Vyankoji, while Sivaji wrote to them: "Vyankoji Raje is my younger brother. He acted like a child. Still he is my brother. Protect him. Do not ruin his kingdom". After this peace, Raghunath Pant sent Hambir Rao to Sivaji and himself put together ten or twelve thousand men, horse and foot and remained in the Carnatic for its defence.

Martin tells us that the troops of Vyankoji were not so numerous as those of the enemy, but his cavalry was much superior; and Raghunath Pant was depressed by the bad omen of the flight of a number of vultures over his camp "without ceasing for several days". Vyankoji began the battle; "the *mele* was severe for the people of these parts, many were killed and wounded among those were some men of importance. The two parties retreated and the loss was almost equal" (November 1677).

Thus the occupation of the Gingee country by Sivaji and his attempt

1. The *Sabhasad* says that "Santaji Raje a natural son of the late Maharaj (Shahji) and a brave valiant man" met Sivaji (in his camp on the Coleroon) and was given a command of 1,000 horse in the Carnatic and also allowances in land and money and took his departure after presents of elephants, horses, cloths and ornaments.

to stabilise his authority were based on the ground plan originally conceived by the mind of Madanna, of effecting a restoration of Hindu power in the south and of helping a revival and restoration of Hindu shrines and feasts that had fallen into decay. This revival had been a dream; unfortunately never realised, of the last emperor, Sriranga IV, of the Aravidu dynasty and was well expressed by Narayanan in his chronicle and by Maratha contemporary writers. Witness Sivaji's letter to Vyankoji in which he urged him to a mutual reconciliation of their claims; and in the course of which he expressed himself thus :—

“ So I left Santaji Raje and Raghunath Pant and Hambir Rao there (in Gingee). I received news that, listening to the advice of the Mussalmans and thinking of fighting with my men, you had collected all your troops, and sent them against my men; and they came to Volgondapur (Valikandapuram). Secondly, you ought to have thought; “ He has won the full favour of the gods. He destroys the Mussalmans. When my army is full of Mussalmans what hope can I have of victory, and the Mussalmans surviving”? Now some places, I have already taken; others, which are still in your hands, *viz.*, Arni, Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskot, Sirakot and other minor places and Tanjore—should be handed over to all our men and of the cash, jewellery, elephants and horses half should be given to me as my share. You shall be wise to make such an arrangement with me. If you do so with a clean mind, I shall give you a *jaghir* of 3 lakhs of *hons* in the district of Panhala to be held under myself. I shall make an appreciation to the Kutbshah and procure a *jaghir* of three lakhs under him. Both alternatives I have suggested to you. One of them you should consider and accept. Do not leave it to be decided by obstinacy. Family discord is not a good thing. Thus wrote the master mind¹ who saw the lurking danger in a disunited Maratha power planted in the Carnatic as a possible supplement to the main stem of dominion in Maharashtra.

II

PESHWA MADHAV ROA I AND RAGHUNATH RAO

By Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A.

On the death of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao in June, 1761, the Marathas rallied round his younger brother Raghunath Rao, the eldest surviving member of the Peshwa family. He was the leader of the great expedition which had culminated in the occupation of Lahore in 1758. He was regarded as the natural leader of the Maratha Empire in its hour of distress. Madhav Rao, the second son of late Peshwa, then in his sixteenth year, was placed on the *gadi* with the approval of the nominal King of Satara. Raghunath Rao became Regent. For the time

1. Mr. C. V. Vaidya is of the opinion that it is not strange that Sivaji with his advanced wisdom and high political and military genius foresaw that a life and death struggle with Aurangzib was inevitable and that a strong and extensive fort like Gingee in the distant south would afford him the last stand even if Panhala and Raigad were lost. Actually we see, in the sequel, how Raja Ram, the second son of Sivaji, finding himself unsafe in Panhala due to the Mughal attacks, took refuge in Gingee where he formed his own government. The very fact that Aurangzib converted its possession and that he had to secure it from Raja Ram by a prolonged blockade of the strictest nature shows that Gingee was rendered impregnable by the Marathas.

being it appeared that the Marathas were determined to close their ranks and to make an honest attempt to recover their power and political prestige. Unfortunately, Raghunath's ambition, coupled with the weakness of his character and his incurable tendency to be guided by the advice of others, stood in the way of this happy consummation.

Towards the close of 1761 Nizam Ali led an expedition to Maharashtra and advanced as far as Poona. The Marathas defeated him near Srigonda (Nagar district) and compelled him to sue for peace. Powerful Maratha chiefs like Janoji Bhonsle and Gopal Rao Patwardhan requested Raghunath to take this opportunity of crushing the power of the Nizam, but the Regent was not willing to do so. Probably he was already contemplating the possibility of a struggle for power with his young nephew. Sakharam Bapu advised him not to strengthen the younger Peshwa by destroying the rivalry of Haiderabad. Raghunath also knew that it might be necessary for him to invoke Nizam Ali's assistance in overcoming the opposition of *sardars* like Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Babuji Naik who were not favourably disposed towards him. So he concluded an agreement with Nizam Ali in January, 1762. The terms were so favourable to the latter that Gopal Rao and Babuji Naik were extremely displeased.¹

After the conclusion of peace with Nizam Ali the young Peshwa accompanied his uncle in an expedition to the Carnatic and returned to Poona during the rainy season of 1762. Even before the termination of the campaign disputes had arisen in the camp between Raghunath and the ministers appointed by Gopika Bai, as a result of which they had returned to Poona. Gopika Bai tried to save the situation, but Raghunath was determined not to co-operate with her. He returned to Poona, leaving the young Peshwa to manage affairs with the assistance of his mother's nominees. At Poona Raghunath began to mature his plans in company with Sakharam Bapu. These two veterans tried to strengthen themselves by attracting Malhar Rao Holkar to their side.²

The young Peshwa was called upon to face this situation as soon as he returned from the Carnatic expedition. Grant Duff says that the quarrel between the Peshwa and his uncle was due to the former's "desire to be admitted to a share in the administration," which the latter regarded as "presumption."³ Marathi evidence clearly shows that Madhav Rao was determined not to offend his uncle.⁴ When Trimbak Rao Mama and Babu Rao Fadnis tried to make him promise that he should always support them against the uncle, he refused and said, "Raghunath Rao's heart is clear, but he is ill-advised. That adviser should be removed."⁵

That adviser was Sakharam Bapu.⁶ He was disliked by the Konkan party.⁷ Gopika Bai was anxious to secure for her son a legitimate share

1. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXXVII, letter No. 29, 33. Khare, *Aitihasik Lekha Samgraha*, Vol. I, pp. 73-74.

2. Khare, I, letter No. 59, 60, 61, 63.

3. Vol. II, Chap. VI.

4. Khare (I, p. 91) says that he was too young and too weak to resist his mother, who wanted that he should play an active part in administration.

5. Khare, I, 59. See also Khare, I, 55.

6. He helped Raghunath in borrowing money, for the latter was always in debt, Khare, I, 55.

7. Khare, I, 71, 73. In these letters the responsibility for the Panipat disaster is attributed to Sakharam, and he is compared to Sakuni, the notorious character in the Mahabharata.

in the responsibility of administration.¹ She knew that Sakharam was her greatest opponent, for the weak-minded Raghunath² could do nothing without the assistance of this astute adviser. So she tried to curtail his influence with the help of some leaders of the Konkan party, Raghunath naturally interpreted these efforts³ as a blow aimed against himself. An agreement between the two parties, concluded in June 1762, proved unworkable.⁴ So in August he went to Wadgaon, taking Sakharam with him. In vain did Gopika Bai and her supporters try to bring him back.⁵

The Rubicon was now crossed, and both sides prepared for an open conflict. Gopika Bai was supported by Trimbak Rao Mama, Babu Rao Fadnis, Gopal Rao Patwardhan, Ananda Rao Raste and Malhar Rao Holkar.⁶ The Poona treasury was full, nearly 50 lakhs of rupees having been accumulated there.⁷ Troops were collected⁸ and ammunition was procured from the Patwardhan estate at Miraj.⁹ The moving spirit on the other side was Sakharam Bapu who, finding that it was not possible for him to collect an army large enough to face the Peshwa's supporters, tried to secure the assistance of Nizam Ali.¹⁰ Raghunath thereupon went to Aurangabad¹¹ and met Murad Khan, the governor of that city, in September. At this interview Sakharam Bapu, Naro Shankar and Vithal Shiv Deo were present.¹² Nizam Ali sent troops and agreed to advance personally later on.¹³ Raghunath proceeded towards Poona and looted Paithan.¹⁴ One of his commanders was sent with troops to Satara. Troops were, therefore, sent from Poona to protect the king and the fort.¹⁵ Janoji Bhonsle sympathised with Raghunath and advanced with troops to assist him.¹⁶

Towards the close of October the young Peshwa left the capital at the head of his troops and met his rebellious uncle on the banks of the Ghor river, where an engagement was fought on November 7.¹⁷ The result of the battle seems to have been unfavourable to the Peshwa,¹⁸ for he retreated and came to Alegaon on November 12. Raghunath

1. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VI) says that there was "the strongest animosity" between Gopika Bai and Anandi Bai (Raghunath's wife).

2. Khare, I, 48, 62.

3. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VI) says that, on the resignation of Sakharam and Raghunath, the Peshwa appointed Trimbak Rao Mama to act as Dewan, assisted by Gopal Rao Patwardhan, and Balaji Janardan (the famous Nana Fadnis) and Hari Pant Phadke to act as Karkuns.

4. S.P.D., XIX, 6.

5. Khare, I, 68.

6. Khare, I, 68. Some chiefs, like Holkar, Visaji Pant and Ram Chandra Jadav, were secretly sympathetic to Raghunath (Khare, I, p. 92).

7. Khare, I, 68.

8. Sakharam Bapu succeeded in seducing many troops, and his treachery infected even the Patwardhan troops. (Khare, I, p. 92).

9. Khare, I, 74.

10. He imprisoned Salabat Jang in July, 1762, and murdered him about 15 months later. (Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI).

11. S. P. D., XIX, 7 11.

12. S. P. D., XIX, 13; XXXVIII, 67.

13. Khare, I, p. 93.

14. Khare, I, p. 86.

15. Khare, I, 86 p. 133.

16. S. P. D., XX, 129—132.

17. Khare, I, 85, 89, p. 127.

18. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VI) says that the Peshwa's army, "being inferior, immediately gave way." Khare (Vol. I, p. 135-136) says that there were two engagements on the banks of the Ghor river, in the first of which Raghunath's attack was repulsed with great effort.

followed him and another battle ensued, in which the Peshwa could not avert defeat even by personal attendance and guidance. We are told that this defeat was due to the treacherous flight of some *sardars* seduced by Sakharam Bapu. At night the Peshwa crossed the Bhima. He was pursued and overtaken by Raghunath. The Peshwa was suffering from fever. His troops had no food for two days.¹ Nizam ali and Janoji Bhonsle were coming to support his opponent. As Grant Duff says,³ "every appearance indicated the probability of a great revolution in the Ponna Government." At this crisis the young Peshwa, "with remarkable foresight and decision, immediately resolved on throwing himself into the power of his uncle, as the only means of preventing a complete division in the state." His supporters agreed with him, and in order to facilitate a reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew. Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Babu Rao Fadnis left the camp.⁴

A contemporary news letter⁵ gives us a vivid picture of the meeting between Madhav Rao and Raghunath Rao. The former appeared in the latter's tent with 200 guards, saluted, and placed his shoe on his head.⁶ The uncle's heart softened and he said, "Everything is yours. I do not want anything." He only demanded four forts.⁷ Nothing, however, could conceal the fact that the triumphant uncle had now become the supreme authority of the Maratha Empire.⁸

In the meanwhile, Nizam Ali had arrived and it was necessary to conciliate him. As the price of his alliance Raghunath had promised to cede to him territories yielding an annual revenue of 51 lakhs, including the forts of Daultabad, Shivneri, Asirgarh and Ahmednagar. Although Nizam Ali "affected great satisfaction" at the reconciliation already effected, he was not prepared to surrender his claim. So Raghunath issued orders for the surrender of territories specified above, but eventually only the fort of Daulatabad changed hands.⁹

Raghunath took his revenge on those *sardars* who and supported the Peshwa. The feelings of Poona Society were reflected in a remarkable letter written to Raghunath by the Brahmans of the city.¹⁰ They accused him of accentuating the family feud bringing in the *Tavana* invader (*i.e.*, Nizam Ali), putting Muslim guards in Gopika Bai's house, banishing loyal officers and listening to the evil counsel of Sakharam Bapu. No more elaborate charge sheet could have been framed.

There was no open breach between the Peshwa and his uncle till 1767. Madhav Rao defeated Nizam Ali and Haidar Ali and consolidated his position at home. Raghunath Rao found himself relegated to the

1. Khare, I, 90, 91, 92, 95.

2. Vol. II, Chap. VI.

3. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

4. Khare, I, 91.

5. S. P. D., XIX, 14. See also Khare, I, 92.

6. Madhav Rao wrote to his mother. "With tears in my eyes I satisfied uncle." Khare, I, 94.

7. This contemporary account should be preferred to Grant Duff's statement that the Peshwa was placed in confinement by Raghunath. (Vol. II, Chap. VI.)

8. Khare, I, 94. The evidence of this contemporary letter seems to be more natural and reasonable than that of another contemporary letter (S.P.D., XIX, 14) which states. "In the end Raghunath understood that he had been deprived of all power and took to *snan sandhya*." The incidents related below clearly show that the uncle had become the master of the situation.

9. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI. Khare, I, 104, p. 137.

10. Khare, I, 102.

background. He became uneasy, but took no decisive step. In 1766 he proceeded to Northern India and conducted an inconclusive campaign. He returned home about the middle of the year 1767, stationed himself at Anandavalli, and began to collect troops for an open contest with his nephew.¹ He had never been able to reconcile himself with his exclusion from supreme authority. Soon after the conclusion of the second expedition against Haidar Ali (June 1765) he had demanded that the Maratha Empire should be divided and half should be given to him. The Peshwa naturally refused to accept this demand. The quarrel interfered with the efficiency of administration, and local officers hesitated to pay the amounts due from them to either of the claimants. Finally Raghunath yielded,² but the atmosphere remained as uncomfortable as ever. When Raghunath was busy in the North he instigated³ one Naro Krishna to defy the orders of the Peshwa to deliver to one of his (Peshwa) officers the possession of the important fort of Burhanpur. The result was that the Peshwa captured it by force.⁴ By the time Raghunath arrived at Anandavalli he had accumulated in his mind some other grievances against the Peshwa. He thought that the Peshwa did not send him adequate assistance while he was fighting in Hindusthan. He did not take into consideration the fact that Peshwa was fighting simultaneously in the Carnatic and was not in a position to help him with men and money.⁵ Raghunath also brooded over his disappointment in the case of succession to the Holkar State which he attributed, not without reason, to the Peshwa's interference.⁶ Unable to conceal his sentiments and tormented by his ambitious and unscrupulous wife,⁷ he half willingly prepared for a renewal of civil war.

The Peshwa was always eager for conciliation so far as his uncle was concerned. He "intended to make a last effort to reclaim his uncle, to repeat his offers of conceding a principal share in the administration, or to give him a handsome but moderate establishment in any part of the country where he might choose to reside".⁸ The Peshwa wanted to meet his uncle and arrive at an agreement by frank discussion; but Raghunath "strongly suspected that there was a plan laid for seizing

1. Khare, III, p. 1246.

2. Khare, III, 573, 574.

3. S. P. D., XIX, 52. This letter is so characteristic of Raghunath that a free translation of some sentences may be inserted here. He writes to one of his followers, "If Naro . . . is strong enough, let him resist; but he should not allow others to think that he is acting with my consent . . . He may have one plan in mind and give out another in public . . . If you can give secret help, do so. But the Peshwa collect accurate information through his secret agents who are good . . . Join the Peshwa's troops publicly and please him, but act against him in secret . . . send copy of this letter to Naro. I shall not openly begin a family feud and ruin the state. So I shall not send any help to Naro."

4. S. P. D., XIX, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43.

5. The Peshwa's financial position after his return from the Carnatic was very unsatisfactory (S. P. D., XIX, 46, 50) and presumably he was not well off during the campaign. Yet he had sent one lakh to Raghunath. (Khare, III, 638). ■

6. Raghunath's famous dispute with Ahalya Bai.

7. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

8. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

him".¹ After some delay an interview was arranged by the mediation of Govind Shiv Ram,² one of Madhav Rao's principal officers. Negotiations continued during the months of August and September.³ The Peshwa advanced with officers and troops to meet Reghunath.⁴ They met at Katore in September and then went to Anandavali.⁵ The Peshwa insisted that there should be a face to face talk, undisturbed by any intermediary.⁶ Raghunath expressed his desire to sever all connection with political affairs⁷ and agreed to give up the forts of Satara, Asirgarh, Ahmednagar, Shivner and Chandan⁸ if the Peshwa promised to pay the arrears due to his troops on account of the Northern expedition and to make a suitable provision for his family and attendants.⁹ Madhav Rao agreed to pay his debts¹⁰ and to place at his disposal a large *jagir*¹¹ containing several important forts.¹² Those *sardars* who were loyal to Raghunath were to be confirmed in the possession of their *jagirs*, and the Peshwa was not to send them to any expedition without consulting him.¹³ It took about one month to bring about this agreement.¹⁴ Sakharam Bapu played an important part as a negotiator.¹⁵ Raghunath was dis-satisfied,¹⁶ but his military inferiority¹⁷ compelled him to keep silent for some time.

1. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

Mostyn, the envoy of the Bombay Government at the Court of Poona, reported in December, 1767, that the Peshwa, "instigated by his mother, certainly had intentions of seizing his uncle at that interview". On this statement Grant Duff remarks, "as he mentions this on hearsay evidence, respecting an intention and that too relating to what had taken place prior to his arrival at Poona....I have preferred the authority of the natives of the country, who concur in imputing such a wish to Gopika Bai, but no such design to Madho Rao".

2. S. P. D., XIX, 49.

Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VII) quotes a statement of Mostyn to the effect that the interview was arranged by Sakharam Bapu, and remarks, "Sukaram, according to his usual duplicity, was intriguing with both parties, that he might at all events be able to retain his place. He would not incur the risk of interference in a reconciliation which he foresaw would only be temporary". Khare (III p. 1246) follows Grant Duff. On Sakharam's attitude, see S. P. D. XIX 58. One of his letters to his family priest (S. P. D. XXXIX 61), written towards the close of 1766, gives us an interesting picture of his mind. He says that although he is inclined towards the uncle, he always acts for the good of the state. The Peshwa knows this and respects his ability. Neither Raghunath nor the Peshwa acts or speaks frankly.

3. S. P. D., XIX, 55, 56.

4. Khare, III, 729, p. 1248.

5. S. P. D., XIX, 56, 61.

6. S. P. D., XIX, 56. Their conversation was angry, and they had separate kitchens. S. P. D., XIX, 57, 58.

7. S. P. D., XIX, 67, 69.

8. S. P. D., XIX, 55, 67. Khare, III, 740.

9. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

10. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VII) says that he agreed to pay 25 lakhs in three months, S. P. D., XIX, 74, says that 15 lakhs were to be paid immediately, S. P. D., XIX, 67, mentions 30/32 lakhs, but S. P. D., XIX, 68, mentions 25 lakhs. On December 31, 1767, Mostyn noted in his diary that the Peshwa "is under engagements to pay (Raghunath) the whole of the amount stipulated in their late accommodation by the Divali, the balance of which is Twenty lakhs".

11. Grant Duff (Vol. Chap. VII) says that it yielded 12 or 13 lakh annually. Khare (III. p. 1260) says that it was worth 14 lakhs. He is supported by S. P. D., XIX, 61, says that Raghunath received a *jagir* for 5 lakhs in addition to the territory already under his control, S. P. D., XIX, 74, says that he retained a *jagir* worth 10 lakhs.

12. S. P. D., XIX, 61, gives 20 forts, S. P. D., XIX, 65, gives 8 forts, S. P. D., XIX, 74, gives 6 forts.

13. S. P. D., XIX, 74.

14. S. P. D., XIX, 69.

15. S. P. D., XIX, 59.

16. S. P. D., XIX, 71.

17. He had only 2,000 troops, while the Peshwa had 20,000. S. P. D., XIX, 68.

Towards the close of October the Peshwa marched towards Poona¹. Raghunath at once began his intrigues² and went to Trimbakeswar.³ He opened negotiations with Haidar Ali, Nizam Ali, Janoji Bhoasle and the Gaikwad.⁴

An interesting account of his views and plans is found in the diary of Mostyn,⁵ who came to Poona as the envoy of the President and Council of Bombay to solicit the Peshwa's assistance in the war against Haidar Ali⁶. If the Peshwa was found unwilling to render active assistance to the English, the envoy was instructed to induce him to remain neutral. In order to prevent the Peshwa from interfering in the war as an ally of Haidar Ali, Mostyn was asked to take full advantage of his quarrel with his uncle, and to "encourage any advances" which might be made by the latter. He was also asked to send presents to Raghunath through his assistant, Broome, who was instructed "very particularly to attend to any representations Raghoba may make to him".

Mostyn arrived at Poona on November 29, 1767, and left it for Bombay on February 27, 1768. He found that one of the principal causes which prevented the Peshwa from joining the war was the suspicious movements of Raghunath. He says, "The chief motive given for this inactivity at so favourable a juncture for his (*i.e.*, Peshwa's) getting possession of the Bednur country now quite destitute of any force, is his apprehensions of Raghoba creating some disturbance should he leave his capital for any time, whose late behaviour perplexes them a good deal, for he is marching about with his force and various are the reports of his intentions; nay, so jealous are they of him, that it was five days after my application before I could procure the passports for Mr. Broome to go to Nasik." On December 31 Mostyn noted that the Peshwa "is under engagements to pay (to Raghoba) the whole of the amount stipulated in their late accommodation by the Divali, the balance of which is twenty lacs. Until he has done this he does not look upon himself at liberty to undertake anything". This was an opportunity not to be missed. Broome started for Nasik, where Raghunath was then residing, on December 19. He was instructed to adopt a friendly attitude and "to draw from him some proposals".⁷

On January 1, Gopal Chakradhar, Raghunath's vakil, saw Mostyn⁸ and assured him that "it was Raghoba's sincere desire to be on the most amicable" footing with the English. He "very openly" told the English envoy that Raghunath and the Peshwa "placed no confidence in each other, and that . . . Raghoba would not sit down quietly under the disgrace of having all the principal forts taken out of his hands and no share in the Government; that he only waited to see if Madhavrav failed in any of his agreements with him, which, should he do in the least point. Raghoba would certainly make use of it to foment matters and; at any rate", the English envoy "should see in six months what a disturbance he would create". He also said "in confidence that Raghoba had concerted measures for entering into a strict and lasting

1. S. P. D., XIX, 70.

2. S. P. D., XIX, 71.

3. S. P. D., XIX, 73.

4. Khare, III, 748, p. 1250.

5. Forrest, *Selections from the...state papers...in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series*, Vol II.

6. First Anglo-Mysore War.

7. Forrest, *Selections (Maratha Series)*, Vol. I, p. 153.

8. Forrest, *Selections (Maratha Series)*, Vol. I, p. 160.

friendship with the English and intended sending a person to Madras on this account, but as Mr. Broome was now gone to him he would now defer it".

Gopal Chakradhar's exposition of Raghunath Rao's sentiments was confirmed by Broome's report to Mostyn,¹ dated January 15. In his conversations with Broome, Raghunath Rao had expressed his desire "to engage the English on his side and receive help from them when he might take up arms, which after the rains he was fully resolved on"; "and he earnestly entreated they would assist him with guns and ammunition". Broome told him that the Company "would expect some advantages exclusive of the bare pay of their troops, and the amount cost of such ammunition he might receive from their hands". When Raghunath asked for details. Broome tried "to draw out such proposals as he was willing to agree to"; But Raghunath evaded a direct answer. At that time Raghunath had at his disposal 2,000 horse, 120 guns and 8 mortars mounted, of different sizes; he had other guns at another place, but the number Broome could not ascertain. A copy of Broome's report was sent to Bombay on January 25².

The substance of these negotiations was probably known to the Peshwa, for Raghunath himself on a different occasion testified to the excellence of his secret service³. At any rate in his interview with Mostyn on February 11, Madhav Rao said that he "expected and hoped the Hon'ble Company would not support or assist any of his enemies even though they were his relations". Mostyn assured him that "so long as he remained firm in his friendship with them (*i. e.*, the English) they would not think of supporting or assisting either his relation or anyone else against him"⁴. The first Anglo-Maratha War was casting its shadow upon the ill-fated Maratha Empire.

During the winter season of 1767-68 Raghunath succeeded in dislocating the Peshwa's plans in all directions. He could not take advantage of the Anglo-Mysore War to increase his influence in the Carnatic. He had to give up his project of attacking the Siddis of Janjira. He had to cancel his programme of sending an expedition to Hindustan. He had to conciliate the Nizam.⁵ He carefully watched the movements of his uncle, Raghunath collected troops⁶ and adopted a son named Amrit Rao,⁷ to whom he might bequeath his claims. His principal supporters were Damaji Gaikwad, who sent him some troops under his eldest son Govind Rao,⁸ and Gangadhar Yashvant Chandrachud, the former *Dewan*

1. Forrest, *Selections (Maratha Series)*, Vol. I, p. 166—168.

2. Forrest, *Selections, (Maratha Series)*, Vol. I, p. 168.

3. S. P. D., XIX, 52.

4. Forrest, *Selections, (Maratha Series)*, Vol. I, p. 170. It appears that the President and Council of Bombay were not unprepared, even after this assurance, to help Raghunath. The President of Bombay wrote to the President of Madras on June 14, 1768, "... Raghoba... has sent very advantageous proposals to us, in case of our assisting him with a detachment of Europeans and Sepoys, which the weakness of our force puts it out of our power to embrace. Though in hopes of profiting by this rapture, we have not told him so in direct terms, but endeavour to assure him until we see what turn affairs are likely to take". (Forrest *Selections, Home Series*, Vol. II, p. 153).

5. Khare, III pp. 1261-1262.

6. In May 1768, he had 10,000 troops, S. P. D. XIX, 77.

7. Khare, III, 768, S. P. D. XIX, 77.

8. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VII) and Khare (III, p. 1230, 1323) say that the Gaikwad helped Raghunath but in S. P. D. XIX, 76, we find that Govind Rao, joined the Peshwa.

of the Holkar State.¹ He could no longer be left undisturbed to mature his plans and to complete his preparations. So the Peshwa summoned loyal chiefs like Mahadji Sindhia, Tukji Holkar and Gopal Rao Patwardhan and collected about 40,000 troops.²

Apprehending that Janoji Bhonsle would soon come to assist Raghunath, who had already marched to Dhodap, a fort in the Chandore range Madhav Rao, advanced with his troops. When Raghunath found that the Peshwa had come near his camp, he tried to avoid hostilities. He said, "If the Peshwa kills me, he will be a parricide. If I kill him, I shall kill my son". He requested Gopal Rao, to arrange for a reconciliation. He also tried to proceed towards Berar and take shelter in the Bhonsle's territories. But the Peshwa was determined to fight, and took measures to prevent Raghunath from flying towards Berar.³ On June 10, 1768, a decisive battle was fought at Dhodap.⁴ The battle did not last long. One of Raghunath's commander was killed, another was wounded and captured, and his camp was plundered. On the Peshwa's side the number of killed and wounded did not exceed 15.

Raghunath had taken shelter in the fort on the eve of the battle, and he remained there when the news of the defeat was conveyed to him. The Peshwa naturally besieged the fort. Raghunath knew that he could not defend it; so he began negotiations. Madhav Rao asked him to remain at Poona, but he wanted money to go on pilgrimage. The Peshwa showed no inclination to yield even when Raghunath personally came to his camp. At last the uncle said, "I have become a prisoner; so I shall do what you ask me to do".⁵ The fort was surrendered to the Peshwa, who left 3000 troops to secure the obedience of Raghunath's *jagir* and marched to Poona.⁶ Raghunath was confined in the Sanwar Wada at Poona⁷ and even his personal attendants were nominated by the Peshwa.⁸

With these restraints Raghunath could not reconcile himself. He tried to escape from confinement in March, 1769, and began to fast when the vigilance of Nana Fadnis frustrated his plan. After the Peshwa's return to Poona from the Berar campaign he again fasted for ten days and his condition became serious. He demanded a *jagir* worth 5 lakhs and another *jagir* worth 2 lakhs for his adopted son. The Peshwa offered

1. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VII) says that Gangadhar was "not only a zealous partisan of Raghunath Rao but entertained a personal pique against the Peshwa At a public Durbar in Poona, after Ragunath Rao had retired from the administration. Gangadhar Yeswunt took an opportunity of saying in a contemptuous manner, 'that in the present affairs his old eyes could distinguish the acts of one who only saw with the eyes of a boy'; Mahdoo Rao, to the astonishment of all present jumped from the musnud..... and struck him a violent blow on the face" ... This incident, if true, illustrates one aspect of Madhav Rao's character. But Gangadhar's 'pique' was most probably due to the frustration of his plan against Ahalya Bai.

2. S. P. D., XIX, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82. Khare, III, p. 1264. Holkar said that he would not fight for anybody. (S. P. D., XIX, 83). S. P. D., XIX, 85, says that Tukoji fought for the Peshwa in the battle of Dhodap. S. P. D., XIX, 92 says that Tukoji promised to fight for Raghunath with 8,000 men, and took one lakh for expenses, but later on joined the Peshwa.

3. S. P. D., XIX, 83.

4. S. P. D., XIX, 84, 85.

5. S. P. D., XIX, 87.

6. Khare, III, 773. A letter from the Bombay Council to Calcutta, dated June 29, 1768, says, "The Peshwa has reduced Raghunath to obedience". Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 1768, I p. 335—337.

7. S. P. D., XIX, 98.

8. S. P. D., XIX, 91.

him a suitable allowance. At last it was decided that Raghunath would be given 2 lakhs for charity, his adopted son (whom he wanted to keep near him at Poona) would be kept near Wadgaon, and those who had been imprisoned for complicity in his plan for escape would be released.¹ Even after this Raghunath intrigued with the Nizam and Haidar Ali,² but the Peshwa's vigilance stood in the way of his success. A new agreement was concluded between the uncle and the nephew in March, 1772. Raghunath was to be given five lakhs for expenses and ten to fifteen lakhs for horses, camels, etc. His officers and personal attendants were to be appointed by the Peshwa. His adopted son was not to be brought to Poona. Once a year he was to be allowed to go to the Krishna for bathing. Although he was released from confinement, a strict watch was kept over him and he was not allowed to interfere in political matters. During the last few months of Madhav Rao's life Raghunath sincerely prayed and fasted for his recovery.³

III

" CONQUESTS " OF KARACHI

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The present day city and port of Karachi, offering as it does all amenities of civic life, all conveniences to the traveller and the visitor, and all facilities for every commercial enterprise, presumes a long long period of antecedent growth resulting in the brimful life that it presents at the present day. But history has a different story to offer. A history of Karachi reads like a page from romance. It is only after the ascendancy of the British that Karachi has assumed its present proportions. It makes an interesting study to be recounting the early period of the growth of the city of Karachi—one of the largest in our country.

Picture to yourselves a small fishing village containing hardly 25 huts, round which grew timarind and mangrove trees, near the present Amli Talao on the Maurypur motor road, then known as Dirbo. This village had near it a pool of water, then known as Kalachi-jo-kun, after the name of Wadero Kalachi. Such was Karachi in the first quarter of the 18th century—a mere hamlet, quite unworthy of a conquest.

In those early days the trade of Sind ever sought a town on the ever changing mouth of the Indus while that of Baluchistan and the North came down to a port formed by Cape Monze and the Hubb river. Thus there stood a sea-port town at the conflux of the Hubb with the Arabian sea. This, Kharak Bunder, was great in commercial renown as can be gauged from the number of places with which the traders traded. One Seth Bhojoomal—after whom the Bhojwani family came into existence—had commercial relations with Muscat, Bahrein, Sonmiani, Gwadar, Bela, Bushire and Shiraz. This Seth Bhojoomal was one of the prominent and foresighted men who left the decadent regime of the Kalhoras and took up this new enterprise in commerce by founding a colony at Kharak Bunder.

1. Khare, III, 808, p. 1337-1338.

2. S. P. D., XX, 198, 287.

3. Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Madhya Vivag, Part IV, p. 115-116, 240.

After the lapse of time the entrance to the port was silted up by the sand and no ship could enter the harbour. So it became imperative that the port be abandoned. But whence were the merchants to move? Jaganath the city astronomer consulted his art and Bhojoomal the city father, his experience and both preferred a place a few miles on the south-east of Kharak Bunder, a place quite in the vicinity of the present port, suitable for their mercantile purposes. So on the 26th of January in the blessed year of the Lord, 1729, this enterprising band of merchants quietly came and occupied this village of Dirbo. Thus by their foresight they perceived the importance of the place much earlier than the British, who are solely credited with appreciating the importance of this natural port. After the colonisation of Kharak Bunder merchants the place came to be known as Kalachi-jo-Gothe. At this time the Manora Bar did not exist. A ridge of hills then barred the Manora entrance. Another bar above the Baba Island, now known as the Nawa Nar was used for traffic. Thus was Karachi occupied.

Soon Seth Bhojoomal perceived the necessity of fortifying the town, for purposes of safety. He talked over the matter with one Assoodomal who consulted Beebee Muradan—the head of the muslims residing at Karachi then—on the desirability of erecting a defence to the town. The suggestion being generally acceptable the work soon started. Foreign labour was engaged to assist in the task ahead. And soon there arose a fort made of mangrove wood and mud enclosing an area of 30 to 35 acres. This fort had round towers at each angle and along the sides which were mounted with cannons brought from Muscat. The fort had two entrances. The one facing the west was called Khara Darwaza or the gate leading to Brackish water and the other facing north-east called Mitha Darwaza as this led to the Sweet water of the Lyari river. All people lived inside the fort, which was surrounded on the outside by a forest of Timar trees.

The entrance to the harbour at Shah Bunder was choked up with silt brought down by the Indus and the merchants had to remove to Karachi for their business. Thus Karachi increased in population and importance.

So far Karachi was no man's land. No kingdom owned Karachi due to its insignificance. But with the advent of brisk sea-borne trade with outside places, the attention of the rulers was drawn to Karachi and the Kalhoras, without the slightest opposition, annexed the place to their power.

But they had not to keep Karachi for long. In an engagement with the Kalhoras, Jharak Khan, brother of the Khan of Kelat was killed and Karachi was offered to the Khan of Kelat to expiate the royal life. It remained a Kelat territory for pretty long. The state took no interest in its advancement. It was solely managed by the merchants, though formally a worthless Nawab represented the Khan of Kelat. The peace of Karachi remained undisturbed till 1792 A. D. The merchants were engaged in their prosperous and roaring business, the fishermen plied their nets profitably and the Nawab enjoyed his little residency.

The Kalhoras were ejected by the Talpurs and in the last years of the 18th century Sind came under the rule of the well-known Char-Yars or the four friends. Mir Fateh Ali possessed lower Sind. He was ambitious and so coveted Karachi, realising as he did the future of this tiny beehive of activity, the haunt of filthy fishermen and the pot-bellied Banias.

In the early part of the year 1792, for the first time, Karachi faced a foe fifteen thousand strong, under the command of Mian Fakiro—after whom we have a quarter in Hyderabad known as Mian Fakir-jo-pir and Mian Palia. The army encamped on the other side of the Lyari and took up rather a threatening attitude. Balramdas, the youngest son of Seth Bhojoomal was a brave young man and seeing a siege led to the town he volunteered to put up an effective opposition to the Army of the Amirs. The Kelat garrison was quite unfit for the task, so Seth Balramdas collected all fishermen, mariners and others, explained to them the actual state of affairs and thus roused them to defend their town. Guns were mounted on the bastions and so stout did Balramdas and his men put up the opposition that after two months of ceaseless siege, the Balooch army had to return back to the capital rather wearied out. Seth Balramdas perceived the necessity of sending for guns from the godowns for any eventuality. And he was correct in his presumption. Hardly had Karachi passed a few months in peace, when again Mir Fateh Ali's force came to capture Karachi. "Guns boomed and threatened to breakdown the fort," but equally did the guns of Balramdas play havoc in the enemy's camp. Valiantly the Baloochis fought and equally stoutly was Karachi defended. The army never expected such an opposition and within 3 months it returned discomfited and disillusioned. It now dawned on the Amir's mind that diplomacy alone could deliver to them the port of Karachi and hence brute force needed to be replaced by tact.

Seth Dharianomal, the eldest brother of Seth Balramdas was aware of the consequences of his opposing the rising power of the Amirs. So he wrote to the Khan of Kelat that it had been possible for him to defend Karachi twice but should it happen that the city is besieged once again, the Khan must provide ammunition and men for the effective defence of the town. The Khan wrote back to say "I am unable to carry on any warfare, nor can I command any army for the purpose. If you can defend the town, well and good, or else you are not to blame." The Nawab at Karachi was informed of this reply and seeing his life in danger he begged of the Bhojwanis that he might be escorted safe to his place, which act of kindness was done to him by Seth Dharianomal. So by 1794 the Kelati symbol of authority quietly retired and Karachi was to all intents and purposes in the hands of the Bhojwani family.

Now Seth Dharianomal's daughter was married to the son of Diwan Wadhupal, a responsible officer of the state. He resided at Hyderabad. Mir Fateh Ali sent for Diwan Wadhupal and asked him to get him the keys of Karachi which he informed him were now in the custody of Seth Dharianomal, his daughter-in-law's father. The Mir had adopted rather a threatening attitude, so Diwan Wadhupal started posthaste for Karachi, to do the needful. But he did not succeed in his errand. And on his return he was put under arrest by the Amirs. His daughter-in-law smelt more danger and could not tolerate her father-in-law's captivity, so she wrote a letter to her father explaining her position. Seth Dharianomal realised the misery caused to his daughter. Mir Karam Ali Khan had also written to Seth Dharianomal in this connection since they were on friendly terms. Seth Dharianomal saw only one course open to him, i.e., to surrender Karachi. But he was a businessman. He wrote to the Amirs that for such an act, it was necessary that the Amirs shall have to grant certain immunities and the Nawabs appointed for Karachi by them shall act with the advice of his family. He sought the immediate release of Diwan Wadhupal and suggested

that a fresh siege may be led when secretly the keys will be passed on to the commanders to come and occupy the town. These terms were accepted; Diwan Wadhmal was released and a fresh army of 20,000 Balochs came to attack Karachi in September 1795. Guns were fired and at night on 11th Bado, Sambat 1851 keys were handed over to the commanders of the attacking army and Karachi was occupied by them. After enjoying sherbet and installing a hundred sepoy of Karmati Baloch clan for guarding the town, the troops marched back to Hyderabad. In this bargain for the sale of Karachi, the Bhojwani's secured remission of $\frac{1}{3}$ of all Excise duty on their trade and of the land tax on their gardens. The Bhojwani family was allowed the privilege of extracting liquor for private consumption at Seth's own distillery. Above all Seth Dharianomal was the recipient of many costly presents from the Amirs. Thus Karachi changed hands in the dying years of the 18th century.

With the passage of time the rocky reef that barred the present entrance to the harbour had disappeared and of it only the present oyster rocks remained. So that the Nawa Nar entrance was abandoned and the opening to the south-east just created by the melting of the rocks on that side was taken up as the new entrance to the Karachi harbour. By this the harbour became more safe for anchorage. The harbour of Karachi was now protected from the sea and foul winds by the rocky promontory, the island of Manhora, "the Conglomerated capped, quoin-shaped rock of warm yellow sand-stone, rising 150 feet sea level and extending over $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles." The opening to the south-east was protected by several insulated rocks (the oyster rocks) and the harbour was landlocked on the south. It was however essential that some defence needed to be provided at point Manhora. It is the ambitious Amirs perceived and soon after the conquest of Karachi by him he got built a fort at the entrance of the harbour in 1795. The fort was square in form with a round tower near it. The fort had bastions at the angles and the side looking inland was strengthened by a kind of semi-circular redoubt. It had a parapet running round it with numerous loopholes for musketry. There were about 11 guns on the fort. There was also a three-gun-battery, level with the water, as one passed the fort and entered the harbour. There has been serious difference of opinion as to the effective defence provided by the fort. Col. Pottinger felt that the fort was judiciously placed but the actual experience in 1839 proved that Captain Carless who had inspected the fort of Karachi was more correct. He writes in this connection:—"The fort was built to command the entrance but it is built too far from the edge of the cliff to do so effectually, and could not in fact offer any serious opposition to a vessel attempting to enter it. A sloop of war anchored at a proper distance would soon reduce it to a heap of ruins and the round tower too would follow suit and fare the same fate."

After nearly a century of occupation Karachi had a population between 8,000 to 14,000 souls in 1837, Hindus forming two thirds of the whole, the rest being Muslims. For the education of the Hindus 3 to 4 schools were conducted by Sarsood and Pokrana Brahmins. Here the Hindu children were taught the Sindhi language. Book-keeping, reading and writing letters was all that was taught in these schools for which each child took a hand full of rice and a few sticks daily and a rupee or two was paid by the parents every month. The mullas taught the Muslims the Persian language in the mosques. The Court language was Persian and all desirous of Government employment had perforce to repair to the mulla's mosque for their advancement of knowledge entitling

them the goal they had in mind. Here the charge varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per month according to the progress made by the pupil.

At this time (1837) Karachi possessed 21 mosques and 13 Astens of Pirs. Out of all these only one of Pir Mangah received Government allowance of oil. Hindu temples, tikanas and dharamsalas numbered 34. Here also only one received Government aid, namely the temple on the site of the present temple at Native Jetty. The Government offered $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers of oil per month for the lamp that eternally burnt there. There was no idol in this temple then and the temple was dedicated to the deity of the sea. It was much thought of, and no Hindu vessel ever entered or left the port without a small offering having made at the temple door.

Though it is well known that the princes of Sind had no ocean shipping interest and they attached but little value to imports and exports except in so far as they might tend to increase their revenues and add to their personal comforts, still the trade had greatly increased in its volume. The annual average value of trade transacted at Karachi exclusive of opium and precious stones amounted to Rs. 2,117,000. The average customs revenue from the port of Karachi during the 1st quarter of the 19th century was Rs. 1,50,000, consisting as it did the amounts realised from the following duties :—

Advalorem duty of 4 per cent on all imports.

Extra duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all goods that left Karachi for U. Sind.

A duty of 1 per cent on all exports except silk piece goods and copper.

Extra duty of 3 per cent on every Kurwar (1800 lbs.) of goods imported and exported.

The following were the chief imports :—

Sugar, pepper, cocoanuts, betelnuts, Iron, copper, cardamomes, spices, etc., silk (raw dyed, Bengal, China, 1st sort) ivory, England cotton yarn, copra (dried cocoanuts), tin, cotton, dates, plants, slaves and oilcake from Upper Sind. Total imports being Rs. 15,969,625.

The chief exports were as follows :—

Ghee, (Rs. 1,70,000), wool (Rs. 35,000), Indigo (Rs. 1,20,000) wheat (Rs. 67,500) fish and shark fins (Rs. 30,000). Total exports being Rs. 5,47,000.

One of the chief local industries was printing in gold and silver. The remnant of this industry can be seen in the number of old printers now doing silver-nitrate printing chiefly in Kagzi Bazar. Karachi enjoyed great celebrity in preparation of hides. At this time Karachi extensively traded with Bombay, Dumaum, Mandwi, Malabar Coast, etc.

On behalf of the Amirs the administration was carried on by two governors, one Civil and the other Military. Usually he was the one and the same man. Nawab as he was officially termed, the Civil administrator administered justice and his establishment collected the customs dues. His authority was uncontrolled, the only limit being provided by complaints registered against him at the Amirs' Court—which in the case of Karachi were readily heard and due justice accorded. The extent of his authority was not very defined, but it was supposed that he wouldn't put a man to death without previous permission of the

Amirs. Mutilation, flogging and exposure in stocks were usual but the more usual was the punishment of fines, when the Nawab was assured that the accused could afford to secure his release by payment of money, since in most cases it went to enrich his own coffers. The very trifling remunerations paid to the servants of the state, specially the amils and sepoys, was a fruitful source of corruption and could not be wondered at. Apart from the Nawab who drew Rs. 100 a month, his establishment consisted of two munshis drawing Rs. 24 a month, for keeping books and correspondence and a score of amils and sepoys whose pay varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 19. The treasury officer of the times drew the grand sum of Rs. 7-8 per mensem. The military governor had the command of the mud fort and Manhora and had about 50 men under him who drew a pay varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a month, while the jamandar of boatmen got Rs. 20 a month and he, the honourable sum of sixty rupees. Under this administration Karachi thrived for nearly half a century when once again it was faced with a foe.

During the days of the Kalhoras, for the first time the East India Company extended their mercantile enterprise to Sind. But their connection had a chequered career. In the first quarter of the 19th century the East India Company negotiated a fresh treaty with the Amirs for trade facilities. Col. Pottinger had just negotiated the requisite terms of the treaty. The first Afghan war was just breaking out. Early in 1839 His Majesty's 40th Regiment and a company of Black Artillery stationed at Bombay received instructions to proceed to Sind *via* Karachi. H. M. S. Wellesley and the Hannah transport took the company and the regiment to Karachi. While on their way at Mandvi they were informed that they might have to face opposition at the port of "Kurrachee" and hence they should be in readiness to resist. The final instructions received on 31st January, 1839 were "proceed to Kurrachee and take it." And accordingly everyone was alert. On the morning of 1st February the point "Manhora" stood in the far distance. It was just in the late afternoon that H. M. S. Wellesley and the Hannah transport lay anchored at a distance of about seven to eight hundred yards to the west of "Manhora" point, on the ocean side. All men on board the ships anxiously awaited the arrival of the morn when the attack would begin. "Morning at length broke and the sun burst forth in all that glorious effulgence which can only be witnessed in the tropics ; there was not a breath to ripple the sea or disturb the vast uniform brightness of its glassy surface. The white walls of the little fort, perched on its rocky cliff, stood erect and the city of "Kurrachee" in the far distance, with its long chain of bold, beautiful but sterile hills in the background, all contributed to form a picture of no ordinary grandeur. Thus all were on the brink of a great expectation. The boatmen of the port having spied the ship came to communicate with the men on the ship but the officers of the ship lowered their own boats to put a stop to this communication with the port. These boats were fired at from the fort with no effect and the fight was anticipated for the morrow. At 8 a. m. on February 3rd a flag of truce was sent on shore under Lieutenant Jenkins for the immediate and unconditional surrender of the fort. "I am a Baloch and will die first" was the reply of the bold barbarian who commanded the garrison. Moreover he despatched a few Sindhi spies to "Humbug" the British Admiral and Brigadier into the belief that "Manhora" was a Gibraltar, and Baloch were perfect devils to fight. "And so are we" quoth those not to be humbugged personages. By this time four companies of the 40th Regiment were landed on the western side of the fort. A second truce

flag was sent but with little success. The killadar (fort-keeper) admitted the superior prowess of the English force but would not give up his post and thus disobey the orders. He offered to send a man for permission of the surrender of the fort and which, he was sure would be granted ; but the Britishers wouldn't hear any such nonsense. A notice of fifteen minutes was given for the surrender of the fort and the ship cleared its decks for action. When all was ready the fort was again requested with true British humanity, to open its gates, whereto it replied laconically, and TANTSOITPEN gallically, that " forts might be stormed, but they never surrender." Upon this Wellesley rejoined tactly with a broadside. They opened the fire with admirable precision and soon the whole southern face of ENCEITE of miserable masonry was blown away. In the meantime a second division of the 40th Regiment was ordered to land and before it actually landed British Ensign was waving on the breach which had been affected in the wall and notwithstanding the high tone assumed by the killadar a bloodless victory was gained by the British at the expense of some five to six thousand pounds of powder and proportionate number of 32 lb. shot. The killadar and his comrades ran for life—deserting the garrison—after the 4th or the 5th round, and sought refuge in the crevices of the rocks. About thirty people were made prisoners. Doubtless the garrison would have favoured them with many more specimen of their prowess in the art of gunnery, but, unfortunately, this gratification was placed beyond their attainment by the obstinacy and incapability of their guns—one of which had no carriage, another had jumped off from its carriage, which it had destroyed in its violent effort for freedom, while the only remaining one had evidently resisted every attempt to make it serviceable in the defence of the fortress and had positively declined going off.

The firing of Wellesley was followed by a dust-storm. The people of Karachi were alarmed and began leaving the place. The people felt that the cause of the " change of daylight into a night " by a thick cloud was the result of heavy firing. And under such circumstances the officers of the Talpur Government at Karachi viz. the Nawab Khermahomed, a Baloch of Nizamani tribe, Haji Allah Rakhia, with other minor officers, all waited on the elder brother of Seth Naumal Hotchan Bhojwani—who was in the empoly of Col. Pottinger in Sind—Seth Pritamdas, and represented to him that the smoke had begun to suffocate the people, that they had no power to face the English, and that steps should be taken to stop the firing of the cannon. In the meantime Captain Grey and Lieut. Jenkins were sent to offer terms to the Karachi authorities. Seth Pritamdas was informed of the landing of these officers and he immediately went to receive them at the port where the Mir's people too appeared soon. These officers had been instructed by Col. Pottinger to have complete faith in Seth Pritamdas and so they accompanied Seth Pritamdas to his residence. There the officers offered their terms for peace which were readily accepted.

On the morning of 4th February 1839 the British troops started landing at Karachi. H. M. S. Wellesley and the Hannah transport moved towards the port, into the channel but soon found that the water was shallow. Hence the troops got down into the native craft called Batelo and from Batelo they got into smaller craft called Mavhwa. Finally all were compelled to bestride the damp backs of brawny Sindhis or to walk with legs AUNAUREL, and neither garments slung over the shoulders, through nearly a mile of mud and water, averaging two feet

deep and overlying a strata of sharp shells and aquatic roots, which admirably performed the office of mantraps. On setting foot at Karachi the troops were encamped where now stands the Rambaugh recreation ground. N. M. B. Neil gives a graphic description of the town. "The town of Karachi is exceedingly dirty and the inhabitants generally are a most squalid looking set of wretches about 10,000. The great majority are Hindus. The houses are generally mud built and flat roofed, on the top of them are wicker ventilators facing the sea which perform the double duty of wind sail and sky-light. The streets are narrow and incommodious. The bazaar is covered over with matting to prevent the rays of the sun penetrating but which also precluding a free current of air, adds much to the DESAGREMENTS of those frequenting it. The remains of a mud wall surround the citadel where there are a few wretched guns. Altogether the defences are in a most dilapidated state and had we been obliged to attack, we should have found numerous very practicable breaches ready made. The principal portion of the better description of houses are in the centre of the town but there are no public buildings worthy of notice."

The 40th Regiment and the Company of the Black Artillery were settling down to rest when the officers proceeded to the central police Chowky of the town and unfurled the British flag and notices of the conquest of Karachi by the British were posted on the outer walls of the station. Thus Karachi became a British possession and throve till it assumed the present form of a fine city.

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IV

THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT MEMBERS IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL (ESTABLISHED UNDER THE ACT OF 1861).

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The question, whether the members of the Governor-General's Council should follow the rules and practice of the English Cabinet and exhaust all difference of opinion on important government measures by discussion in the Executive Council, so that they might act with thorough unanimity in the Legislative Council or that a Government member should be at liberty to oppose a bill because he strongly objected to it, became a subject of controversy of great constitutional importance during the period 1866-78. It is proposed in this paper to deal with the said question and its bearing on the working of the Legislative Councils in India.

The framers of India's constitution, taking full cognisance of the internal dissensions that arose in the times of Warren Hastings, provided in 1786 a thorough and workable solution for such eventualities. But they did not envisage a situation in which a government member would let his dissension against the policy of a government bill prevail even beyond the Executive Council. So there was neither any rule governing such contingencies nor there was any procedure laid for a government member, so dissenting, to be followed by him in the Legislative Council. In fact, the question could not arise until 1853; and the practice before 1861 had invariably been that legislative measures were considered as open subjects and the official members freely participated in the deliberations of the Legislative Council.

The first case in which the question of the applicability of the cabinet rule of the unanimity of opinion to the members of the Executive Council directly arose was in regard to the Native Convert's Divorce Bill in February 1866. The Hon'ble H. S. Maine, the Law Member, issued a note on the 20th February in which alluding to the demi-official expression of the opinion of the Secretary of State "that the member of Council ought to follow the rule of the English Cabinet, and to exhaust all differences of opinion on important Government measures by discussion in the Executive Council"¹ proposed that the same procedure be followed in connection with the Native Convert's Divorce Bill, which he was to introduce into the Legislative Council on the 28th February, 1866.

The Bill was a Government Bill and had the approval of the Executive Council. Colonel H. M. Durand, who was unable to attend the meetings of the Select Committee on that bill, recorded his objections in the form of a minute to the mode in which the representation of the Hindus was treated and to the principles underlying that bill. After exposing various anomalies of the bill, he commented, towards the close of his minute, on the presumption of the Cabinet principle applying to the Governor-General's Council. He remarked: "The usual idea is not that the Governor-General's Council is a Cabinet, or guided by the rules and practice of a Cabinet, but that the members of the Council are bound to discharge their duty by a higher measure of what they owe to the Government of India and the Government at Home, than that of abstaining from opposition to a Bill if they deem it premature, based on dubious principles and narrowly sectarian."²

Mr. Maine in his second minute, objected against the propriety of recording a post-facto minute by Col. Durand, and said that the proper course for Col. Durand was to record a minute in the Executive Council,

1. The origin of the principle is, in fact, associated with Sir R. Napier's case. The fact was that he contemplated to oppose the Bill for the abolition of the Grand Jury, not on its merits, but because it seemed for the moment to be distasteful to the European Community. Mr. Maine, communicated that intention to Sir Charles Wood the Secretary of State demi-officially. But very shortly afterwards Sir R. Napier intimated to Mr. Maine that, upon reflection, he considered it his duty to confine his opposition to the Executive Council. That was also conveyed to Sir Charles Wood, who in replying to Maine, expressed his strong approval of Sir R. Napier's determination and added the expression that "the members of Council ought to follow the rule of the English Cabinet and to exhaust all differences of opinion on important Government measures by discussion in the Executive Council."

2. Minute by the Hon'ble Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B.E., dated the 24th March, 1866.

where the measure could have been delayed till the receipt of the opinion from the Home Government. As Colonel Durand failed to adopt that course, Mr. Maine regarded it highly improper on his part to discredit a measure which had already become the law of the land¹. As far as the constitutional issue was concerned, he admitted that the principle of cabinet rule could not be applied *in toto*, to the members of the Government of India, because constitutionally speaking, they had no such alternative as that of becoming the King's Opposition, which is offered to English Cabinet Ministers. But taking as a general rule, the principle of unanimity of opinion before the Legislative Council seemed to him to be sound for its intrinsic reasonableness, than merely upon the authority of Sir Charles Wood. The display of frequent and open differences of opinion, he argued, between the executive members in the Legislative Council tended to prevent cordial co-operation between members of the same government on the one hand, and had the effect of weakening the power of the executive government on the other. In a country like India, especially, where such large and positive inferences were commonly deduced by the public and the press from facts insignificant or imperfectly ascertained, it was almost certain, he said, 'that public opinion, both native and European would argue from frequent differences in public to frequently divided councils in private' and thus the executive action of Government would run some risk of not being believed to have emanated from that concentrated purpose which was the first condition of its effectiveness. At the end Mr. Maine claimed a special responsibility for the legal member to reconcile the opinions of the Executive members and to avoid, as far as possible, the public display of the differences of opinion.

The Governor-General said in his minute that so far as the expediency and desirability of unity of opinion on the part of the members of the Executive government on important matters was concerned, there could be no doubt about it; but, His Excellency pointed out that to attain so desirable an end, some compromise of individual views was incumbent on each and all of them. His Excellency, however made one exception that where scruples were strongly felt they ought to be expressed, and should any inconvenience and weakness result thereby, it should be borne, for it was inherent in the divided government.²

Colonel Durand in a further minute, characterised Mr. Maine's previous note as a blow at the independent expression of opinion in the Council of the Governor-General; and strongly condemned the claim for the Legal Member of a censorship over the Council disguised under the assumed special duty of reconciling opinions. He maintained that neither any Act of Parliament constituting the Council, nor, the rules or practice of the Council contemplated that sort of supremacy in favour of the Legal Member. He apprehended that if the views, that all discussion on purely legislative question should take place, so far as the ordinary members were concerned, in the Executive Council, was carried to its logical consequence, it would render the Legislative Council a sham, and its discussion a farce. Proceeding further, he remarked that even under the reasonable exercise of temperate freedom of discussion, the Legislative

1. Colonel Durand recorded his minute after the bill had been passed by the Legislative Council.

2. Minute by the Hon'ble Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B.E., dated the 17th April, 1866.

Council was repeatedly termed as a mere office of Registry for the edicts of the Legal Member; if under Mr. Maine's edict the mouths of the members were further shut, then it would become still more difficult for the Government to countenance the idea. Then, he cited instances to show that the course implied in Maine's note was not followed hitherto. He stated that Mr. Beadon openly objected to Sir S. Trevelyan's imposition of import duties, and that Mr. Massy in his budget speech commented adversely on the opinions of the Governor-General and the majority of the Council upon the subject of the employment of irrigation canal companies. Even in case of Convert's Re-marriage Bill, Mr. Harington and Mr. Cust were not withheld from uttering condemnatory opinions by any fears of disturbing the cordiality prevailing in the Legislative or Executive Council.

Continuing with his arguments, he said that analogy between a cabinet and the Governor-General's Council could not be maintained because the cabinet represented a party and was bound to carry out a party policy in the face of a watchful and often hostile opposition, while the Governor-General's Council was not constituted for the party purposes, and in which, consequently, differences of opinion neither endangered parliamentary seats or places under government, nor, engendered bitterness of feeling as was apprehended by Mr. Maine. Opposition for opposition's sake was foreign to Indian administration, where every member of the government felt individually too deeply interested in maintaining the power and authority of British rule to allow of factious party feeling having the same play as purely English members of the Council trained in the school of Parliamentary Government might consider natural. In India, he said, "it has been regarded by the Home Government as desirable in the administration of this empire to invite rather than to check, a reasonable and temperate freedom of expression of opinion on the part of the member of Council, more specially, where great principles of interest are at stake!" He did not think, therefore, that the character and utility of the Council would be improved by a modification of the system in favour of the exclusiveness of the legislative department. His other objection was that it was inconsistent with the invitation given by the preliminary promulgation of Bill to exclude discussion from the Legislative Council, where the form, matter and names of Bill often undergo radical changes in deference to public representation from the large section of the community. He feared that if the members of the Council were to remain mute or open their mouths in unreasoning support of whatever the Legal Member might predicate then the Legislative Council would be brought to a great disrepute.¹

Clarifying Mr. Maine's position, Mr. Grey observed that the meaning of the former's note was that when important Government measures were to be brought before the Council for making laws, such measures were to be first fully discussed by the Executive Council, and once adopted, it was not allowable for a member^a of the Executive Council to oppose any such measures at meetings of the Council for making laws.² He considered it to be a sound principle. He could not see any point in the apprehensions of Mr. Durand, namely, that the adopting of that principle

1. Minute by the Hon'ble Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B.E., dated the 17th April, 1866.

2. Minute by the Hon'ble W. Grey dated the 30th April, 1866 concurred in by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Hon'ble G. N. Taylor.

would elevate the position of the Law Member. His argument was that since the decision regarding the expediency and necessity of enacting such measures was to rest with the majority of the Council, including the Governor-General, it was, therefore, not for the legal member, but for the Council to judge whether or not in any particular case the mouths of the dissentient colleagues were to be closed at meetings of the Council for making laws. As to the legal position, he said that in bringing forward a government measure the legal member stood on equal position with other members of the Council and that in piloting the official bills more frequently than others, he was acting merely as the instructed organ of the government of which he was a member.

Proceeding further, he pointed out that it would be highly inexpedient if the legislative measure of the government, intended to give effect to some new and important measure of policy, be opposed publicly in the open Council for making laws by a dissentient minority of the Governor-General's Council. The impropriety, impolicy, and evil of such a proceeding would be the same as it would be in the case if a minority were to appeal to the public through the medium of the press. He explained that such an open and public opposition in case of a Finance Bill would, particularly, be productive of great embarrassment and mischief. As to who should judge that a government bill should not be opposed, he observed that on such a question a high and unselfish consideration of duty should lead a dissentient minority to defer to the opinion of the Governor-General and the majority of the Council. And as the members of the Council did not hold any independent position, except as advisers of the Governor-General for carrying on the government, so he argued that a measure, whether executive or legislative, once adopted by the Governor-General with the concurrence of other members, left no room for the dissenting members to stage a public opposition to it. He apprehended that if a free voting was permitted in the Legislative Council then discussions in the Executive Council pertaining to a legislative measure would become unreal; for none would dare to expose his real mind in the Council on the question, lest his arguments might not be availed of against him in the Legislative Council by the adversary of the bill. But, however, he made it clear that the rule cited by Mr. Maine should be applicable only to important government measures and that it was for the Governor-General and the majority of the Council on such occasions to control the action of a dissentient minority. But in case of the bulk of legislation, he said that it was desirable that they should be open to the fullest and freest discussion.

Mr. Maine, in his second rejoinder, explained the duties and status of the Legislative Members and concluded that the Government Bill was simply an instrument for carrying out an order of the Executive Government to the fact that a new law be made or the old law be altered in some particulars; and that he regarded himself in his legislative capacity merely as the ministerial agent of the corporate Executive Government, enjoying as much discretion in legislation as the Advocate-General did when directed to conduct a particular case in court.¹

Colonel Durand, in his third minute, discounted the misapprehension that prevailed in rest of the members regarding the consequences of the reasonable freedom of expression and opinion. He held that his argument was not in favour of frequent or permanent opposition, but

1. Further note by the Hon'ble H. S. Maine, dated the 5th May, 1866.

rather for a temperate freedom of expression, which had always been hitherto practised and tolerated in the Legislative Council.¹

The Governor-General wound up the controversy² by 'observing that on matters of great and vital character it was of the highest importance that, as far as possible, discussion and differences of opinion among the members of the executive government should be confined to the Executive Council and that the minority should so far subscribe to the opinion of the Governor-General and the majority of the Council as to refrain from opposing such a measure in the Legislative Council, though it would be open, said His Excellency, to the dissentient members of the Council to record their views in the Executive Department which unless the measures required prompt action, the Governor-General and the majority would refer to the Secretary of State. However, in extreme cases he was of the opinion that the minority were free to oppose such a measure in the Legislative Council, should it be, in their minds, their imperative duty to do so.

The above sentiments were embodied in a Memorandum³ of the Government which read as follows :—

"Having carefully considered the subject, it was decided that it was unadvisable to lay down any definite rule as to the right of a member of Council to oppose a Bill at a meeting held for legislative purposes. At the same time, His Excellency in Council consider it most advisable that all differences of opinion on any Bill introduced by order of the Executive Government should always be, as far as possible, exhausted in the Executive Council before a measure is discussed in the Legislative sitting."

"It was therefore, decided that no normal decision should be recorded and that the notes which have been written should not be recorded, but should be made as K. W. with the papers of the Christian Convert's Bill, together with this memorandum."

Second Case—In March 1868, the question rose again in a new and serious form. The proposals of the Finance Member of the Council for the provision of ways and means failed to obtain the concurrence of three members of the Government. Legislation being essential, two of the dissentient Members, Sir William Mansfield and Mr. Maine, however, brought themselves to the conclusion that it was their duty not only to abstain from opposing, but to support by their votes a financial scheme which had the approval of the majority of their colleagues, including the Viceroy and the Finance Member of Council. Sir Henry Durand, on the other hand, repeated the arguments which he recorded in 1866. He considered that while it would be wrong in him actively to oppose legislation, which was closely implicated with and necessary to give effect to an executive decision, he did not think that his office imposed on him an obligation to support by his vote a measure of which he conscientiously disapproved. He proposed, therefore, to absent himself from any sitting of the legislature at which a vote of that nature was likely to be taken. The propriety of that course was denied by the Viceroy, who was of opinion that "a decision by the Government having been once arrived at in the due course of law on a matter of great public importance, all the steps necessary to give it practically effect should have the co-operation of

1. Minute by the Hon'ble Colonel H. M. Durand, C.B.E., dated the 12th May, 1866.
2. Minute by His Excellency the Governor-General, dated the 7th May, 1866.
3. Memorandum, dated the 25th June, 1866.

all the members of the Government, so far, at all events, as their votes in the legislature were concerned."

The question being of paramount importance to the Government a despatch,¹ bearing on the said issue, was sent to the Secretary of State, in which the Government of India sought for the latter's ruling on the question : " If the Majority of the Council, or the Viceroy exercising his power of over-ruling His Council, should decide on the expediency of a particular legislative measure, and should further decide that this measure ought, in the Council for making laws and regulations, to have the united support of the Government, are the dissentient members of Council bound by such last decision ? If they are, to what does the obligation of combined action extend ? Is it satisfied by abstinence from public opposition, or does it include the necessity of voting for the measure which has commended itself to the majority of the Council or to the Viceroy."²

The reasons, which prompted the Government to depart from the original practice of toleration of temperate opinions and to seek for the formulation of a new rule, were stated as follows :—

" . . . the establishment of a legislature distinct from the Executive Government has introduced a new principle into the Government of India, though it is only recently that its influence has been fully felt. Originally the utmost freedom of discussion in the Governor-General's Council was required by the theory of this government, and retained in practice. On the other hand, knowledge of the course and character of the discussion was confined to the Home Branch of this Government. except in the rare cases where the minutes of our predecessors were published under the authority of Parliament. Now, however, in the numerous instances in which legislative sanction is necessary before a particular policy can be adopted and practically followed, a part of the discussion on that policy unavoidably takes place in public. We do not think it surprising that this new condition should have forced new problems on our attention, or should have placed you under the necessity of adjusting and solving them."³

The Secretary of State in his reply⁴ expressed his regret that the Governor-General should have found it necessary to submit the question to him. He stated that there seemed to be two propositions. The first, that it was inconsistent with the character of a legislative body to impose any forcible restriction upon the independence of its members, when required to vote upon measures presented for their consideration. The second, that it would seriously detract from supporting important measures introduced into the legislature for the purpose of giving effect to executive decisions. The Secretary State, however, hoped that a sense of importance of upholding the authority of the Government would be sufficient to lead any member of the Council to support by his vote any measure of consequence, such, for instance, as the finance bill adopted by the majority of his colleagues, even though it might not commend his personal approval. Nevertheless, he pointed out that a member could avail if he chose, of the right, which he possessed, of recording his objections, for the information of the Secretary of State. However, he

1. Legislative Despatch No. 4 dated the 14th March, 1868.

2. *Ibid*, para 5.

3. Despatch of the Government of India, para 6.

4. Legislative Despatch from the Secretary of State No. 16 dated the 14th May, 1869.

greatly regretted that the idea should be entertained of authoritatively requiring a member of the Council to vote in the Legislature, when he did not himself assent to the propriety of doing so. He added that cases might arise in which so serious a question of conscience occur as to render it impossible for a member without abandonment of his duty, to concur in the measures of his colleagues.¹

In that particular case, the Secretary of State, however, approved the conduct of Mr. Maine and of Mr. Mansfield, who considered their duty, not merely to abstain from opposing, but actively to support by their views and votes measures which had been adopted by the majority of the Executive Council ; and condemned the contrary course taken by Sir H. Durand, as indicating either an imperfect estimate of his duty as a member of the Executive Government, or an exaggerated view of the importance of his difference from his colleagues. It was further pointed out that if other members of the Government had followed the example of Sir Henry Durand, and if the measure had subsequently been defeated, in the Legislative Council, a serious crisis, would have occurred and the authority of the Executive Council would have been so shaken that some changes in its composition would have become inevitable.²

The Secretary of State, while stating that it would commonly be the duty of the dissentient member to support the Government in case the majority of the Council, or the Viceroy (exercising his power of over-ruling his Council) were to decide on the expediency of a particularly legislative measure, and were further to decide that that measure should in the Council for making laws and regulations have the united support of the Government, refused to lay down any binding rule with a view to impose authoritative restriction upon the discretion of members of a Legislative Assembly ; for he was fully impressed with the conviction that an imposition of such a rule would destroy the character and usefulness of a legislative body.³

Third Case.—The third case arose in June 1878 in connection with Sir W. Robinson's speech and vote in the Madras Legislative Council on the Madras License Tax Bill. The License Tax Act, which formed part of the financial arrangements for the current year, was adopted by the Government of India and was approved of by the Secretary of State. The Bill for application of the License Tax to the Madras Presidency was under instructions from the Government of India, and with the assent of the Governor of Madras, introduced into the Governor-General's Council for making laws and regulations on the 11th March. The same Bill was further discussed in the Local Legislative Council on the 18th of March. On the latter occasion Sir William Robinson, the Senior Civil Member of the Governor's Executive Council, not only stated in the Legislative Council certain objections entertained by him to that Government measure, but also moved and pressed to a division an amendment providing for the insertion in the Bill of an important addition, which had been considered and rejected by the Government of India in its previous deliberations on the subject.⁴

1. *Ibid*, para 4.

2. Legislative Despatch from the Secretary of State No. 16 dated the 14th May, 1869, para 5.

3. *Ibid*, para 6.

4. Legislative Despatch of the Government of India No. 51 dated the 24th June, 1878.

The amendment thus moved, despite the support by two of the Additional Members of the Legislative Council was defeated. The Government of India adversely commented upon that incident, in their despatch. They stated : “ . . . had the amendment been carried, a public defeat would have been inflicted, directly on the Government of Madras, and indirectly on the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council in reference to a most important financial measure—a result which must have seriously weakened the authority of the Executive Government.”¹

The Government of India pointed out in the same despatch that the previous despatch of Sir Stafford Northcote, virtually though not authoritatively, had determined the practice of the Governor-General's Council ; and that ever since then occasions had frequently arisen when members of the Executive Council had disapproved measures of importance, which required legislative sanction, but on no single occasion, continued the despatch, had any member failed to support by his vote in the Legislative Council a Bill which had been adopted as a government measure.²

It was, therefore, with much regret, stated the government in their despatch : “ That we have now to call the attention of Your Lordship to the breach, in the Madras Council, of that rule which for ten years has governed the proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India, and which is no less necessary in the Councils of those local governments which are subordinate to our general authority, and more especially to our financial control ; for we cannot but feel that the course followed by Sir W. Robinson on this occasion was one calculated to embarrass seriously the transaction of public business and which, if left unnoticed, would constitute a most dangerous precedent.”³ Explaining why the Government was obliged to make that discrimination between the Legislative and the Executive Council, despite the constitutional similarity of the two, they added, “ we are aware that in theory the Governor-General's Council are single councils for both executive and legislative capacity. But the essential difference between the circumstances, conditions and characters of deliberations which, in the one case, are conducted with secrecy and in the other with unrestricted publicity (as explained by the Government in their despatch of the 14th March, 1868). . . . and we consider that in this particular instance . . . the course taken by Sir W. Robinson has been much more open to objections than was that of Sir H. Durand.”⁴

The Government of India further emphasised that such ostentatious announcement of dissent and pressing of one's views to a division in connection with important measures of the local government previously determined by the Secretary of State would discredit the character and enfeeble the authority of the British administration in India.⁵ So they implored the Secretary of State to give a categorical decision on the said issue.

To the above fact, the Secretary of State gave his final ruling in August 1878, which ran as follows :—

“ The course which the Hon'ble W. Robinson ought to have followed

1. *Ibid*, para 3.

2. Legislative Despatch of the Government of India No. 54, dated the 24th June, 1878, para 7.

3. *Ibid*, para 8.

4. Legislative Despatch of the Government of India No. 54, dated the 24th June, 1878, para 9.

5. *Ibid*, para 10.

was to state his objections to the Bill in the Executive Council of His Grace the Governor of Madras, and to propose that they be submitted for the consideration of the Viceroy of India in Council. If over-ruled by his colleagues, or if his proposals, when submitted to the Government of India, did not receive the concurrence of that authority, his duty would have been then to abstain in the Legislative Council from all opposition to the Bill, and saving in very extreme cases, to lend it the support of his vote.”¹

So a very important principle governing the conduct of the government members of the Legislative Councils, established under the Act of 1861, was decided in the eighties of the last century. The principle of open councils in the legislative council, which had been in operation ever since 1853, was abandoned in 1866, and instead, it was adopted—of course finally in 1878—that if the Executive Council of the Governor-General decided upon the expediency of a Legislative measure, and further adopted that the interests of the government warranted the presentation of a united council in the Legislative Council, then the members of the Executive Council were under an obligation to support the measure by their votes and views, save in very exceptional cases, when the members felt deeply and conscientiously against that measure.

The above provision was embodied in the Rules and Orders for the Transaction of Business in Council, which read as :—

“On the requisition of any member of Council, any proposal for legislation shall be considered at a meeting of the Council, with a view to determining whether the government should deal with the Bill upon United Councils, or leave it an open question.”²

The procedure established during that decade laid the foundation of the system of official block in the legislative bodies, which stiffened more and more, with the advent of representative system in India. In 1894, the government exercised the “whole of its voting power” to secure the passage of the Cotton Duties Bill, which it was obliged to introduce in the Legislative Council in pursuance of a mandate from the Secretary of State. Sir Griffith Evans and Sir P. M. Mehta lodged their strong protest against that administrative practice. During the course of discussion on the above bill, the former observed, “we should be careful to maintain the position assigned to us in the constitution and not to abdicate our functions or allow the executive to make laws when we only register them. The Secretary of State and the Executive Council have no legislative powers and cannot be allowed to usurp them.” Lord Elgin advanced the theory of mandate in justification of the conduct of the Executive Council and pointed out that the supreme authority in legislation was vested in the Secretary of State and his Council and not in the Legislative Council. His Lordship implied what Duke of Argyll had laid down in 1870 that the Government of India, were merely executive officers of the Home Government which held the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure and of requiring all the official members to vote for it.

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1. Legislative Despatch of the Secretary of State No. 43, dated the 22nd August, 1878.
 2. The exception, so made, was in consonance with the precedent in the British Cabinet. Latest case of that type was when the liberal members of the last Labour Cabinet were granted freedom of action on the issue of Free Trade.
 3. Rule XXIX (1889 Edition).

The rule of unanimity of opinion is plausible but necessary in case of a cabinet government jointly responsible to a legislature or in other governments, which are based upon party system. The party mandate in all such cases is a function of the supremacy of the legislature and the sovereignty of the electorate. But in India the Governor-General in Council was not in the political sense of the term a cabinet, nor was it based upon the American or Swiss model of Government. Official votes were, therefore, not analogous to party votes in other countries.¹ The order to the official members to vote in the Indian Legislative Council was based upon the official authority exercised by a superior over a subordinate in the public service; and the motive behind that administrative discipline was not the public good but "to enable the Government of India to discharge the constitutional obligations which it owes to His Majesty's Government and the Imperial Parliament". It was with that end in view that Lord Morley introduced in 1909 the principle of a standing official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council and that the subsequent constitutions of India were hedged round with scores of safeguards.

1. Mr. Iyengar writes in his book *The Indian Constitution* as follows :—

"The growth of the convention as to party voting in England became established in the course of a century, but the introduction of the solid official vote to India was not determined by any such historical causes or political requirements, but by a mere process of transference by British administrators under the circumstances referred to above. In England, the party vote is not the consequence, but the cause and source of the power which sustains the Government, whereas in India the official party vote is not the cause, but the consequence of the power which the Government possesses independently of the vote of elected representatives in the Councils—due to the statutory standing official strength and to the position of constitutional independence of the Indian Executive Government in carrying on the ordinary administration of the country, which will be referred to more particularly hereafter."

2. "It is no doubt the experience of modern countries that wherever democratic institutions begin to grow and the number of voters is necessarily large, the system of Government sooner or later involves the permanent existence of political parties. But the distinction of official and non-official votes in the Indian Councils does not rest on the existence of one class of voters supporting the officials and the other class opposing them but on the officials relying on their statutory power and authority, and on the non-officials relying on all the support of the voters. The conception of a party in power and a party out of power is a feature of British Parliamentary institutions and so far only the form and not the substance of it has been introduced into India with the attendant drawbacks referred to above."

3. "The non-official opposition in the Indian Councils therefore is not in the same position as "His Majesty's Opposition" in England (*i.e.*), that of a party out of power which is recognised as perfectly loyal, to the institutions of the state and ready at any moment to come into office without a shock to the political traditions of the nation. The Indian Opposition is a permanent opposition, perpetually out of office and without the advantages accruing from the exercise of responsible power which they could attain to by persuasion of the Legislatures and the electors. The non-official members cannot so far be said to be divided from the official members on any recognised differences of political principles on public questions, which are to be put in operation as each party attains to power."

4. "Party vote in England has led to party Government and the establishment of a Parliamentary executive. In America, on the other hand, it has led to Presidential Government and Congressional legislation and though parties there are more thoroughly organised than in England, they are outside the framework of the Government. In India, the British system of party voting has been introduced into the legislatures, but the British system of party Government which was the origin of such voting in England is yet to grow."

The procedure regarding official votes, which was adopted by the Government was not warranted by the Constitution of India.¹ The Legislative Council was an integral part of the Government and as such the position of the Government members and the additional members in it was the same.² Each member was bound to discharge the duties enjoined upon him by the constitution to his best ability. The imposition of that rigid discipline on the official members to vote for a government measure irrespective of their judgment as to the merits of the bill, was nothing but putting back the hands of the clock by fifty years, when enacting laws in a Presidency was merely an issuing of executive decrees. Before 1866, the Government members invariably spoke and voted freely. During the year 1855, there were 17 divisions in the Legislative Council in which the Executive members took opposite sides. In 1861, there were as many as 48 divisions. But the authorities got frightened over the tendency of the Legislative Council to become independent of the executive; and, thus, got its powers curbed by the Act of 1861, so that its functions were confined merely to legislation. But even in that limited sphere, its purpose was defeated and its usefulness damaged by the adoption of the procedure under review. The imposition of that bar on the freedom of action and speech of the Executive Members, who only by virtue of their office had the knowledge and experience of the administration, and as such, could impart by their counterstand knowledge and reality to the proceedings of the Legislative Council, impaired the character of the Council and affected adversely its deliberations, efficiency and effectiveness.³ In the absence therefore, of free and full discussions and expression of opinion, the Legislative Councils in India naturally became more mechanical, and acted merely as institutions for registering official decrees. The working of the 1892 reforms and the Morley Minto reforms bear a testimony to that.

So far as the reason, that the step was essential to secure the necessary legislation of the government, the constitution had already

Writes Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar :—

1. "... the notion of an official majority in the Legislative Council, or the notion that the additional official members should vote with the ordinary members of the Council or that the ordinary members of the Council and the President should vote alike, is entirely opposed to the fundamental principles of the constitution as stated above, namely, that so far as legislation is concerned, the Government consists of the Governor-General or Governor, his ordinary members and the additional members whether nominated by him or elected, subject to his approval, and all form but one component and indivisible part of Government for the purpose of making laws and regulations and the division of this body into the Executive Government supported by an official majority and non-official minority corresponding to an opposition to Government is the introduction of a principle which, in British India, is as unconstitutional as it would be mischievous in the result."

2. "According to the principle of the constitution of the Legislative Councils in India, there is no difference between official and non-official members, and it is because of the importance attached to the Legislative function of Government that in addition to the ordinary members a certain number of additional members are associated with the Governor-General or Governor and the policy of the Act is that legislative measures should be publicly discussed and passed at meetings of such bodies in accordance with the views of the majority and it is a distinct violation of this principle that under the sanction of an unwritten law a theory should prevail and assert itself that officials should all vote solidly irrespective of their convictions and opinions and that non-official members, and the elected members, in particular, should be regarded and treated as belonging to the opposition to Government."

Papers relating to Constitutional Reform in India, Vol. 11, page 56. (1908).

3. In 1882 there was only one division of the Legislative Council, while in 1883 one and in 1885 three.

provided ample safeguards necessary for the same. The Legislative Council, in fact, was rendered so much *ab initio* impotent that it could never frustrate the essential plan of the government. It was nothing but innate conservatism and public shyness on the part of the government to adopt that procedure, for the essential concomitant of the creation of government block was the extension of Legislative Councils and the introduction of partial responsibility as a preliminary step to the establishment of full responsible Government in India.

V

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF RAMCHANDRA PANT
AMATYA'S DEATH

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Ramchandra Pant *Amatya Hukamatpanha*, the founder of the present Bavada *Jagir* in Kolhapur State (Deccan), was one of the few warrior-statesmen who had witnessed the growth of the Maratha power under the great Shivaji, and who rendered singular service in defending the newly established kingdom when it was vigorously attacked by the all-powerful Aurangzib. Unfortunately we know practically nothing about his last days, and as regards the date of his death we have depended entirely on some traditional accounts. An attempt is made here to fix the date mainly in the light of two unpublished documents.¹

At the outset, the dates which have been so long advanced, but which have not been supported by any reliable evidence, may be briefly mentioned.

There are many genealogical trees of the Amatya family. Some of them record that Ramchandra Pant died in 1730; some others give the year 1720. Rao Bahadur Sardesai relies mainly on a letter written by Sambhaji Angria and concludes that Ramchandra Pant died in 1733.² Prof. Puntambekar says that Ramchandra Pant "died in or about 1717,"³ but he records no evidence in support of his assertion. Aba Chandorkar,⁴ too, mentions the same date, and in like manner gives no supporting evidence. It may be said that so far no one particular date has been accepted and whatever date is given has been mostly conjectural.

Let us now examine the newly discovered documents which, as far as I know, constitute the only reliable and direct evidence so far obtained in this connection.

The first of these is an *Adnapatra* (executive order) issued by Krishnaji Rau Bhagawant, the grandson of Ramchandra Pant on March

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1. I found these documents in the Kolhapur records. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Kolhapur Darbar for the kind permission they have given me for inspecting and making use of approved papers. I hope to publish in near future these documents along with others. All papers are written in *Modi* script.
 2. His *Rajaram*, p. 175 f. n.
 3. His English translation of Ramchandra Pant's *Rajniti*, Introduction.
 4. *Lekhanalankar* p. 44.

15, 1752. The *Adnapatra* unequivocally states that a piece of land was granted to one Laxuman Bhat Thakar in *Saba Asharin* (*Maya Alaf*), that is to say in 1726-27. This was a funeral grant (*Bhumi-dan*) after Ramchandra Pant's death. Such a grant of land generally takes place, if not immediately, at least soon after the event. Ramchandra Pant's death, therefore, must have occurred in or about *Saba Asharin*.

Had the above mentioned *Adnapatra* been the only available evidence on this point, it would have been accepted as the final authority ; and it could have been maintained that Ramchandra Pant died in or about 1726-27. There is, however, the other document which is not only more important than the first but, to a certain extent, contradicts the first. This second document is the deed of partition between the three sons of Ramchandra Pant, Bhagawantrao, Moreshwar alias Appajirao, and Shivaram. This deed is dated May 15, 1723. It is a longish document giving the details of Ramchandra Pant's property which was then divided between the three claimants. This document contains significant entries like the following :—"The balance of the treasury at the time of Ramchandra Pant's death," "Condolence visits to Bhagawantrao at Ramchandra Pant's death." Entries like these in that partition deed make it abundantly clear that Ramchandra Pant's death occurred before May 25, 1723, the date of the deed.

Both Krishnaji Rau's *Adnapatra* and the deed of partition are genuine and unimpeachable. Yet both do not give the same date. According to the first Ramchandra Pant's death occurred in or about 1726-27 ; according to the latter the event took place before May, 1723. Both being acceptable documents, an attempt must be made to reconcile them to each other. After a careful study of the two papers as well as of some others (which are mentioned below) I have come to the conclusion that the date mentioned in the *Adnapatra* should have been *Saba Ashar* (A.D. 1716-17) and not *Saba Asharin*. That is to say, according to the *Adnapatra* Ramchandra Pant's death occurred in or about 1716-17. My arguments in support of this conclusion are as follows :—

(1) Since the deed of partition categorically mentions that Ramchandra Pant died before May 1723, there must be something wrong about the date given in the *Adnapatra*. The date could not be *Saba Asharin*. At the same time it must be remembered that the *Adnapatra* could not give an absolutely wrong date. The occasion and the authorship of the paper preclude such a possibility. At the most there may have been just a slip in writing the date. The possibility of committing such an error is strengthened by the method which is employed in giving dates according to the Arabigera. *Saba Asharin* could be easily written in place of *Saba Ashar*. That the date could not be far different from *Saba Ashar* will be shown below. The only possibility, therefore, of making a mistake in recording the date in the *Adnapatra* would be to write *Saba Asharin* instead of *Saba Ashar*.

In this connection it must also be remembered that the *Adnapatra* was written in 1752, and, may be, the date of Ramchandra Pant's death was mentioned only through memory. It is possible that the long distance of time that intervened between the occurrence of the event and its record may have led to the sort of error that is mentioned above.

(2) The probability of the occurrence of Ramchandra Pant's death in or about *Saba Ashar* (1716-17) is supported by other independent evidence. Two of the latest available papers issued by Ramchandra Pant in

the capacity of *Amatya Hukamatpanha* are dated September 12, 1715¹ and October 9, 1715.² From papers like these it appears that Ramchandra Pant was occupying his office practically up to the end of the year 1715. Yet another document³ dated March 9, 1716 is issued in the name of Ramchandra Pant's eldest son and successor, Bhagawantrao, who is described there as *Amatya Hukamatpanha*. From this paper it is clear that the son was on that date holding the office of the father. There is no authoritative evidence to show that the son succeeded the father while the latter was yet alive. One is therefore led to conclude that Bhagawantrao succeeded Ramchandra Pant after the latter's death. In that case Ramchandra Pant must have died before March 1716.

(3) If this conclusion is to be accepted one more discrepancy will have to be explained. If according to Krishnajibirau's Adnapatra Ramchandra Pant's death occurred in or about *Saba Ashar*, then it occurred after May 24, and not before March 9, 1716, because the year *Saba Ashar* commenced on May 24. This discrepancy can, however, be easily explained. The Adnapatra refers more specifically to the grant of the land than to the date of Ramchandra Pant's death and in no wise mentions that the two events occurred on the same day. In the case of *Bhumidan* on such occasions, it is obvious that the grant deed would be prepared not immediately but some time after the event. Thus the *Sanad* of the land may have been issued in *Saba Ashar*, but not very long after Ramchandra Pant's death in the preceding year, *Shit Ashar*.

Ramchandra Pant's death, therefore, must have occurred either at the end of the year 1715 or early in the beginning of the year 1716. The acceptance of this view alone enables one to reconcile the various papers quoted above. It must, however, be admitted that there is no conclusive proof of this date. Nevertheless, in the light of the above discussion, it deserves to be considered as the most probable date.

VI

THE PRESIDENCY OF AGRA

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The United Provinces secured a belated recognition of its importance by the Government of India Act 1909 when a Governor with a Council was appointed. But long before this date, history records of an attempt to create a full government for these territories to be known as Presidency of Agra with a Governor. The Parliament provided for it by statute, the Directors sanctioned its institution, Sir Charles Metcalfe "assumed charge" as Governor, yet the government did not function and before a year had elapsed the Legislature suspended its creation and authorised the Company to have a Lieutenant Governor instead. It is the story of its creation and the powers and functions assigned to it, that this paper will describe.

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1. Rajawade Vol. 8 No. 73. The date of this paper is September 12 and not September 1 as given by Rajawade.
 2. Idem Vol. 3 No. 240.
 3. Mavalankar Sardesai Gharanyacha Itihas I, Prab'havali Daftar. No. 125.

Soon after the occupation of the ceded and conquered districts of Rohilkhand and the Doab, the Government of Bengal found itself unable to cope with the volume of work and the complexities of political relations occasioned by the incorporation of new territories in Northern India. In 1808 the two commissioners, Mr. Cox and Mr. St. George Tucker, suggested the establishment of "a high official authority" in these provinces. "The advantages contemplated were, in reference to political relations and improvement of local internal administration." Relief to the over-worked Government at Calcutta, advantage to the inhabitants of the Upper Provinces and incentive to local authorities, were some of the arguments advanced in its support.¹ But it could not meet with much favour then. Again, Sir John Malcolm had in mind the establishment of a separate Government for Central India which could have included some parts of these provinces as well, and for his idea some support was available both "at the India House and at the Board of Control." In 1829 and 1830 this subject came up for discussion before the Governor General's Council on the recommendation of the Finance Committee. That such a measure will tend "to the efficiency of administration" was generally agreed. But objection was raised "on the ground of expense; and much difference of opinion prevailed upon the amount of patronage and of control over the most important of our political relations, which should be delegated to the newly created office. Lord William Bentinck was more opposed than others to a separation of authority, though admitting the total inadequacy of the Government at Calcutta to control and superintend the North West Provinces. He would have removed the seat of the supreme Government to these provinces and have delegated local authorities to Calcutta."²

These discussions bore fruit in 1833 when the Parliament, in spite of the more modest proposal of the Court of Directors, included a clause in the Charter Act relating to the establishment of the Presidency Government of Agra, similar in status and functions to other Presidency Governments. The new Act carried the process of centralisation one step further, and thus it could not be expected that these Presidency Governments would possess any degree of independent control. There was no idea at that date of associating the people of the land with the work of administration. The only purpose, therefore, of creating a new Presidency was to lighten the burden of the Central authority and provide for better and more efficient administration of the Upper Provinces. That the importance of the Northern lands was recognised is fully borne out by the refusal of the Parliament to institute a Lieutenant Governorship as the Directors had contemplated. The Legislature provided for the establishment of a full Government subordinate to the Governor General in Council, yet in no way inferior to Bombay or Madras Presidency.

It was the intention of the Parliament to make the supreme Government of India a real superintending, controlling authority. "The whole civil and military Government of India" was to be vested in the Governor General in Council. It was to be the sole repository of legislative authority as no Presidency Government could make any laws. It had the full control of the purse strings as no expenditure could be incurred without its implied or express assent. It was invested with complete

1. Lord Auckland's letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated 17th March 1836, quoted, by Kay in life of Lord Metcalfe Vol. II, page 294.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 294, 5.

control in political matters so that "the diplomatic interests of the state" were "placed . . . entirely in the hands of the Supreme Government" and at the same time it was given absolute supervisory and controlling authority over the other governments in matters of general administration. The Court of Directors explained most unambiguously the new position assigned to the Supreme Government and fully outlined the extent of its powers and functions in the two Despatches of 27 December 1833 and 10 December 1834.¹ The authority which any Presidency Government could thus exercise was limited to the extent that it might be delegated or left over by the Government of India. And here too there was no option in respect of legislation, or financial administration. Delegation of authority was possible only in executive Government or in respect of superintendence over a particular Residency, or a particular negotiation." The new Presidency of Agra also was to be constituted in the light of these limitations.

The Court of Directors determined the territorial limits of the new Presidency by dividing the territory of the Presidency of Bengal so as to leave to the Government of Fort William "all that territory usually denominated the Lower Provinces and any other territory east of Allahabad . . . while the Government of Agra will comprehend the remainder, including Allahabad, Gorakhpur, and the ceded districts on the Nerbudda."² This left to the new province the lands of the Doab, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Allahabad and Jubbulpur, etc. Benares was to be a part of Fort William Province. At the head of this province was to be a Governor with a salary equal to that of the head of the Bombay or Madras Presidency, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed as the first Governor; but it appears he was to have no council to assist him. Its inferiority to the older Presidencies was emphasised when the Governor was denied the right of direct correspondence with the Court of Directors. It was held that "all matters of magnitude and difficulty will come immediately before the Supreme Government, either in its legislative capacity, or as organ of the diplomatic functions of the state, and it will not be too distant to interfere even on a sudden emergency. To enable the Supreme Government to meet our expectation in this respect it will be necessary to have before it the record of the proceedings of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies. To the same end it appears to us not unlikely to be conducive, if the Supreme Government should conduct the correspondence with us, on account of Bengal and Agra."³ But the other Presidencies were to "correspond with us directly and communicate their detail proceedings as heretofore." If not in the matter of the proceedings, at least in that of direct correspondence with the Court of Directors the distinction was most marked.

The Directors did not favour "the division of the establishments, civil or military, of Bengal," and desired "that a plan should be devised according to which the selection may be made of individuals to fill the offices under the two Governments of Agra and Bengal." There was to be no separate Civil or Military Service as in Bombay or Madras but the existing Bengal Civil Service was to continue to supply officers for Agra Presidency as well. This decision affected the subject of patronage. At the same time, the Directors authorised the Governor-General in Council

1. Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor General of India No 18., (Political) 27 December, 1833, and No. 44, (Public) 10 December 1834.
2. Despatch from the Court of Directors No. 18 (Political) 27 December 1833.
3. *Ibid.*

to make arrangements for separate appellate judicial courts for the new Presidency, though "the judicial establishments" here were to remain as before. Instructions were issued for looking to the "revenue establishments" of Agra and to "endeavour to promote" a "close control over Revenue" there. In a matter so important as assessment and collection of revenue, the new Presidency Government could not be entirely left to itself. The Directors also desired the Governor General to give his "care" and attention to arrangements for constituting the administration "of Agra."¹

Judging from the instructions contained in the two despatches sent by the Court of Directors, it may not be unreasonable to conclude that the status of the new Presidency of Agra was not to be greatly different, from that of the other Presidencies. The extent of Supreme Governments control over Agra was not considerably larger than that provided for by the Act over Bombay or Madras. Of course, owing to past association with Bengal and its newness the Agra Government could not be permitted to have the right of direct correspondence or complete control over a separated civil service. But the new Act had invested the Supreme Government with so comprehensive powers of superintendence and control over the Presidency Governments that in practice these petty distinctions would have vanished and all the Local Governments should have been brought to the same level. In finance, in political matters and in general superintendence the Government of India had been invested with full powers.

On receipt of these instructions from the Directors, the Government of Lord William Bentinck made some proposals for the efficient working of the new arrangement. The Governor General was then in Ootacamund and had not the advantage of the presence of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, with him. The Ootacamund Proceedings contain many papers relating to the formation of the Agra Presidency. It is clear from a study of these papers that Lord William Bentinck and his provisional council did not approach this subject with generosity or fairness, which resulted in the curtailment of powers and position of the new Presidency. The Government of India had no desire to transfer power to the local Governor either in respect of control over political relations with the Indian States or in the matter of patronage, particularly the latter. And here the new Presidency Government found itself in a position inferior to that of its older compeers.

As regards political relations "with the surrounding independent states" the Governor General and his provisional Council held that "we could not delegate to another authority any portion of the responsibility which attaches to the exercise of these important duties." In the vicinity of Agra lay states with whom we have the most important political relations, "and agents who seemed best fitted" were selected to represent the Governor General there. As such the latter could not leave the duty of their selection or control to be performed by an inferior, and, according to the then usage an independent authority. In this connection they wrote: "We feel that to divest the Agra Governor of all political authority is in some measure to detract from his official consequence, yet we are of opinion that this is a minor evil in comparison with that which would be experienced by the interposition between us and the confidential representatives of the Governor General of a functionary who is not

1. Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 44 (Public), 10th December 1834.

appointed by us and whom except in a case of the greatest emergency we could not venture to suspend or remove; who on the other hand would have no share in the appointment of the subordinate Agents, and who, therefore, whatever were his other qualifications might not be a proper medium of communication between us and those Agents. We think moreover that the official consequence of this functionary would be more apt to suffer diminution were we compelled on any occasion to support the views of the subordinate Political Functionaries in opposition to his, than if all ground of collision were removed by keeping the control over the diplomatic authorities entirely in our own hands." Therefore they suggested that the Governor of Agra "should be confined to duties of internal administration," and the seat of his government be fixed at Allahabad. As a matter of favour, however, they were prepared to acquaint him "with all transactions of importance, and duplicates of all Despatches of moment" to be sent to him. Copies of instructions issued by the Supreme Government were also to be sent to him.¹ They had confidence in Sir Charles Metcalfe, but in determining this matter they were guided by general and not personal considerations.

On the second question, that of patronage, too, the Governor General and his Council could not delegate full authority to the subordinate Government of Agra. Heretofore there was one civil or military service for the two parts of the Northern Presidency and being controlled from one centre there had been no occasion of any separation between Bengal and Agra services, as was the case with Bombay or Madras. Now when the Presidency of Agra was made an independent Government, it was proper that its rights of control over its services, civil at least, should be the same as enjoyed by the Governors of the Southern Presidencies. But the Governor General could not part with power he exercised. He argued against complete subordination as well as complete separation. He had "very serious objections" to the "last principle" the separation of services. "It would," he wrote "transfer to a subordinate officer one half of the Civil Patronage and it would so far as the general interests are concerned make a separation and division where there now exists the closest union and connection as regarding the Agency by which the whole is to be governed."² On the other hand, considerations of prestige prevented the adoption of the first alternative. Hence an intermediate course was adopted, pending final instructions from the Court of Directors. But it did not prevent "the entire and exclusive control over the political, military and financial concerns of both Governments" (Agra and Bengal) being retained by the Supreme Government.

The Governor General adopted the compromise that "the appointments to the Sudder Court and the Sudder Board should be reserved to the Governor General in Council, and that all other offices should be filled up by the Governor of Agra excepting in cases where political duties may be discharged by an officer holding a revenue or judicial situation, when the appointment of the officer to the united duties should rest with the Supreme Government."³ This formula deprived the Governor of Agra of his right to appoint or even promote the highest officers both in the revenue and judicial branches of public service. The

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1. Letter to Court of Directors, Ootacamund No. 11 (Political), dated 11th August, 1834.
 2. Letter to the Court of Directors No. 11 (Political), dated 11th August, 1834.
 3. *Ibid.*

members of the supreme appellate authority and the chief revenue authority were to be subject to the Governor General in Council. But this control was not to be confined only to the higher ranks. If a district or divisional officer or a judge of the district court was entrusted with political duties, his appointment, etc., passed *ipso facto* into the hands of the Supreme Government. The full measure of its importance would be realised if we analyse the extent of such "united duties." In earlier days "management of our relations" with some states "was annexed to offices of territorial superintendence in the respective neighbourhoods." The Commissioner of Delhi was also Agent at the Court of Delhi and managed "dependent Jageerdars in the vicinity." "Political Agents in the Sikh and Hill protected states" were also superintendents of the districts. The judge in Bundelkhund had political charge of Bundelkhand chiefs similarly the Commissioner of Nerbuda District controlled political dealings of the "Saugor and Nerbuda Agency" Rampur and Tehri were also in contact with the divisional officers. Thus, it would appear that a number of revenue and judicial officers would be subject to the Supreme Government. In the circumstances, the patronage of the Governor would be greatly restricted. It is no wonder, then, that he was considered "merely a better kind of Commissioner."²

There was general protest against the new dispensation. The Government of Bombay and Madras objected to the loss of their political authority and desired that relations with the states in their immediate proximity should be controlled by them.³ Metcalfe and Blunt, the two members of the Supreme Council in Calcutta, also criticised the Ootacamund proposal regarding Agra Presidency. "To call a machine so destitute of governing powers a government, appears to us 'a misnomer'" wrote they.⁴ According to them if the new government was not to possess full powers, then it was better to have a mere commissionership for the upper provinces. Metcalfe regarded it nothing better than a "Judicial and Revenue Commissionership" having no concern with "political, military or financial affairs."⁵ "If an efficient Government is not required," he continued, "in the north-west quarter, or if it cannot be formed, owing to the difficulty of separating power and patronage from the Supreme Government, why have any? Such a thing as it is proposed to set up at Allahabad, will be a useless expense."⁵

These protests led to a modification of the earlier orders and in their consultations of 21st November, 1834, the Government of India did delegate some powers of political control to the subordinate governments in the Presidencies. Rule was laid down that the political officers in some important states would "be subject to the direct orders of the Government of India" and "all other officers will apply for instructions and receive their orders from the governments within the sphere of whose jurisdiction they may be respectively situated." As to Agra, the only residencies or agencies which were excluded from its jurisdiction were those of Lucknow, Gwalior, Indore, Bahawalpur, Rajputana and Loodiana. But in these cases too, the Local Government was to be furnished with copies of all important communications to the Government of India. This arrangement was a special one and it was competent

1. Sir Charles Metcalfe to Lord Auckland, 18th March, 1836.

2. Kaye : Life of Lord Metcalfe. Vol. II, p. 217.

3. Political Consultation No. 2, 19th September, 1834 and No. 14, 21st November, 1834.

4. Political Consultation No. 3, 8th May, 1834. Colebrooke, p. 217.

5. Letter from Metcalfe to Tucker. 4th September, 1834. Colebrooke. p. 219.

for the Government of India "to enlarge, modify or revoke altogether the political powers" thus conferred.¹ This arrangement left over "the Court of Delhi the Sikh and Hill-protected states, the Bundelkhand Rajas, and chiefs depending upon the Saugor and Nerbuda Agency" to the Agra Presidency.² This relinquishment of authority was made in view of "the eminent qualifications of the present Governor of Agra," Sir Charles Metcalfe.³

At the same time the Governor General in Council modified their earlier decision so as to enlarge the patronage of the Governor of Agra. In regard to higher appointment reserved for the Supreme Government, the modification effected was that "the Agra Government should recommend and the Supreme Government confirm" such appointments.⁴ Moreover, the Civil Service was divided between the Agra and Bengal Presidencies and no transfers were possible from one to the other.⁵ Chaplains were assigned to each of the two governments separately.⁶ The accounts of the Agra Presidency—"ecclesiastical, stamps, abkari, post office, standing bungalows and all other public works" were also separated. The Supreme Government desired to leave the details of administration in all subjects except military and political to be conducted by the Subordinate Government, retaining in its hands the legitimate right of exercising "Control over the Subordinate Presidencies." But in spite of this relaxation of authority, the Government of India still had within its direct control general finance political questions, army and public instruction.⁷

As a result of these modifications, the status of the Agra Presidency did not considerably differ from that of the other Presidencies. But most of the concessions had been merely personal for Sir Charles Metcalfe, the first Governor. However, before the new arrangement could be brought into effect, the Presidency of Agra was discontinued by the Parliament on the score of expense and a Lieutenant Governor was appointed there.⁸ Sir Charles Metcalfe was again the Director's choice and in his case, as a special concession, most of the privileges and powers assigned to the Governor were allowed to continue.⁹

1. Original Consultations, Foreign Department No. 2, 20th November, 1834, also Resolution of 14th November, 1834.
2. Lord Auckland to Sir Charles Metcalfe, 17th March, 1836. Colebrooke, p. 295.
3. Resolution, 26th January, 1835.
4. Resolution, 15th April, 1835.
5. Public Proceeding, 20th May, 1835.
6. Letter to the Court of Directors, No. 12, 20th November, 1834.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Act was passed on 31st August, 1835.
9. Lord Auckland to Sir Charles Metcalfe, 28th March, 1836, Political Proceedings No. 5, 28th March, 1836.

VII

THE POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN INDIA
WHEN AWAY FROM THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ACTS OF 1793, 1833 AND 1861.

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I

Before 1793, there was no statutory provision governing the situation arising out of the absence of the Governor General from the seat of Government in India. But as the territorial possessions of the East India Company and with it the jurisdiction of Governor General in Council extended, long tours of the Governor General away from Fort William became inevitable. The Charter Act of 1793 taking full cognisance of the situation provided :—

Section 43 “And be it further enacted, that when and so often as the said Governor General shall on any occasion be absent from his own Government of Bengal, such one of the Members of the Council thereof as the said Governor General shall nominate for the purposes shall be styled and act as Vice-President and Deputy-Governor of Fort William, and that the Government of the said Presidency shall be exercised by such Vice-President or Deputy, and the other Members or Member of the said Council, in like manner, and no further or otherwise than as the Government of the said Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay may be exercised by Governors in Council there, subject nevertheless to restrictions in this act contained.”

“ And be it further enacted, that if the said Governor General, during his absence from his own Government of Bengal, shall judge it necessary to issue any orders or directions to any of the said Governments or Presidencies in India, or to any of the officers or servants of the said Company acting under the authority of any of the said Presidencies, without previously communicating such orders or instructions to the said respective Governments under the authority of which such officers or servants shall be acting, shall and may be lawful for him to issue the same and that the said respective Governments or Presidencies and also such officers and servants shall, and they are hereby severally and respectively authorised and required to, obey the same, and such orders and instructions shall be of the same force as if the same had been made by the said Governor General in Council at Fort William, but not of any greater or other force or validity; and that if such orders or directions shall be made by the said Governor General of his own sole authority, or without the concurrence of the other Members of Council of either of the said Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively, in that case the said Governor General shall be alone held responsible for the same, in the like manner as for any orders or resolutions by him made in Council at Fort William,

of his own sole authority without the concurrence of the other Members of the same Council, according to the directions and true intent and meaning of this act. Provided always, that such Governor General shall and he is hereby required to, transmit by the first opportunity, to the Governors and Councils of the respective Presidencies to which the officers or servants to whom any such orders or instructions shall be so sent to be executed shall belong, copies of such orders or instructions respectively, with his reasons or inducements for issuing the same, and also to transmit to the Court of Directors of the said Company, by the first opportunity that shall or may occur, a copy of all orders and instructions by him so sent to any of the said Governments, Presidencies, officers, or servants respectively, together with his reasons and inducements for sending or issuing the same."

Sections 31 and 32 of the Pitt's India Act (1784) gave the Governor General and Council power of superintendence, direction, and control over the Presidency Governments of Bombay and Fort St. George, in matters of war and peace, foreign relation, military and finance. That is to say, while at Fort William, this authority could be exercised by the Governor General only in his Council. No doubt, he could over-ride his Council and exercise independent authority. But when and so often as the Governor General was on tour away from Fort William, the power of superintendence also went with him, though his Council did not always do so. The interim Government at Fort William appointed for the period of the absence of the Governor General, at best, acted in the like manner, and, no further, or otherwise than the Government of Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay. On the other hand, if the Governor General went to Madras or Bombay, the Central Government was in a way transposed over the said Presidency. The Governor General in effect, superseded the Governor. He was empowered to exercise both legislative and executive powers vested in the Government of the Presidency he visited in the same manner as he did when stationed at Fort William . . . with the concurrence of the Council or without it, according as he did or did not use his independent authority.¹ However, in the exercise of that authority he was subject to the limitation that he could not overrule his Council at Fort William or any Presidency Council over which he presided, nor execute an order or resolution without its concurrence in respect of matters coming under the consideration of the Council in their judicial capacity, or with respect to the making or repealing, or suspending of any general rule, order, or resolution for the good order and civil government or with respect to the imposing of any tax or duty.² Apart from this limitation, the Governor General on tour was armed with powers to issue instructions to any government or Presidency or to any officers or servants of the Company serving under the authority of the Presidency Government. These instructions were to have the same force as if issued with the concurrence of the Council. So the constitutional position of the Governor General when away from Fort William was enviable in as much as he could exercise all the executive authority vested in the Central Government without the meddling of the Council, and could fully share the executive and legislative authority of the Presidency he

1. Section 47 of the Charter Act of 1793.

2. 26 Geo. III cap. 16; 5.11.

visited, which ordinarily he could not from Fort William. Lord Wellesley availed himself of this opportunity quite often.

II

The Charter Act of 1833 laid down a wholly different process for conducting the business of the Government in the absence of the Governor General from his Headquarters. Section 70 of the Act provided :—

“ And be it enacted, that whenever the said Governor General in Council shall declare that it is expedient that the said Governor General should visit any part of India unaccompanied by any Member or Members of the Council of India, it shall be lawful for the said Governor General in Council, previously to the departure of the said Governor General to nominate some Member of the Council of India to be President of the said Council, in whom during the absence of the said Governor General from the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the Assemblies of the said Council shall be reposed ; and it shall be lawful in every such case for the said Governor General in Council, by a Law or Regulation for that purpose to be made, to authorise the Governor General alone to exercise all or any of the powers which might be exercised by the said Governor General in Council, except the power of making Laws or Regulations ; provided always, that during the absence of the Governor General no law or Regulation shall be made by the said President and Council without the assent in writing of the said Governor General.

When the Act of 1833 came into force, Lord William Bentinck was at Ootcamund, where he had gone for the reason of his health. The Government of the Presidency was during his absence vested in the Vice-President in Council as envisaged in the Act of 1793. Lord Bentinck's stay at Ootcamund was further prolonged on account of the war against the Raja of Coorg ; and because the new Council prescribed by the Act of 1833 could not join him there to pass a law to meet the emergency, it was decided to leave things as they were for the time being. The Governor General, however, decided to constitute a Council as best as he could, at Ootacamund and summoned for the purpose, Colonel Morison, a provisional Member of the Council, Sir Fredrick Adam, the Governor of Madras, and Mr. Macaulay. This Council issued orders in the name of the Governor General in Council, but being different from one prescribed by the Act, it was not competent to legislate. No legislation could, therefore, be passed till Lord Bentinck's return to Calcutta in September, when only the Council was properly constituted.

When Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough went upcountry, they went according to the resolutions of the Governor General in Council. The resolutions empowered the Governor General to exercise all the powers except legislative, vested in the Governor General in Council. But at the same time the presumption was that the Governor General would delegate the authority to the President in Council so as to enable them to carry on the functions arranged mutually between them.

But there being some doubts as to the implication of the law, shortly before Lord Hardinge came to India, the question was referred to the Law Officers of the Crown in England. They strongly objected to the

arrangement hitherto made on the ground that when the Governor General in Council had authorised the Governor General to exercise all powers, none remained in the President in Council and none could lawfully be exercised by that body. They further maintained that the powers given by an Act could not be delegated back to the President in Council by an executive order of the Governor General. They advised that a law defining the powers of the Governor General, and the President in Council, in his absence, should be published.¹ This was the right interpretation ; for the words of the Act of 1833 were :—

“And it shall be lawful in every such case for the said Governor General in Council, by a law or regulations for that purpose to be made to authorise Governor-General alone to exercise all or any of the powers which might be exercised by the said Governor General in Council except the power of making laws and regulations.”

However, when Lord Hardinge was going on tour to the Frontier, he felt a great difficulty in having a law passed, which had not been required in the case of his predecessors. He protested against being placed in the predicament of being stripped of all power which was being transferred to the President of the Council, merely on account of an interpretation of the law, given by the Law Officers of the Crown, contrary to former usage. He insisted that the Governor General must have the power which was necessary for the discharge of his duties for which he was going to the Frontier, and that only the residue should devolve upon the President in Council. Lord Hardinge believed that Section 54 of 1793 had not been repealed, expressly or otherwise, by the Act of 1833 and therefore he was still empowered to issue instructions under the Section, and indeed threatened to do so, if his Council persisted in adhering rigidly to the interpretation given by the Law Officers of the Crown.

But the threat did not precipitate in to a crisis, as the rest of the members of the Council were equally anxious to maintain the supremacy and initiative of Governor General in all important matters of the State. At any rate, they were eager to avoid creating an impression in the minds of the public that the Governor General had been divested of his plenary powers which he exercised previously on such occasions.²

An interesting controversy however arose on the principles relating to a division of powers between the Governor General and the President in Council. Mr. Maddock was of the opinion that consistent with section 70, they need decide only the powers to be vested in the Governor General when on tour. He regarded a departmental division better than a territorial one, but at the same time sounded a note of warning that a public act, if passed, would undermine the authority of the Governor General. He suggested, instead, that a resolution dealing with such distribution be adopted and kept secret.³

Mr. Millet on the other hand showed the possibility of effecting distribution on the basis of territory. He suggested that the power of Secret, Foreign, and Military department particular, could be vested in the Governor General. As far the departmental distribution he pointed out that the consistent with the provision of the Charter Act, they might, in the first instance, confer all powers on the Governor General and then specify the portion of public business to be entrusted to the President in Council.⁴

1. Leg : Proceedings 20th September, 1845. No. 2.

2. Leg : Proceedings 20th September, 1845. No. 1, 2.....12.

3. *Ibid*, Minute, dated 12th July, 1845.

4. *Ibid*, No. 3. Minute, dated 16th July, 1845.

Mr. Cameron, the fourth member, whose advice the Governor General specially sought for, maintained that it would be lawful for the Governor General in Council to delegate all powers to the Governor General except such powers as the latter might request from time to time the President in Council to exercise and except, the powers of making laws and regulations.¹

Mr. Maddock criticised the plan of Mr. Cameron and showed that it was even worse than the arrangements made in the time of Lord Ellenborough and Lord Auckland. He argued that the Governor General had no authority to transmit to the President in Council a part of the powers conferred on him by the Governor General in Council and that the President in Council would have no legal warrant to exercise the power so transferred to them. He, on the contrary held that an act should be passed defining the powers vested in the Governor General excepting such as were to be conferred on the President in Council by a resolution. He laid further stress on the point that the arrangements should be more administrative than public in their nature.²

The Home Government appreciating the difficulties which presented themselves in making arrangements for the administration of the Government during the absence of the Governor General, laid down : "It is of great importance that the power of the Governor General should be ample to meet the exigencies which demand his presence in any part of India unaccompanied by his Council should not be divested of his authority required for the prosecution and maintenance of the public interests."

At last a formula was adopted. The Governor General in Council passed an Act which declared that it was lawful for the Governor General alone to exercise all the powers which might be exercised by the Governor General in Council, except such powers as might by a resolution of the Governor General in Council be exercised by the President in Council during the absence of the Governor General and except the power of making laws and regulations³. The Act was followed by a resolution of the Governor General in Council, which specified the business of the Government to be conducted by the President in Council in the absence of the Governor General.⁴ Thus a compromise was effected whereby an Act adhering to the new interpretation of the law was passed. But it was not published, and instead a resolution was published. Lord Hardinge was given all the powers which has been granted to Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough when they went on tours. Lord Hardinge expressed his full satisfaction with the arrangement.⁵

Accordingly, on every occasion when the Governor General was to go on tour, his Council passed an Act making arrangements for conducting the Government during his absence. It appears from the division of authority made under such exigencies, that the Governor General retained entire control over the Military, the Foreign Department, patronage—which required his confirmation—and matters involving essential changes in the administrative system and organisation. The

1. *Ibid*, No. 7. Minute dated 26th July, 1845.

2. *Ibid*, No. 8. Minute dated 2nd August, 1845.

3. *Ibid*, No. 10, see also the opinion of the Law Officers that the Governor General could not exercise legislative powers in case of emergency. Opinions of Frederick Pollock and W. W. Tillet, legislative letter from Court No. 1 (1835).

4. *Ibid*, No. 11

5. *Ibid*, No. 12, Minute, dated 18th September, 1845.

President in Council presided over the Revenue, Judicial, Legislative, and Finance Department.

In matters of legislation however, there was one strange anomaly in the Constitution. The Governor General when present at Fort William, could be out voted in the Legislative Council, for the provision was that in the meetings of the Legislative Council there should be present the Governor General and at least three Councillors, the Governor General being just one of the members without any power of veto. But when the Governor General was on tour outside, he could veto any legislative measure passed by the President in Council. So even though the Governor General had no legislative power on such occasion, the legislative matters of the government, remained under his control. The inconsistency was, however, removed by the Charter Act of 1853 which provided that the assent of the Governor General was requisite to validity of laws whether the Governor General was or was not present in the Council at the time of its passage.¹

III

The Indian Councils Act of 1861, introduced a new feature in the provision regarding the absence of the Governor General from the seat of the Government (Section 6). Previously on any such occasion, the division of authority was made by passing an Act in the Legislative Council to that effect. But after 1861 the distribution of powers and functions on such occasions came to be made by orders of the Council, so the division of authority became purely an administrative affair.

The arrangement that was made for carrying on the work of the Government in the absence of the Governor General corresponded exactly to the one that was prescribed before 1861. Whenever the Governor General in Council determined that it was expedient that the Governor General should visit any part of India, unaccompanied by his Council, the Governor General in Council then appointed some member of the Council to be President of the Governor General's Council during the time of the visit and that the said President and Council were vested with all the power, that could be exercised by the Governor General in Council, save such as were to be exercised by the Governor General in his discretion.

His Council in his absence exercised all the Legislative functions pertaining to it, save that of assenting to, withholding assent from, or reserving for the signification of the pleasure of the Crown, any law or regulation.

The Governor General carried with him his discretionary powers² including the power of ordinances which the Governor General did not possess under the Law of 1833, nor of the Law of 1793.

1. 16 and 17 Vict. C. 95.

2. Including the powers vested in him by Sections 7 and 8 of the Act of 1860 and Section 5 of the Act of 1870.

SECTION VI—SIKH HISTORY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Sir Jogendra Singh.

I feel I must begin with a word of personal explanation. I possess no qualifications for speaking at to-day's meeting.

Some one has said, "a historian is a prophet with his face looking backward." This cannot be true. Study of history would fail in its purpose if its light affords no guidance to plan the future. The historians of our times do not find it easy to patch together the story of twenty years ago. To-day, when unpalatable events are unrecognisable in the garb in which the skilled purveyors of propaganda present them, the difficulties of sifting the truth are even greater. Future historians may have to search in vain in the ore for nuggets of gold. The art of telling the truth is at a discount. Looking backward, what do we find in the art gallery of historians? Paintings of marching armies, of battles won and lost, delineation of towns and villages conquered and laid waste, portraits of kings, good and bad, with their deeds as a background. This is what our historians have saved out of the darkness and oblivion of the past.

This afternoon, I do not propose to join you by reviewing a march or events, or by wearing you with dates and names. I have emptied my memory of much which in early years I carefully stored in the search for simple truth. I will, however, try to give you an impressionist picture, based on the history of my own community, of the influence of faith and heroism on the development of a people and, in doing so, will trace in outline, in my humble way, their rise, arrested development and future hope.

It is one of the most remarkable phenomena of human society that it only moves under an urge or impulse which a prophet or a great leader communicates to it. Its movement has something of a tidal wave about it. It moves forward with a great rush and then gradually recedes.

Sikh history began with the coming of Guru Nanak. He appeared in a small village not far from Lahore. There was nothing mystic or majestic about this village, which stood completely isolated from all the centres of ancient culture. From this anthill of a village came a great teacher, who gave a new religion to India, if religion can be called new, for truth is as old as God Himself and yet as new as the dawn of a new day.

It is said that with his coming the mist of disbelief disappeared and the sun of truth shone again. Historians may not believe it, scientists may shake their heads, but it is none the less true that as soon as he could express himself, he began to deliver his message. He expounded to the Pandit who came to teach him and to invest him with the sacred thread, "that a sacred thread should be spun out of the cotton of charity into thread of contentment and twisted with the twist of self-denial; only such a thread can hold the mind in restraint." To those who believe in prophets there is nothing strange about it. A prophet speaks from the certitude of his soul; he needs no assistance from ancient literature, or groping of the intellect which passes for philosophy. Indeed, only those who know God can speak about Him.

I will not weary you with a narration of the events of Guru Nanak's boyhood, manhood and old age, though every act of his, from his youth until he departed from this mortal world, has its own significance in the making of Sikh history.

Guru Nanak wandered forth from his village, carrying his message to the farthest corner of India and even visited Mecca and Madina. Wherever he went, he touched the hearts of men with truth and called forth faith in One God. He declared that he was neither a Muslim nor a Hindu; indeed he affirmed that true Hindus and Muslims were rare, but wherever they existed, they were bound by the closest links of brotherhood as the sons of One God. The true test of a religious man, according to him, was not his profession, but his acts. Such was the success of his mission, that when he died, Muslims and Hindus divided the funeral sheet; the one to bury it and the other to cremate it, as his body could not be found. (Those, who feel interested, will find in "Thus spoke Guru Nanak," which I compiled, some of the sayings of this great teacher.)

Thus the history of the Sikhs began. The seed sown by Guru Nanak was nursed by his nine successors, who reflected his spirit; the Guru Granth Sahib, which enshrines the hymns of all the Gurus, speaks with one voice—the voice of Guru Nanak. Meditation on God and his name transformed simple villagers into heroic men. Most of the followers of the Guru were drawn from the fold of Hinduism.

The disciples and devotees of the Gurus grew strong and the authorities in Lahore became nervous at their increasing power. The ruling powers saw in the new religion another heresy and a danger to established order. Guru Arjan, the fifth in succession to Guru Nanak, was hauled up for trial by the Governor of Lahore. He was offered the option of renouncing his religion or forfeiting his life. Without hesitation he gave himself up and suffered martyrdom. By his silent suffering Guru Arjan communicated to his followers the secret of power. His successor, Guru Har Gobind, added the sword of earthly power to the spiritual sword and gave battle to imperial armies with success. This is an event of deep significance in Sikh history.

The scene changes. Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth in succession, occupies the seat of Guru Nanak. There comes to him one day a deputation of Pandits from Kashmir. They plead that a heavenly voice has told them to repair to the Guru and if some pure soul gives his life for their sake, they will be saved. The young Guru Gobind Singh, still in his teens, steps forward and says, "Who but you, dear father, can help the helpless?" A new light shines in the Guru's face. He knows his hour has come and he prepares himself for the great and final act. A few days afterwards we find him at the gates of Delhi; he is persecuted and tormented beyond measure. Bhai Gurditta, his devout follower, can endure his sufferings no longer. "Permit me," he says, "and I will destroy this Empire." "How did you get this power?" asks the Guru. "At your feet," says the disciple, "Touch my feet," commands the Guru. Bhai Gurditta does so and finds that his power has vanished. The Guru in this way tells him that men of God cannot interfere with the working of Divine Law and must submit joyfully to it. He allowed his bodily garment to be broken, but his spirit nerved his followers to fight the tyrants with the weapon of their own forging.

It was Guru Gobind Singh, his successor, who decided to organise his followers into two classes—the civilian Sikhs and the warrior Singhs, the civilian Sikhs forming the basis of the community and the warrior Singhs its protective shield. Those who came into the fold of the Khalsa, came from all castes and classes. The menial and the depressed classes took an equal share, both in the civilian and the warrior sections, with men of higher castes.

It was thus that Anandpur witnessed the miracle which transformed lowly devotees into men of action. There was a great assemblage of Sikhs. The musicians were playing their instruments and singing hymns. The Guru suddenly rose from his seat and demanded, "I want the head of a Sikh." As he spoke, his sword flashed out of its scabbard. The assembly was struck dumb, the music ceased, but a humble Sikh stood up saying, "All is thine, my master; need you ask for what is thine? Do thy will." The Guru took him inside a tent which had been pitched for the purpose, killed a goat and, with his sword dripping with blood, appeared and asked for the head of another disciple. A second disciple obeyed his command; he took him into the tent, killed another goat; and asked for a third disciple. He repeated the demand till five Sikhs followed him. Then he appeared with the five radiant with joy and exclaimed, "Behold the beloved immortals!" He baptised them into warriors and then asked them to baptise him, thus becoming the Guru as well as a disciple himself. Henceforward he declared that Guru Granth Sahib was the Guru and in all temporal matters the Khalsa itself had the power of decision.

Even when fighting the Mughal armies, he retained the confidence of his Muslim friends. He proclaimed the unity of God in words which admit of no misinterpretation. He proclaimed that God is one; that mosque and temple are His; that Puja and Nimaz are the same; that difference arises from distinctive ways of thought and action which prevail in different countries. He aimed at welding Muslims and non-Muslims into a nation. Alas, his dream still remains unrealised!

Another scene in the drama of Sikh history opens. We find Guru Gobind Singh opposing the might of the Mughal Empire at Anandpur. When hard pressed, we see him marching out and taking shelter at Chamkaur. We find him again standing with upraised arm and proclaiming, when his four sons laid down their lives in the cause of freedom and independence :—

" I have sacrificed my four sons,
For the sake of these thousands.
What matters if four are gone,
May these thousands live !"

All alone, he leaves Chamkaur and then we find him at Mukatsar, asserting his freedom. The question of defeat and surrender does not arise. Even when his followers desert him, he remains unconquered and unconquerable. Then we see him again in far-off Hyderabad on the banks of the River Godavari, pitching his tent for the last time. Guru Gobind Singh passes away, leaving a rich heritage behind. He left a following of hard, but God-fearing men thirsting for action. The will to victory that Guru Gobind Singh awakened animated them.

A small band started back from Nander to the Punjab and fought many a victorious battle. They opened a new chapter in the history of the Sikhs. This group of brave hearts gathered strength and confidence,

as it opposed the armies of their opponents. They formed themselves into bands and learned to obey their leaders, thus slowly acquiring all the attributes of a disciplined army. These bands were called Misals and consisted mainly of horsemen, who lived in their villages, but who, at the call of their leaders, came together and marched under the Guru's banner.

It was a great life that the early Sikhs lived ; they prayed morning and evening and wielded their swords in the name of God. They greeted each other, saying, "The Khalsa belongs to God and to God is the Victory." The common life they lived, sharing fearlessly common perils, strengthened ties of brotherhood and helped in the evolution of a democratic constitution. All important matters were decided in a Gurmata, or Council of Elders, generally held in front of the Akal Takhat at Amritsar.

The followers of Guru Gobind Singh, disciplined in sacrifice, shared with each other their poverty and their wealth. Guru Nanak himself had shown that the most profitable bargain was to feed the hungry. Every evening the Khalsa prays :—

"Grant us the gift of true discipleship,
The gift of discipline, the gift of discrimination,
The gift of trust and faith in each other
And above all the gift of Thy Name."

And invokes the congregation to :—

"Meditate on the deeds of those
Who wielded the sword in defence of the defenceless,
Were blind to the faults of their brethren,
Surrendered their all for the Dharma."

The prayers are offered with malice towards none and with charity for all and blessings of God are called on the whole world.

The early Sikhs framed rules of conduct and enforced discipline for leaders and camp-followers alike. Even Maharaja Ranjit Singh, at the height of his power, was hauled up for a breach in discipline. Nations must have leaders, just as an army must have officers. The Sikh leaders upheld the highest ideals of democracy, but did not believe in a fictitious equality of unequals. The jathedar was held in highest respect and was invariably obeyed. The Sikh Misals were dominating the Punjab when young Ranjit Singh appeared and united and led them. In the words of Shah Mohammad :—

"Young Ranjit Singh came,
And with force of arms he conquered
From Kashmir to Kangra ;
His coin circulated everywhere."

Then there came a change. Continuous success contaminated the mind of the Khalsa. Greed for power replaced hunger for service. Sikh Sirdars began to fight amongst themselves ; the gatherings at Gurmata no more exhibited the true spirit of Sikhism, but imported into their deliberations considerations other than those of selfless service. The Khalsa rose to power when it fought to end all tyrannies. It lost all along the line when the microbe of self-aggrandisement infected the community.

Some people hold that the Sikhs lost more than they gained by coming under the sway of a single ruler ; that his autocracy killed the

democratic constitution. They forget, however, that Sikh Misals, fighting with each other, were in no position to take united action in offence or defence. Even if victorious in the field, they could not establish a good, just and generous government for the whole province. Maharaja Ranjit Singh held the disruptive forces in leash. With his death anarchy prevailed. The panth destroyed its own leaders. Each regiment had its own Army Council—a kind of Trades Union Executive, which sapped the discipline of the army. It lost the inspiration of ideals which converted the humble and the meek into dauntless warriors.

The Khalsa made one final stand against the British and Sikh soldiers fought—even when betrayed by their own Government and their own leaders—with a gallantry which won the admiration of the British, but, for the time, the sun of the Khalsa was set.

I now come almost to the beginning of our own times. My learned friends will tell you more than I can about it. For me history has only one meaning. It is like a beacon on the road of life, but, alas, there are not many who profit by its light. Men grope their way as if its rays cast no light on the path. Sikh history has much to teach our nation-builders. The Maulanas and the Mahatmas can find in it the way to power. There are examples in it of Ahimsa which are unparalleled and there are gallant defiances of tyranny which have been rarely equalled.

The British Government not only won the Sikh Wars, but they won the hearts of the Khalsa; they established a rule of law and recruited the civil and military services on the ground of personal merit. They lightened the burden of taxation. I remember seeing the instructions which Lawrence issued to his Settlement Officers. He told them to assess low; he did not aim, by introducing a sliding scale, at scooping any small benefit that a rise in prices might bring to the primary producers. Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria proclaimed equality of treatment for all—irrespective of caste, creed and colour. The Khalsa found that the ideals of the Guru—justice, tolerance and freedom—were to some extent followed by Her Majesty's Government. It was this which formed the link of Anglo-Khalsa co-operation. It inspired the Khalsa to fight in almost all the far-flung battles of the empire. Those ideals and standards have vanished. The India Act of 1935 buried the British tradition.

This is, however, a digression; the impact of Western thought awakened a new spirit of enquiry. The sons of the Khalsa eagerly searched for the causes which brought about its downfall, and worked towards its disintegration. They discovered that Hinduism had slowly invaded Sikh homes. It was then that the Singh Sabha Movement was started, to rid the Khalsa of these influences. The Khalsa College was founded and the upper classes sent their sons to the Aitchison College. Government then recognised the need of helping the higher classes to take their share in the making of new India. It was due to the Singh Sabha Movement and its success in bringing back the community to the source of its spiritual strength, that the Khalsa again gained in purity and power and displayed its will to sacrifice and suffer in the Gurdwara Movement.

The work of reforming the community continues. Many well meaning persons, under the urge and stress of modern times, are attracted by new solutions of social problems. They are beginning to find that materialism inspires the new creeds and that politicians control these movements. The socialism of to-day promises rewards according to the need

and not according to the value of works. The Guru's socialism depended on the conversion of the heart, a willingness to share with others the fruit of one's own labour. The Guru's commonwealth provided for disciplined action with definite responsibility to God. The new creeds own responsibility neither to God nor to man.

I recently paid a visit to Nankana Sahib. I watched the crowds which gathered during the day in the streets and in the evening in the vast courtyard of the Gurdwara and listened to the hymns and the speeches. Here the spirit of Guru Nanak prevailed. A Muslim musician discoursed on the greatness of Guru Nanak to a Sikh audience, which enjoyed the discourse in unbroken silence. The crowds in the streets were physically fit, and, if properly led, capable of surmounting all difficulties. I came away with the impression that the Khalsa will live and make history.

In conclusion I must apologise for my ignorance of the science of history, but it appears to me that historical events are just the expression of the spirit. The times change, but the spirit is unchanging. This is the reason why history repeats itself. The human mind soars to heaven and falls again to earth owing to its own limitations. Destruction and reconstruction succeed one another in endless continuity. I have, therefore, dwelt on the spirit of the Khalsa and how that spirit was awakened. I believe in the power of a leader :—

“Who in a nation's night,
Hath solitary certitude of light.”

I have faith in the future. I feel that the Khalsa will be given a leader, when the time and opportunity come for it to serve the motherland; and then its name will again be resplendent in the annals of India.

I

THE PLACE OF THE SWORD IN THE KHALSA THEOCRACY

By Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni, M.A.

The word *Khalsa* means pure. In giving this name to the community which was recreated on *Baisakhi* day, *Sambat* 1756 (April 1699 A.D.), Guru Gobind Singh sought to inspire his followers with the pride of belonging to the Elect of God. Govind Rai, as he was then called, was at that time thirty-three years old. He was born in 1666 at Patna, where he spent the first ten years of his life. He then lost his father, who fell a victim to the cruel persecution of the reigning Mughal Emperor in 1675. Upon the death of Teg Bahadur the Sikh community was left weak and dispirited. For three generations Gobind's family had been victims of religious fanaticism. The martyrdom of his father, the deportation to Gwalior of his grandfather, and the tortured death of his great-grandfather must have made a deep impression upon his mind and, proud and sensitive as he was, he must have been driven to have recourse to the sword. In his *Zafarnama*¹ he himself says :—

چو کار از همه حیلتے در گزشت حلال است برون به شمشیر دست
(when all other means fail, it is legitimate to draw the sword.)

1. *Zafarnama* is a long Persian epistle, believed to have been addressed by Guru Gobind Singh to the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Unfortunately the little Sikh community, at the head of which he had been placed, was torn with schism and internal dissension. .

When Arjan Dev was nominated by his father to succeed him in preference to his elder brother, Prithvi Chand, the seed had been sown of the serious disputes and dissensions which at one time threatened to disrupt the Sikhs. Prithvi Chand and his sons poisoned the ears of the Mughal Governor against Guru Arjan Dev and his son and successor, Hargobind Rai. Indeed, with Har Rai's nomination of Harkishen (1661) the schism was further deepened. Ram Rai was now put up by the Mughal government as a rival Guru and was granted a big jagir in the Doon Valley. Harkishen died as a boy at Delhi, and no less than twelve claimants sought his place. Eventually Teg Bahadur was accepted as a Guru both for his piety and resourcefulness. Thus for more than half a century, the very existence of the little Sikh community was in danger. For a time Teg Bahadur's martyrdom made the Sikhs forget their domestic quarrels and rally round his little son. But Guru Gobind Rai found that his own life was not safe at the hands of his rivals. He decided to seek a place of comparative safety. All who now looked to the Mughal government for favour began to dissociate themselves from him and young Gobind thought it prudent to retire to the small village of Mukhowal, which his father had prophetically re-named Anandpur, secluded in the Valley of the Sutlej between the Shivaliks to the south and the higher hills of Naina Devi to the north.

Besides being a place of safety, Anandpur had other attractions for the young Guru. The outlying hills and fastnesses had not yet been thoroughly brought under the direct control of the Government at Delhi. The local Hindu Rajas still enjoyed considerable independence and power; and Gobind was confident of enlisting their sympathy and support against the ruling Muslim power.

During these twenty years of retirement he devoted most of his time to religious exercises in preparation for the great work to which he felt strongly called. He made a deep study of the Hindu scriptures and mythology, particularly the war mythology of the Epics. At Anandpur within sight of the Temple of Naina Devi, the Ghandi (Goddess of the Sword) had a peculiar fascination for him. To the orthodox Hindus of the neighbouring hills the worship of Shakti (Goddess of Force) made the strongest appeal and no festivals in those regions were so popular as the festival of Durga (the Goddess of Sword). The sub-Himalayan districts of the Punjab are studded with temples dedicated to this goddess, which is worshipped under several names but is, in essence, Shakti, the Goddess of Force.

The time for reorganising the community in the new conception of the Goddess of the Sword was well chosen. In September 1681, Aurangzeb left Delhi for the Deccan, taking the flower of his army with him. Finding the pressure of the Marhattas and the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda too great for his troops to resist, he even called away the best troops from the Punjab. Gobind now saw his opportunity and on the sacred day of *Baisakhi*, *Sumbat* 1756 (April 1699 A.D.), dramatically converted his large but simple following into an army of crusaders.

The Deccan proved to be Aurangzeb's grave, as also that of his unwieldy empire. For a quarter of a century, he was embroiled in wars against Golconda, Bijapur and the rapidly expanding kingdom which the intrepid Marhatta soldier-statesman, Sivaji, had created. These wars of

attrition strained both the resources of the decaying Mughal Empire and the vitality of the emperor.

The reactions of the Deccan Wars were soon felt throughout Northern India. The Mughal administration in the Punjab, Kashmir, the hill states and, indeed, throughout Northern India, was thrown out of gear and the refractory elements were emboldened to strengthen their own position at the expense of the empire.

Encouraged by the example of Sivaji, Gobind Rai felt that, if he could change the religious outlook of his followers, infuse courage into them and organise them, he might be able not only to save his community from threatened destruction, but also to form them into a theocratic State. With his spirit and heritage, it is no wonder that he believed himself ordained by God to save and uplift the downtrodden community to self-reliance, self-respect and power. Any other man would have quailed before embarking upon such a hazardous struggle. But great men draw their inspiration and strength from hidden sources which are denied to ordinary mortals. Gobind's greatest strength lay in the conviction that the cause he was fighting for was a righteous cause and that righteousness must eventually triumph. In his book, *Zafarnama*, he says:—

جو حق یار باشد چه دشمن کند

(When God is with you, what can the enemy do?)

He possessed great initial advantages over Sivaji. His spiritual heritage was a reservoir of power and inspiration which was not vouchsafed to the great Marhatta leader. Three successive generations of his ancestors had offered spiritual resistance to the mighty Mughal Empire in the hey-day of its glory and power. Moreover, through the efforts of Guru Arjan Dev and some of his successors something like a small, non-territorial theocratic State, composed of a community, fairly well-knit and well defined both spiritually and culturally, had emerged within the Mughal Empire. This State bore resemblance to a secular State, though it based its sanctions on voluntary devotional allegiance alone. The Guru was addressed as *Sacha Padshah*. He had a treasury of his own, made up of voluntary offerings, which came in the form of periodical collections made at an ever-increasing number of places where small communities of Sikhs were growing up. The Province had been divided into several different dioceses (*Manjis*¹), in charge of each of which was a spiritual leader commanding the sincere respect of the people of the neighbouring districts. Before Gobind came upon the scene a well organised Church had been formed with a seat of authority, from which now and again edicts were issued which no good Sikh might disobey. The sacrifices which the Gurus and some of their followers had to make in the defence of their Faith and their sacred shrines had gone a long way to knit the small community closely together, and put its members on their mettle whenever an occasion for it arose. The trials through which some of the Sikh martyrs

1. The word *Manji* literally means a bedstead. It afterwards came to connote the whole district under a pious Sikh leader who ministered to the spiritual and social wants of the community and to whom the collections of offerings made by the *Sangats* (congregations) at the various places of worship were sent. The *Manji* was thus a sort of *cathedra* or seat of authority, which the head of the diocese occupied, while the *sangats* squatted round him on the ground. The offerings made in each diocese were sent twice a year to the Guru and were credited to the Guru's treasury.

had to pass and the manner in which they stood the ordeals form a glorious page of unwavering fortitude and steadfastness in Sikh history. Apart from the Gurus themselves some of the martyrs from the rank and file of the community stand out as stars of the first magnitude in the annals of the small community. Already the Sikhs had developed out of the floating mass of half-theistic, half-mystical beliefs of Guru Nanak a system of ethics and religion, which bound them into a community. The most remarkable trait of the little community was their deep religious sentiments and their readiness to serve the *Panth* at all costs; and this made them, under proper leadership, an active, strong, well organised body.

In the *Panji Piyaras* (the Five Beloved Ones) lay the nucleus of the new-born Khalsa community, as it arose on that historical day on the top of the little mound at Anandpur. The sword formed a cardinal part of the equipment of the "Beloved Five" as they were presented by the Guru himself to the assembled crowd of the faithful. Indeed, the sword now became one of the five symbols of a true Sikh and one of the two most important symbols, the wearing of long hair being the other. It is remarkable that, while one half of Guru Gobind Singh's thrilling book, *Vachitra Natak* (The Wonderful Drama), is taken up with the exposition of his mission, the whole of the other half is devoted to homage to the Sword and other weapons of war. The *Vachitra Natak* opens with these striking lines:—

ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਖੜਗ ਕੋ ਕਰੋਂ ਸੋ ਹਿਤ ਚਿਤ ਲਾਇ ।

ਪੂਰਨ ਕਰੋਂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਇਹ ਤੁਮ ਮੋਹਿ ਰਹੋਂ ਸਹਾਇ ॥

Namaskar Shri Kharag Ko Karon So Hit Chit Lai,
Pooran Karo granth cho tum mohey karo sahai.

(I bow before the sword with all my heart and mind, begging for help for the completion of this book of mine.)

It is not the God of the Sword who is appealed to here, but the Sword itself as God. Again, Guru Gobind Singh does not appeal here to the sword for help and support to put down his enemies, but to 'complete his book.' In numerous other places also he addresses the Sword, and other weapons of war also, as personifications of *Shakti* or Power, and appeals to them to help and support him in achieving his ends, not necessarily warlike.

The most striking instance is supplied by the opening lines of another small book of Guru Gobind Singh, which is recited as *Ardas* in every Sikh shrine at the close of the morning or evening recitation of the Holy Book. No Sikh ceremony is, in fact, complete without it. The lines are these:—

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮ ਭਗੋਤੀ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਲਈਂ ਧਿਆਇ ।

ਫਿਰ ਅਗਦ ਤੇ ਗੁਰ ਅਮਰਦਾਸ, ਰਾਮਦਾਸੇ ਹੋਈ ਸਹਾਇ ।

ਅਰਜਨ ਹਰਿ ਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਿ ਰਾਇ ।

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਹਰਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨ ਧਿਆਈਏ ਜਿਸ ਡਿਠੇ ਸਭ ਦੁਖ ਜਾਇ ।

ਤੋਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਸਿਮਰੀਏ ਘਰ ਨੋ ਨਿਧ ਆਵੇ ਧਾਇ ।

ਸਭ ਬਾਣੀ ਹੋਏ ਸਹਾਇ ॥

Prathmey Bhaṅgoati Simer Ker Guru Nanak Layee Dhayae,
Phir Angad Te Guru Amardas Ramdas Hovey Sahi,
Arjan Har Gobind Noo Simroon Shri Hari Roy,
Shri Hari Krishen Dhayayee Jis Ditthe Sab Dukh Jaye,

Teg Bahadur Simiria Ghar Nau Nidhi awe Dhaye,
Sab Thaian Hovey Sahai.

(*Chandi-Di-Var*)

The word Bhagoati (Punjabi corruption of Bhagwati) here, the writer claims, stands for the naked sword, and not the Goddess which the word connotes in ordinary Sanskrit literature, namely the Goddess Durga.¹ Moreover, at the time of the *Ardas* a naked sword is held in the hand or placed on the ground in front of the Granth Sahib when the invocation is being chanted.

Finally, a word or two about the importance of symbolism in the Khalsa theocracy. Through the whole course of building up the theocratic State the small community of believers have instinctively been led to enshrine their social and spiritual ideals in simple popular institutions; and as the needs of the community grew, new symbols, rituals and institutions came into being to express them. Thus with the growth of the community in the teeth of adverse conditions the characteristically Sikh institutions of the *Langar* (the common kitchen), the *Bhai* (Brother), the *Nakkara* (big drum), the *Nishan Sahib* (the sacred banner), the institution of the *Five Beloved Ones*, the distribution of the *Karah Prasad* and, above all, the *Five Kakas* the well-known Sikh symbols, became rooted in the soul of the Faithful.

In weaving an entirely new pattern of life and conduct for his flock, Guru Gobind Singh was forced naturally to make a substantial contribution to the institutional development of the community. So far as one can judge, the chief elements in the pattern of the Khalsa theocracy were:—

1. Simplicity in all departments of life, *i.e.*, in food, dress and habits. This was necessary for the life of hardship and privation which, as the Guru must have foreseen, was to be the portion of his community.

2. The emotional and æsthetic elements, so necessary for reaching the deeper springs of feeling and thought, such as instrumental music and vocal recitation, both by individuals and groups of worshippers, characteristic of worship in Sikh Gurdwaras, and an architecture blending the graceful Hindu style and the austere Muslim style, intended to satisfy and strengthen the finer forces in our being.

3. The spirit of equality and human brotherhood. This has always been a strong element in Sikhism. The spirit of service of high and low alike is a prominent feature in the Sikh Faith. The very fact that three out of the Panj Piyaras belonged to the lowest caste of the Hindus must have gone a long way towards levelling the whole Sikh community to the same social plane. The institution of the *Langar*, which was started by the Fourth Guru, if not earlier, and the distribution of the *Karah Prasad* devised by Guru Gobind Singh, strengthen the ideals of fellowship and brotherhood. The fact that the five men who offered themselves for sacrifice at the bidding of the Guru were a Brahmin, a Kshatriya and three Sudras and that they were all made equal to one another in the sight of the community is significant. By accepting baptism at the hands of the Five Beloved Ones, Guru Gobind Singh raised them all to his own level, thus emphasising and enforcing the doctrine of brotherhood on the Sikh community in a manner which has had no parallel in religious history.

1. S. B. Kahan Singh in the classical work "Gurshabd Ratnakar" Vol IV, page-2,697, also gives the meaning of "Bhagoati" as sword.

4. The element of power. This is the principal contribution of the founder of the Khalsa Panth to the philosophy of the new Faith. Doubtless, he took this conception from Hinduism, but in embodying it in Sikhism he so refined, enriched and ennobled it as to make it all his own. As a seer-statesman, he must have realised how powerful an appeal symbolism makes to the mass mind. Gobind Singh was perhaps the only great religious teacher who not only clothed his God in armour, but who made the sword the very emblem of power and purity, which alone could bless and sanctify not only the sacramental food (*Karah Prasad*), but also the daily meal.

In the whole code of symbols and institutions in the Khalsa Theocracy the sword occupies the place of honour, without which it would be shorn of much of its distinctive character as a church militant. This strange combination of spirituality with homage to the sword led the Khalsa in little over a hundred years to found a large and powerful Sikh sovereign state extending across the Indus even to the mouth of the Khyber and reversing the tradition of centuries.

II

MR. C. T. METCALFE IN THE PANJAB, 1801—9

By P. N. Khera, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

Ever since the rise of Napoleon to power, it was supposed that the great general was desirous of striking a blow at the British power in India. In 1798, he was supposed to be intriguing with Tipu Sultan of Mysore and meditating an invasion of India. Such rumours were widely believed and led to the Mysore wars. In 1807, however, the rumours of a French invasion were again afloat in Europe. In June 1807 Napoleon concluded the alliance of Tilsit with Alexander I of Russia, one of the details of which was supposed to be a combined invasion of India by the land route. From that year may be dated the bogey of Russian advance, which kept exercising the minds of British statesmen throughout the nineteenth century.

To provide against this fresh danger, the Court of Directors instructed the Indian Government (September 1807) to form alliances with the border states, but only against the threatened invasion, not committing the Company to any future obligations. Consequently in 1808 missions to these countries were sent by Lord Minto to arrange treaties and alliances. The officer chosen to lead the mission to Lahore was Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, a brilliant young man of 23, who later rose to be the Governor General of India and of Canada.

On 17th July, 1808, the Resident at Delhi informed Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the appointment of Mr. Metcalfe as Envoy to his Court. In reply Ranjit expressed gratification at the fact,¹ though he must have felt more surprise than gratification.

Mr. Metcalfe left Delhi for Lahore on August 5, 1808. His instructions were as follows:² He was to act with exceeding caution and to try

1. 4/30. Seton to Metcalfe, 6th August, 1808. (P. G. R.).

2. I have not been able to trace Edmonstone's letter of instructions to Mr. Metcalfe in the P. G. R. and have therefore relied on the summary of instructions as given in E. Thompson's admirable book on Metcalfe, pages 76, 77.

to establish a *dak* between Delhi and Amritsar as he advanced. He was to correspond with Elphinstone and give him the benefit of his experience on the march, to send reliable native agents to Kabul and if possible set up secret relations with leading officers of the Amir. He was to throw out a network of spies which might enable him to get information and get into touch with Malcolm in Tehran. He was to get information of all the countries between Persia and the Jamna, particularly of those between Persia and the Sutlej. He was to find out everything about Ranjit Singh, his resources, foreign relations and his military strength. On reaching Ranjit's camp he was not to hurry negotiations unless compelled by events. If there was a French agent at Lahore or a French army was known to be on its march towards Persia, then he was to open up his aims immediately. Otherwise the real object was to be kept secret, and Ranjit was to be told that the real object was the improvement of good relations set up by Lord Lake in 1805. All this, E. Thompson points out, was childish if expected to deceive, but Mercafe and his Government complained bitterly that the Sikhs and their leader Ranjit Singh were unreasonably suspicious.

Ranjit's help was to be solicited as a return for securing his territories against the French, and his consent was to be sought for the march of British troops through his territory to the Indus. Only a defensive alliance was to be arranged, not offensive. If Ranjit Singh made a reference to his claims on the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs and requested the Government to be neutral, Metcalfe was to give a general answer, committing the Government neither this way nor that.

While passing through the Cis-Sutlej country he was met by some of the Sikh Chiefs and their representatives.¹ The Raja of Patiala even presented the keys of the town and requested him to give them back on behalf of the British. Metcalfe refused, as it would have implied the recognition of Patiala's dominions.²

He crossed the Sutlej on the 1st of September, and intended to go straight to Amritsar and Lahore, but received a letter from the Raja requesting him to meet him at Kasur.³ It was rumoured that Ranjit Singh wished to stay at Kasur for some time and then to invade Multan and Bahawalpur. He was in any case collecting a large force at Kasur.⁴ Metcalfe met him for the first time on September 12th, 1808, but was not quite satisfied with the details of his reception.⁵ Nothing of importance passed in that interview.⁶ Metcalfe thought that Ranjit Singh was "bent upon demonstrating his own greatness."⁷ His post was intercepted and no Punjab Chiefs were allowed to see him.

This view, however, does not seem to be quite correct. Ranjit Singh did not wish to appear a subordinate to the British Government, or a person soliciting their favour, but he received the mission cordially.⁸

1. 5/3 and 4, 19th August, 1808, and 24th August, 1808. (Punjab Government Records).

2. 5/4 letter of 24th August, 1808 (P. G. R.).

3. 5/6 2nd September, 5/7 2nd September, 1808 (P. G. R.).

4. 5/8, 4th September and 5/9 5th September.

5. 5/10, 13th September, 1808. "It appeared to me that the rank and dignity of the Government which I have the honour to represent required that the Raja should have come out from his camp to meet this mission" Metcalfe to Edmonstone.

6. 5/10. 13th September, 1808. Presents were exchanged, Metcalfe receiving an elephant, a horse, a string of pearls, a jagir, shawls, etc.

7. 5/11. 15th September, 1808.

8. Metcalfe to Edmonstone. 5/10 13th September.

And he did all this in face of the fact that the British mission was viewed with great suspicion by many of his chiefs, as Metcalfe himself admits.¹

But, like a wise diplomat, Metcalfe decided not to allow the "unfavourable appearances of his reception to make any change in the conciliating line of conduct."² He therefore expressed his displeasure, but "avoided any language that could tend to disturb mutual good temper."³

During the next few days other interviews took place between Ranjit Singh and Metcalfe, but the real object of the mission was not mentioned. He merely delivered a letter from the Governor General in reply to the one sent by Ranjit Singh through Captain Mathews.⁴ Mathews had come and nobody knew why.⁵ Here again was a mission and no one knew why. Ranjit Singh must have become suspicious. On the 22nd of September therefore he disclosed the real object of his mission to Ranjit Singh and his Secret Council of Ministers. It was not done in full darbar, as Mr. Thompson says. Only selected ministers were present.⁶ Metcalfe told them in this interview that the French had formed a design of capturing Kabul and the Punjab and the Governor General wished to warn them and to express a desire that they should all be united to oppose the common enemy. "I endeavoured," wrote Mr. Metcalfe, "to alarm the Raja for the safety of his territories and at the same time to give him confidence in our protection." The Raja's ministers, who were not less expert in diplomacy, answered that they desired to have the closest connection with the British Government, but would give a considered reply next morning.⁸

Next morning began those procrastination which prolonged the stay of the mission for another six months. Metcalfe was⁹ told that the Raja had two objects :—(i) to fix the boundary between the British Government and himself and (ii) to have an alliance. With regard to the first an allusion was made to the letter sent by the Maharaja through Captain Mathews, in which it was written that "the country on this side of the river Jamna, with the exception of the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."¹⁰

1. 5/11. 15th September, 1808.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. On the 17th Metcalfe was told that the Raja was leaving the place and would like to settle the business at once. Metcalfe was disappointed, but he wrote that he would call on the 18th. On that day Ranjit Singh changed the date and wished to see Metcalfe on the 19th (see 5/14 P. G. R. 20th September, 1808).

5. In 1807, Ranjit Singh had been visited by Captain Mathews, an expensive free lance on half pay, travelling for amusement. Ranjit Singh suspected that Mathews was spying, as in fact he was, for he sent back reports of observations. Ranjit Singh sent a letter through him to the Governor General in which he hinted at an alliance. See 5/14 20th September, 1808, P. G. R.

6. 5/15, 23rd September, 1808.

7. *Ibid* 5/15, 23rd September, 1808.

8. *Ibid.* It was in this interview that Ranjit Singh said that Holkar was a *pucca haramzada* (a determined rascal).

9. He was visited by the secret council of Ranjit Singh on the 23rd September, 1808, P. G. R.

10. Quoted in 5/16. Metcalfe's letter to Government, dated September 24th, 1808, P. G. R.

As this question comes up again and again during the negotiations, and was in fact the burden of the Sikh demands, it must always be kept in mind that as early as the visit of Mr. Mathews Ranjit Singh had laid a claim to the overlordship of the Sikh Chiefs between the Jamna and the Sutlej, a claim to which he received no definite reply either from the Governor General or from Mr. Metcalfe. Ranjit Singh wanted a defensive and an offensive alliance. Metcalfe plainly told him that only a defensive alliance was possible.¹

There was one more point, on which there was no difficulty. Ranjit Singh was afraid that the proposed mission of Mr. Elphinstone to Kabul might interfere with his claims upon the territories of the King of Kabul. Metcalfe declared that the British Government would not interfere in their dispute, though they would expect that when the French invasion came, the Sikhs and the Afghans would co-operate.

Soon after this Ranjit Singh broke up camp at Kasur, invited Metcalfe to follow him and marched towards the Bias and the Sutlej. He told Metcalfe that he was about to employ his troops against Faridkote, but would himself remain near the Sutlej to confer with him.² Metcalfe made no protest. He wrote : "On the part of the Chiefs not yet avowedly his subjects, there appears to be no disposition to oppose him by arms, no confederation, no principle of union. It seems to be their general sentiment that nothing but the protection of the British Government can save them from his power. That being withheld, they are prepared to submit to their fate, though they still cling to the hope that the British Government may come forward to defend them."³ And again : These chiefs "have not the smallest appearance of independence, but the same persons would eagerly embrace any opportunity of joining a power that would defend them against the usurper."⁴ Lord Minto was an exponent of the neutral policy. But he was being subtly forced by subordinate officers like Mr. Metcalfe and by circumstances to interfere. Metcalfe's letters contain a clear suggestion for protecting the Cis-Sutlej States. The British policy emanated as much from below as from above. Most of these Sikh Chiefs were accompanying Ranjit Singh in order to make the best of a bad bargain and no objection was raised by the British Government. A British mission was in his camp, following him from place to place. It gave the appearance of the British Government's sanction to his movements.

From Sutlej he went to Faridkote, from Faridkote to Raikote and Metcalfe followed him.⁵ Metcalfe realised that his following Ranjit Singh gave the people an idea of British approval of his conquests. He made protests ; Ranjit Singh made promises ; and so the days passed. Meanwhile the Maharaja went on conquering. At the same time he proposed two treaties instead of one. One treaty was to contain his demands, *i.e.*, friendship from generation to generation, and the other

1. 5/18, 25th September, 1808.

2. Metcalfe to Edmonstone, 26th September, 1808.

3. 5/20. 1st October, 1808.

4. *Ibid.*

5. 5/21, 5th October, 5/23, 14th October 5/24, 15th October, 1808. P. G.

to be of defensive alliance against the French.¹ He was indifferent with regard to the French danger, which seemed to him to be remote.² Moreover he thought that if the French invasion did materialise, it would not be so harmful to him, as he had no quarrel with them. The French were coming to fight with the British.³ Theoretically the argument seems to be flawless. But Ranjit Singh forgot, as Mr. Metcalfe pointed out, that even if the French had no quarrel with him, they would first destroy his power and humble him before they could reach the British territory.⁵

The advantages of a treaty of perpetual friendship were of course very great to him. He could make use of it, as Metcalfe put it, "in depriving his disaffected chiefs of the hope of assistance from the British Government."⁴

The whole correspondence gives one the impression that Metcalfe allowed himself to be made a pawn in Ranjit's clever game. Edmonstone, the Resident at Delhi, wrote to him on 31st October, that his conduct would have met with greater approval if he had acted with more spirit. In reply Metcalfe explained his conduct by means of two arguments:—(i) the views of Government were not confined to an alliance with Ranjit Singh. There was the proposed negotiation with Kabul, for which purpose Elphinstone had to pass through the Punjab. Any breakdown of the negotiations with Ranjit Singh could have endangered the chances of Elphinstone's mission. (ii) "I could not forget that I had been sent to establish an alliance and not to bring on a war."⁶

Ranjit Singh had definitely asked in his letter through Mr. Mathews, "The country between the Jamna and the Sutlej is mine; let it remain so." In reply the Governor General referred him to the Envoy; the Envoy referred him to the Governor General. He thought they were merely trying to avoid giving a definite answer. He was willing to help the British against the French, if in return his "small request" was granted.⁷ If Metcalfe had no power, the Raja was willing to send *rakils* to the Governor General to settle the matter. The Envoy could not agree to this either. Then the Sikh Durbar proposed that they would sign the treaty of friendship at once; but the treaty against the French was to be made conditional on a favourable answer regarding the reference made to the Governor General about the Sikh territory. Metcalfe replied that both treaties could be signed after the receipt of the answer from the Governor General.⁸

1. 5/25, 20th October, 1808.

2. *Ibid.*

3. 5/ 8, 1st November, 1808.

4. *Ibid.*

5. 5/25, dated 20th (or 26th) October, 1808, as also the enclosures to the above, being copies of documents and notes exchanged between Ranjit Singh and Metcalfe.

Metcalfe wrote:—

"There is but one conclusion to be drawn from all this petty deceit, which is that the Raja wishes to make the presence of this mission an instrument of promoting his design of subjugating the whole of this country." 5/26, 26th October, 1808. And again: "I have thus been brought hitherto step by step to further the Raja's designs." *Ibid.*

6. The whole letter is worth reading. It is letter No. 2, in Book 5 of the P. G. Records, but is without date. It must have been written subsequent to November 4th, 1808.

7. 5/27, 30th October, and its enclosures, being translations of notes from Ranjit Singh and replies of Metcalfe.

8. 5/28, P. G. R. 1st November, 1808.

It seems to me that Ranjit Singh's demand regarding his rights over the Sikh country was quite just. Metcalfe was convinced that that was the only concession which could conciliate him. He wrote to his Government: "If it is in view to attach Ranjit Singh to the British Government, and to make him a friend by conciliation, the concession which he requires is essentially necessary for that purpose¹."

Either the Sikh Chiefs should be protected, or Ranjit Singh be told that the British Government was not interested in them. Metcalfe suggested that one of these courses should be adopted² and made out a very strong case for giving the declaration which Ranjit Singh required, or for stopping his aggression immediately. But he seems to have been definitely in favour of giving Ranjit Singh the concession which he required.³ But Metcalfe became angered by the Maharaja's treatment of his mission; while, with an improvement in the news from Europe, the attitude of his Government became firmer; so that he eagerly accepted its decision to prevent the further extension of Ranjit Singh's authority between the Sutlej and the Jamna. The note in which he expressed the Government's decision to the Maharaja was so menacing and so strongly worded that "it is doubtful if his Government would have sanctioned such a letter, unless as the precursor of a declaration of war; the writer was clearly wrought up to tense anger. But he wrote with strength as well as passion, his sentences were controlled and deliberate . . . He was taking immense risks involving his mission and his career. He took them with eyes open on what he was doing."

While Metcalfe was threatening Ranjit Singh, the Government decided to send Sir D. Ochterlony with a military force towards the Sutlej. The instructions to Ochterlony make it perfectly clear that up to the end of December, 1808, the British Government believed in the possibility of an invasion from France and they were determined to make every possible provision for it. They were even prepared to fight with Ranjit Singh, if he proved adamant. "In such a state of circumstances," the Government wrote to Mr. Metcalfe, "no obligation of public faith would have precluded us from taking advantage of events which might lead to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in a position essentially affecting the security of our own". On the 14th of November, 1808 Ochterlony was appointed to command a detachment of troops to advance towards the Panjab.

The British Government expected that the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs would be willing to come under its protection because (i) their agreements with Ranjit Singh had been forced on them; (ii) "it demands no sacrifice on the part of the Sikh Chiefs for the protection which they are anxious to secure; (iii) it intended to require the evacuation of the places which Ranjit Singh had occupied on the left bank of the Sutlej during his last incursion."

1. 5/30. 6th November, 1808. P. G. R.

2. "... it appears that a refusal to make the declaration, unaccompanied by a determination to oppose his aggressions, would perpetuate his distrust of the British Government without materially checking the progress of his ambition." 5/30. 6th November, 1808.

3. 5/30. 6th November, 1808.

Also 5/32. Practically, all the Chiefs of Sirhind submitted to Ranjit Singh by 20th November, except the Chiefs of Patiala, Thanesar and Rangpura.

4. P. G. R. Book 6, Page 81, 82, 83.

5. Government to Resident Delhi P. G. R. 6/5. 26th December, 1808. Also Government to Ochterlony 29th December, 1808.

In return for the protection the Government claimed that (i) these Chiefs should in future refer their disputes to the protecting power; (ii) they should leave to the decision of the British Government the mode of affording that protection¹; (iii) those Chiefs should not adhere to Ranjit Singh.

These were rather lenient terms and the Sikh Chiefs had no hesitation in accepting them. The Government wished to make all arrangements to meet the expected invasion and therefore did not expect any tribute in return for protection. It was anxious to secure the "advantages, facilities and resources of the country in the prosecution of any military arrangements and operations that events may render necessary²" It was originally intended that Mr. Metcalfe should be withdrawn as soon as a military post was established near the Sutlej and negotiations with Ranjit Singh were to be carried on through Sir D. Ochterlony.³ But by January 1809, owing to the changed condition of affairs in Europe,⁴ a change of policy towards Ranjit Singh was also decided upon.

Seeing the firm attitude of the British and having learnt that a British detachment was marching towards Ludhiana, some of the Chiefs began to intrigue with Metcalfe. He received professions of friendship to the British Government from Rani Sada Kaur, Ranjit's mother-in-law and from Fateh Singh Ahluwalia.⁵

Metcalfe was now convinced that the Maharaja would not agree until the resolution to advance towards the Sutlej was announced to him.⁶ At another conference Ranjit Singh strongly reargued his claim to exercise his authority freely across the Sutlej and previous British indifference to it. Under the circumstances the present resolution of Government seemed "unfriendly towards him and inconsistent with its professions."⁷ Metcalfe's replies to these arguments were not very convincing. And amidst all the expressions of friendship, the Maharaja learnt that a force was marching towards his country, and a military station was to be established at the Sutlej. He was surprised and began to make warlike preparations to meet it. The British Government also realised that war might come. The Commander-in-Chief wrote to Metcalfe to prolong the negotiations while preparations for war were being completed. Negotiations were indeed prolonged, Ranjit Singh demanding a treaty of friendship, Metcalfe demanding compliance with his demands.

Now it was Ranjit Singh who wanted a treaty and the British who wished to avoid it. Ranjit Singh must have wondered what had happened to the French danger, for Metcalfe made absolutely no mention of it. Was the story a complete fabrication and an excuse for sending British armies towards the Sutlej to subjugate his own territories? How could he find out the true motive of the British? There was only one way and

1. P. G. R. 6/5 Government wrote to Seton, Resident at Delhi: "the British Government can alone (only?) undertake the defence of the territory on this side of the Sutlej by actually advancing its troops to the frontiers and by possessing the means of forming any other military arrangements in that direction."

2. P. G. R. 6/3

3. *Ibid.*

4. 6/7. P. G. R. Chief Secretary to Ochterlony 30th January, 1809.

5. 5/39. 15th December, 1808.

6. 5/42, P. G. R. 26th December, 1808.

7. 5/43, 22nd December, 1808.

8. 5/44, 26th December, 1808.

that was to demand a treaty of friendship. If they refused to enter into such a treaty, their intention would be clear. He therefore put all his emphasis on this. Metcalfe first wanted the evacuation of Faridkote and Ambala, and threatened to leave his court if Ranjit Singh joined his army on the Sutlej. He told Ranjit Singh that a treaty which was to last for ages could not be made in an hour. Ranjit replied: "... postponing a great affair, *i.e.*, a treaty of friendship, which was the object of your mission to this place, for a trifling affair is very contrary to a friendly intention. Not having power to do this trifle, notwithstanding its fairness, without instructions from your employer, is very inconsistent with full powers to negotiate all matters and with a representative character." Moreover it was strange that he was asked not to join his army on the Sutlej, especially when the British were themselves making preparations for war. He asked, "if a treaty is delayed and the establishment of the military post takes place, how can I be at ease?" He wrote that good fortune had always attended on him and he hoped that it would continue. Metcalfe construed it as an indecent anticipation of a successful issue to war, if it should happen; and he thought that his joining the troops at Sutlej must be considered an act of war.² On the other hand Ranjit pointed out that he had called his troops back from Ambala, which was proof enough that he had not made any preparations against the British.⁴

Ranjit Singh continued to make preparations. All who offered themselves for service were enlisted and Ranjit consulted the Brahmins for the lucky hour in which to start the fight, besides performing other ceremonies at the Great Golden Temple so as to obtain success for his army.⁴ Ranjit probably did not intend to fight, but merely to induce the British to tone down their demands and to agree to the treaty in order to avoid war. But Metcalfe recommended to the Commander-in-Chief an immediate invasion of the Punjab as a measure "urgently desirable." He expected that the invasion would be followed by an early, if not an immediate peace, accompanied by a great reduction of the power of Ranjit Singh, if not its complete destruction and by the accomplishment of whatever object Government might have in view.⁵

It is clear that the British Government would have gone to the length of fighting Ranjit Singh. But the latter knew the risks involved and was not willing to take them. After further negotiations and conferences, he agreed to restore Khur and Faridkote to their original owners. By February 3rd, 1809, a definite change was visible in his attitude. He was anxious for peace, but peace with honour. He took effective measures to conciliate the British; Ambala was restored to Rani Daya Kaur and orders were issued for the restoration of other places, as well as for the return of the Army, and Metcalfe's packets began to be received regularly.⁶ Ranjit Singh sent two *vakils* to Colonel Ochterlony, although Metcalfe had discouraged him in this "extraordinary" proceeding.⁷ His secret object was, in the opinion of Metcalfe, to save his face by showing

1. 5/48, 18th January, 1809. Ranjit had by this time again come to Amritsar.

2. 5/49, 21st January, 1809.

3. *Ibid.*

4. 5/50, *Ibid.*

5. 5/50, *Ibid.* For Metcalfe's views regarding Ranjit's Military resources see. 5/31 P. G. R.

6. 5/52, February 3, 1809.

7. Sirdar Sada Singh and Nizam-ud-Din Khan of Kot Kamalia, 5/53.

that he had a share in the arrangements connected with the establishment of the station. But it seems that his real object was to find out whether Ochterlony's intentions were hostile or not. Metcalfe opposed any withdrawal of Ochterlony's force, because in that case "Ranjit Singh and his partisans would clap their wings, those who want the protection of the British Government would lose confidence and the reputation of the British Government would suffer".¹ But Metcalfe was willing to temporise. His Government had not approved of his ambiguous references to the treaty with Ranjit Singh. Therefore he argued in favour of a definitive treaty.² He suggested that the Governor General might be pleased to transmit to Ranjit Singh a "formal act of Government containing a declaration of the friendly intentions of the British Government and specific assurances that it will never extend its views to his country, nor interfere in the affairs of the Punjab, as long as he shall conduct himself in a friendly manner and refrain from any attempt to defeat the determination of the British Government to protect the Chiefs between the Sutlej and Jamna."³ He suggested that the restitution of his *former* conquests should not be demanded, as he would resist it from a belief that the British Government would not stop even there.³

Ranjit was in a perfectly conciliatory mood by now, thanks to the attitude of Metcalfe. Having secured the object of his Government, Metcalfe was not willing to antagonise Ranjit Singh unnecessarily. He was willing to assure Ranjit Singh in his possessions on the right bank of Sutlej, as well as his *former* possessions on the left. He was ready for a treaty. On his part Ranjit Singh sent agents to restore all the places recently conquered *e.g.*, Faridkote and Khur. It was arranged that after the restitution of those places, the army under Major General St. Leger would go back. A day later Ranjit would withdraw his troops from their position on the Sutlej.⁴ So after all, on the 25th of April 1809, the treaty was concluded. It was brief and simple, but full of difficulties for the future. Ranjit Singh was left with all his former conquests on the left bank of the Sutlej, but he was not to keep there more troops than were necessary for policing purposes. He was not to interfere with the Cis-Sutlej States, and the Company engaged not to interfere in his affairs to the north of the Sutlej.

III

A BOOK OF MILITARY PARWANAS.

By S. R. Kohli, Esq., M.A.

Some twelve years back I came across a manuscript volume of Military Orders or Parwanas issued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh; and the small leather-bound book is probably the original office copy of those orders. It belonged to the valuable collection of manuscripts made by the late Rai Bahadur, Pandit Wazir Chand Trikha and consists of 43 folios each measuring 9 inches by 12 inches including the margin and is very closely written in running *shikasta* hand, which is not always easy to

1. 5/54, 16th February, 1809.

2. 5/55, 19th February, 1809.

3. *Ibid.*

4. 5/57, 4th March, 1809.

decipher. It contains 452 *parwanas* and covers altogether a period of 13 months and six days beginning from 1st Maghar Sambat 1890 and ending with the 6th day of Poh, Sambat 1891, corresponding to 14th November, 1833 to 18th December, 1834.

As in other communications of a similar character of Ranjit Singh's government, the language of these *parwanas* is far from being pure Persian. Very frequently common Panjabi words and expressions which cannot but jar on the ear of a Persian scholar are found intermingled with Persian sentences. It appears further that some corrupted French and English words like Report and Adjutant and Commandant had also by this time, found their way in the vocabulary of the court scribes.

All *parwanas* bear the name of the place and date of issue; sometimes even the hour when the order was actually given is noted. It would seem that the *parwanas* actually issued also bore the *Sahi*¹ and the personal seal of the Maharaja since the closing words of every *parwana* draw pointed attention to the seal affixed to it as a mark of its authenticity. These words invariably are

بموجب ثبت موهر و نشانی درج ریت بعمل آرند

The *parwanas* relate almost exclusively to the subject of army administration; they cover a wide range of ministerial details and are very helpful in understanding the system of military administration of Ranjit Singh. There are orders relating to recruitment in the army; the distribution of pay and emoluments to troops; the drill and military manœuvres; the feed of army horses, the purchasing and manufacturing of military stores, and the making of uniforms for men and officers of the army, and so on.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the details given in some of these orders cannot but be of value to a student of economics, as they would enable him to form a precise idea of the prices and wages current in the Punjab a hundred years ago. I should like to refer here to one or two of the *parwanas*, by way of illustration, to show the nature and amount of information which these briefly worded orders can be made to yield on a close examination.

A *parwana* dated the 20th Bhiadon 1891 (3rd September, 1834), embodies sanction for the preparation of 20,000 warm jackets (*kurti*) at a flat rate of Rs. 2-9-6 per jacket for an infantry soldiers. These jackets, it appears, were to be worn by the troops on the occasion of the annual muster held on the day of the Dussehra festival which in that year fell on the 28th Asuj (12th October). The work thus required a good deal of expediting. It was accordingly distributed in parts over several officers and the details given in the body of the order make Bhai Ram Singh and Faqir Imam-un-Din responsible for the preparation of 5,000 jackets; Bhai Gurmukh Singh for 5,250 pieces; Mian Sammad Joo (a Kashmiri banker and merchant) for 8,000 pieces; and Sardar Tej Singh for 1,750 pieces. The data further throw an interesting sidelight on the method of adjustment of public accounts and the system of credit and debit balances followed in Sikh times. The total amount of Rs. 52,000 sanctioned to meet the cost of the jackets was to be realised individually by the officers entrusted with the work in the following manner :—

1. سہی یا سنی is the Hindi form of the Arabic word صحيح meaning correct or authentic. In popular parlance as also in the Sikh Darbar records the word came to denote دستخطی or signatures.

- (a) Rs. 10,000 standing as credit balance from the previous year's income on account of Octroi duties of the town of Amritsar with the officers of the Octroi department.
- (b) Rs. 42,000 to be met from the sale proceeds of rock-salt stocked in the government depot at Amritsar. (Salt was the monopoly of the state and its price was regulated by the state.)

The *parwana* incidentally mentions the price at which salt was then sold. The usual wholesale rate, it appears, was Rs. 2-12-0 per maund, but as the government desired to dispose of a big quantity at the moment, a reduction of four annas per maund was sanctioned on this occasion and the whole stock of 16,800 maunds of salt was offered at Rs. 2-8-0 per maund.

I might mention, in this connection, that while engaged in writing this short paper, I came across in my rough notes collected more than fifteen years ago from the official papers of Ranjit Singh's government an entry dated Asuj 1895 (September 1838), *viz.*, about four years after the date of the *parwana* under reference, which shows that the cost of a jacket for a *sowar*, or cavalry soldier, came to Rs. 4-3-6. The details in this case also contain minute information pertaining to the nature and cost of the materials used. The material used was a warm foreign stuff called *banat*, or broad cloth, which was sold at Rs. 3 to Rs. 3 8-0 per yard and just a yard of it was required for a jacket. Ordinary *Khaddi* cloth was used for lining, sold at 0-2-6 per yard. The brass buttons were available at 0-2-0 per dozen and three dozen of these were required for a jacket. The tailor's wages are stated at 0-4-0 per piece including the stitching of frill and piping.

Of equal interest, perhaps, will be found a few other *parwanas*, which reveal the regulation feed of the artillery horses and incidentally throw light on the prevailing retail prices of gram and green fodder. The regulation feed of an artillery horse per day was four seers of gram and one *marla* of green fodder, yielding about three maunds of fodder in weight. The four seers of gram, as the entries in the *parwanas* further reveal, would cost three annas and the green fodder two annas; so that the total cost per day for feeding a strong animal used for dragging guns and heavy ammunition vehicles was five annas per day.

Similarly another *parwana*, dated the 7th Chet, 1891, (April, May, 1834) refers to the purchase of 12,000 pieces of flint or *sung-i-chaqmaq* at the total cost Rs. 360, which gives an average of 33 pieces for a rupee. Still another, dated 24th Katik 1891 (7th November, 1834), incidentally gives us the price of a countrymade *banduk* or flint gun. The *parwana* under reference is in the nature of a query addressed to the officer commanding, Sardar Tej Singh, as to whether Rs. 11 or Rs. 12 per piece was settled with the manufacturers of Kotli and Nizamabad (villages at present included in the district of Wazirabad). I should again like to mention in this connection that my own rough notes, based on the official papers of Ranjit Singh's government, have several entries which reveal that the maximum price of a *banduk* did not exceed Rs. 20. The entries in my notes relate to the years between Sambat 1874 and 1880 (1817—1823 A.D.), during which a total number of 5,166 flint guns were purchased by instalments at a total cost of Rs. 1,03,921, which gives an average price of Rs. 20 per piece. Still another reference to the official papers seems to show that another type of gun equipped with *sangin* (bayonet) would cost Rs. 16 per piece. The price of a *banduk* or matchlock

of different types used by the troops of Ranjit Singh varied between Rs. 11 and Rs. 20.

There are orders which throw a sidelight on the army discipline, the punishments awarded to deserters, the mode of recruitment and promotion in the army ranks, the rate of pay of men and officers and various other relevant matters.

Most of the *parwanas* in the volume, however, refer to the time when Ranjit Singh was organising a campaign to resist the efforts of Dost Muhammad for recovering Peshawar from the Sikhs in the autumn of 1834 A.D. They seem to show that three divisions of troops were despatched towards Peshawar : one under the command of Prince Nau Nihal Singh as the vanguard ; the other division, commanded by Prince Sher Singh, was posted at Attock to keep in check the rebellious Pathan population of the neighbourhood and also to blockade all approaches to Peshawar from the neighbouring districts ; and the third was marched from Amritsar on the day following the close of the Dussehra festival. The Maharaja in person accompanied the third division with a part of his Secretariat. The orders issued from day to day during the march bear the date and other relevant details such as the name of the village or the place of encampment (*maqam or qiyamgah*). These are, accordingly, of great value to a student of Sikh history. They help him in ascertaining the length of marches, the modes of keeping or maintaining lines of communications and the arrangements made to establish the *Dak Chauki* (postal couriers) and other sundry information. A perusal of these will also reveal how the marching troops had to face various difficulties on the way owing to want of good roads and had at times to make long detours to avoid bad roads ; and again how the rivers were crossed and in what order the troops crossed over.

One sometimes feels amused to read in these *parwanas* the suggestions and instructions given by the Maharaja to officers commanding on minute points : as the selection of the site for encampment, or the order to be observed by the troops in crossing over at a ferry, or that drill and parade should be deferred on a particular morning owing to severe cold or a heavy downpour of rain.

At the same time we cannot help admiring Ranjit Singh's solicitation for his subjects while his troops were on the march. Strict instructions are issued to the officers that no *begar* or forced labour was to be taken and that for any damage done to crops the responsibility will be laid on them. The *parwanas* are replete with such instructions as

راه راه کوچ نموده احتیاط دارند - که ویرانی زراعت و غیره احدی نسازند و از کسی
بع رعایا تکلیف نه رسد - خیر شرط است - ذمه شما است -

there are a couple of orders in the book which seem to show that whenever a major campaign was undertaken, special postal arrangements were made during the expedition to keep the Maharaja in touch with the daily progress of the army. Ordinarily a runner (هر کاره) had his

beat up to a distance of six *kos* or about nine miles, but on such occasions the strength of the postal department was doubled and the beat reduced to three *kos*, where a company of couriers was placed. The *parwanas* under reference are dated 24th Maghar and 15 Maghar 1891, and sanction the

increased strength of the postal couriers between Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Phalia where the Maharaja was encamping with the reserve division of troops.

. Apart from certain aspects of his military administration, on which this volume throws a good deal of light, some of the *parwanas* incidentally reveal the conduct, character and capacity of the great Sikh ruler. He strikes us, indeed, as a man of great mental calibre, of indefatigable capacity for work, and one possessing marvellous memory and sense of details. At one moment he is seen like a steward or household manager issuing orders for the feed of animals and the purchasing of fresh and dry fruits; while at another he asks like the manager of a business firm for detailed information regarding the number of bullocks male and female, camels young and old, serviceable and unserviceable, attached to a battalion of infantry, a regiment of cavalry or an artillery park; at another moment like an officer in charge of military stores he asks for a detailed statement showing the number of belts, shoes, powder-pouches available in stock in the magazine department. He seems to insist on getting very detailed information and issues reminders in case the information is delayed.

I have already remarked the Maharaja's care and solicitude in general for his people. This attitude of mind is also revealed in minor details and looks rather like an anxiety exhibited by a grandfather for his young children. He issues instructions and is seen repeating these twice over during the course of the day that the troops should be excused from drill and parade owing to severe cold or rain on a particular morning

سر دی بسیار است - بارش باران رحمت الہی نزل شدہ است - امروز قوائد معاف خواہد ساخت -

and that they put on warm jackets in the morning hours during the months of October and November and for the whole day during the months of December and January.

سنگھان پلائن ہارا کورتے باناتی علی الصباح در گلو یافتن می دارہ باشند .
کہ حالا سردی وقت صبح می باشد - وباز در ماہ مگھر تمام روز در گلو می داشتہ باشند

Again, when the army is on the march, as it was on this particular occasion to which the *parwanas* relate, the Maharaja will issue instructions for every little detail. For instance, he will instruct the officers commanding that they should call a halt or resume the march at a particular hour, pitch their tents at or near a particular place since it abounds in fodder, fuel and water (آب و گاہ دھیزم بسیار است) or that they will avoid encamping on marshy and low ground.

بر زمین پختہ جائیکہ سیل آب دریا نرسد - جمعیت دارند

It appears he left little or no initiative to his subordinates and the consequences were suffered by his people after his demise. The older generation of the Sikh Sardars who were brought up in the traditions of severe military discipline and struggle of the late 18th century had almost all passed away during the lifetime of Ranjit Singh and the group of military officers with a few exceptions which the Maharaja had around him late in his life owed their rise in social and official position to his extreme generosity and indulgence. Only a few may be said to have won their way by virtue of merit or honest hard work.

IV

RANJIT SINGH AND SHAH SHUJAH'S EXPEDITION TO KANDHAR (1831—34).

By Lajpat Rai Nair, Esq., M.A.

The Durrani Empire established by Ahmad Shah Abdali after the murder of Nadir Shah in 1747, extended from the Oxus in the west to the Indus and Sutlej in the east. After the death of its founder, the empire showed signs of decay in the reign of Timur Shah (1773—93) and none of his weak and incompetent successors (Shah Zaman 1793—1800, Shah Mahmud 1800—03) could stem the rot. In 1803, the throne passed into the hands of Shah Shujah, an incompetent but ambitious prince. The distant provinces of the empire had already thrown off the yoke of the central authority, and Ranjit Singh had built a strong Sikh state on the ruins of the Durrani possessions in the Punjab. Finding Shah Shujah incapable to deal with the situation, his minister Fateh Khan, leader of the powerful Barakzai tribe, organised a successful revolt, defeated the Shah in the battle of Neelma (1809) and restored Shah Mahmud to the throne.

Deposed from the throne and deserted by his men, Shah Shujah turned towards the Punjab in the hope of getting help from Ranjit Singh. He met the Sikh ruler in early February 1810, but in spite of Ranjit's assurances of help, the Shah soon grew suspicious of his designs, and ultimately succeeded in April 1815 in slipping from Ranjit's custody and after wandering for some time in Kishtwar and the lower hills of Rajori and Bhimber, took refuge at Ludhiana in September 1816.

In Afghanistan, the Shah's departure had been followed by a prolonged civil war, at first between the members of the Sadozai family, then between the Sadozais and Barakzais. As a result of these intestinal convulsions the Barakzai chiefs established their sway in Kabul, while Herat was held by the Princes of the old house. The death of Fateh Khan in 1818, threw the Afghan kingdom into confusion and afforded Shah Shujah a chance to try to regain his lost throne. Azim Khan, the eldest of the Barakzai brothers, invited Shah Shujah to re-assert his claim to the throne and the Shah determined to make an attempt.¹ But the Shah annoyed his ally. Azim Khan's soldiers fell upon the Shah, who fled through Sindh and finally returned to Ludhiana, sadder but in no way wiser by his experiences.

The internal troubles in Afghanistan had given Ranjit an opportunity to extend his dominions by conquering Kashmir and certain territories on the right bank of the Indus. In 1823, Azim Khan made a last attempt to push the Sikhs back across the river, but his forces were defeated decisively by Ranjit's army in the battle of Naushera. The defeat killed Azim and offered Ranjit a chance to enter Peshawar and establish his control in the city. The death of Azim Khan once again plunged Afghanistan into confusion and anarchy, from which it emerged in 1826, with Dost Mohammad, the ablest of the Barakzais, established at Kabul. Shah Mahmud the Durrani chief was still master of Kandhar, while the two Barakzai brothers Sherdil Khan and Yar Mohammad Khan held Kandhar and Peshawar respectively. The Amirs of Sind discontinued

1. Shah Shujah's Autobiography as detailed by Kaye, vol. 1, p. 114.

paying tribute and though Dost Mohammad met some opposition from Habib-ullah Khan, the son of Azim Khan, he remained supreme in Kabul and successfully carried on the policy of "treading down the Douranees".¹

Meanwhile, Shah Shujah, secure in his asylum at Ludhiana, still dreamed of regaining his lost throne. Even in exile, he clung to the forms of royalty and ardently believed in his ability to retrieve his fortunes.² He made a number of proposals to Ranjit, who always lamented the Shah's escape from Lahore. The British Government made it clear to the Shah in 1827, that, though they would have no objection to his getting help from Ranjit or from the Amirs of Sindh to recover his kingdom, they might not receive him back in case of a failure. This damped the Shah's hopes, but he gradually won over Captain C. M. Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana to his cause. He then sounded his former jailor Ranjit Singh, for help in 1831.³

Ranjit Singh was at this time at the height of his political power. His friendship was coveted by most of the neighbouring powers; but the British, though anxious to retain his alliance, were suspicious that he was carrying on negotiations with Russia.⁴ Lord William Bentinck, a firm believer in the policy of non-intervention, was eager to meet the Sikh ruler in order to cement the peaceful relations existing between the two powers. He received a Sikh goodwill mission in the summer of 1831, and asked Captain Wade to thank the Maharaja personally for the courtesy. Before Captain Wade's arrival at Lahore, Shah Shuja's *vakil* had already approached the Maharaja for help and had given the Sikh ruler the impression that he had the moral support of the British Government. Captain Wade, during his stay at Lahore, got an opportunity of furthering the cause of his friend and Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Lala Kishan Chand submitted a note to the Maharaja in accordance with the counsel and advice of the Captain Sahib,⁵ asking him to restore the Shah to Kabul and Kandhar and to establish state Thanas in Peshawar. Thereupon the Sikh ruler inquired from Captain Wade the advisability of this line of action. But Wade evaded a direct answer and remarked that the Maharaja could act in the matter as he liked; adding that Shah Shuja was staying at Ludhiana merely as a guest of the Company, which was willing to render him some service; but that it would not be proper for him (Ranjit) to consult him in the matter.⁶ But it appears Captain Wade secretly influenced Ranjit on behalf of the Shah. The Maharaja met Kazi, the *vakil* of Shah Shujah along with L. Kishan Chand on August 14, 1831, and the *vakil* begged for help in the Shah's attempt to recover his throne, promising to acknowledge Ranjit's sway over "the countries of Shikarpur, Mankera, Multan, Peshawar, Kachi and the Deras" and assuring the Maharaja further that the "Shah or any of his descendants would not interfere in the country under the sway of the Sikh ruler." Ranjit expressed his willingness to help the Shah, if the latter agreed to sign a treaty accepting his terms, as follows⁷ :—

1. Kaye—War in Afghanistan, vol. I, p. 124.

2. Burnes Travels into Bokhara, vol. I, p. 158.

3. Parliamentary Papers relative to the expedition into Afghanistan. Captain C. M. Wade to H. T. Prinsep, 21st November, 1831.

4. Captain C. M. Wade to Resident at Delhi, 24th August, 1830.

5. Sohan Lal, Umdat-ut-Twarikh, vol. III, part I, p. 67.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.* p. 69.

1. That the heir-apparent of Shah shall always attend His Highness with a force—having also his family along with him, that he shall be treated with distinction and expected to accompany the Maharaja in all his journeys.

2. That the Shah shall disclaim both for himself, his successors and all the tribe of Saddozais every right and title to the countries which have been acquired by His Highness, his dependents and tributaries of every kind ; for instance to the city of Peshawar with the territory and customs—Kohat, Hastnagar, Usafzai, Khyber, Kashmir, Multan, Mankera, Kalabagh, Bootchee, Serai, Tenouls, territories farmed by Bahawalpur, the two Ketchees, north of the Sutlej, Tank, Sengher, Gerang, Fort of Rohri, Goolddhere, Akorah, territory of Khattak, the seat of Payandah Khan's family, Darband, Ferbelah and Payendah Khan's place of abode.

3. That the Shah shall send him 102 horses of the finest description every year, 25 Persian mules, 11 Persian swords, and 200 maunds of fruit, consisting of grapes : besides some Persian silk cloaks, etc.. etc., half the presents to be delivered at Nou Roz and half at Dusserah.

4. That the Shah shall at once give three lacs of rupees worth jewels, such as those for which H. H. negotiated through Mian Samadjoo for the expenses of the Army.

5. That whenever the Maharaja may be in want of troops, the Shah shall send his own army to him with one of his sons.

6. That the friends and enemies of one shall be friends and enemies of the other.

7. That when any of His Highness's people shall proceed to Kabul to purchase fruit or horses for the Maharaja, they shall be well treated and allowed to pass through the country in safety.

8. That should any European gentlemen be coming from Persia with His Highness's sanction or be proceeding to Ludhiana, they are, according to subsisting treaty between the British and Sikh Governments, to be allowed to pass without molestation and to be treated with respect.

9. That the Shah in his correspondence with the Maharaja shall address H. H. in a style suited to his dignity.

10. That whenever both armies may engage in expeditions against Shikarpur, the territory of the Sindhians or others, the property in money or horses that may be obtained shall be equally divided between His Highness and the Shah. Should the Shah's troops not attend, reclamation will be made and a prompt answer expected. Finally each shall enjoy a moiety of the revenues.

11. That the abomination of killing kine shall never exist in the territory of Kabul or in its armies. Nay, let a proclamation be issued that no one commit the act.

12. That the portals made of sandal which have been carried away to Ghazni from the temple of Somnath shall be delivered to the Maharaja when the Shah's Government is well established.

13. That whatever property in money, jewels, or cannon be taken from the Barakzais in Kabul, Peshawar and Jalalabad, shall be divided equally by H. H. and the Shah.

14. That if the Shah's officers infringe any of the above-mentioned articles, the army of the Maharaja shall have liberty to coerce them.

15. That H. H. will send the Shah presents worthy of his acceptance consisting of the productions of Kashmir and Multan.

16. That should the Barakzais attend the Maharaja to Kabul, H. H. and the Shah shall agree to make a suitable provision for them.¹

It was a heavy price. Ranjit Singh's *vakil* at Ludhiana was instructed to discuss the matter with the Shah. Following his interview with the Shah, Lala Kishan Chand reported as follows to Ranjit Singh :—

Ludhiana,
21st Bhadun, 1888.
(4th September, 1831).

Your Highness,

In accordance with Your Highness's instructions, I went to interview Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk. Being left alone with him, I read to him all the clauses of the treaty word by word. The Shah replied that if unity and friendship could be established between him and Your Highness, then riches, gold jewels and horses would not matter much and even the Prince would remain in attendance. . . . The Shah demanded a copy of the treaty, so that the terms to which he agrees may remain unaltered and the others to which he objects might be amended according to his wishes. The Shah promised to send the papers on to me for my submitting them to Your Highness in order to know your opinion about them. . . . I requested him to give a reasonable reply to the disputed terms. The Shah has kept a copy of the treaty and I hope to write further about the matter by day after to-morrow. As it was my first interview with the Shah, I have been hardly able to study his temper. . . .

Your obedient Servant,
(Sd.) KISHAN CHAND.

Ranjit Singh had readily agreed to help Shah Shujah, because he wanted to use him as a tool in furthering his own ends in Sindh and in territories beyond the Indus. Since his conquest of Multan in 1818. Ranjit had been anxious to conquer the territories of the Amirs of Sind, who had thrown off the Afghan supremacy after the decay of the Durrani power. Shah Shujah, even in his exile, regarded Sind as a part of his legitimate inheritance and behaved towards the Amirs as if he was still their sovereign. In 1823, Ranjit had actually threatened Sind and forced the Amirs to send *vakils* to his court.² During the twenties, the British followed a policy of non-interference coupled with keen watchfulness in their relations with Ranjit and other countries on the North-Western Frontier. The Sikh Maharaja realised British disinterestedness in Sind at the time and even planned to attack that province first in 1825 and again in 1826—28. But Sindh was saved from Sikh conquest, in 1825 by a famine³ and in 1826—28 by the rising of

1. Cf. Parliamentary Papers—Wade to Prinsep, 21st November, 1831, relative to the expedition into Afghanistan; also Wade to Macnaghten, 17th June, 1834.

2. Wade to Elliot, 24th August, 1823.

3. Cunningham—History of the Sikhs, p. 185.

Syed Ahmad, which occupied all the attention of Ranjit during those years. Ranjit claimed Sindh as a successor of the Durrani power in India and after the defeat and death of Syed Ahmad once again turned his attention towards that province. But meanwhile the British attitude had undergone a complete change and Ranjit found his allies very much interested in Sindh and countries beyond the Indus. The chief reason for this changed attitude was an exaggerated dread of the expansion of Russian influence in Central Asia.

Lord Ellenbrough in 1831 sent a present of dray horses on behalf of King William IV to Ranjit under the escort of Lieutenant Burnes. The ostensible object of Burnes' mission was to convey the horses to Ranjit by the river Indus, while his real aim was to ascertain political and geographical information regarding the territories on the banks of the Indus.¹

Meanwhile the negotiations between Ranjit and Shah Shujah continued. The Shah regarded some of the terms offered by Ranjit as very humiliating, but he was equally eager to prolong the negotiations; he replied to Ranjit's proposals, accepting many, postponing several, and demurring to some :—

1. Regarding a meeting, I am living as a guest of the British Government, who treat me with great kindness, consideration and friendship; it is necessary to act, therefore, in respect to the present article with their advice and consent. Let the Maharaja ask the concurrence of the British Government. If it concur, the affair may be suitably brought about.

2. Regarding the attendance of a Shahzada, . . . it is improper, because the world will consider him in the situation of an hostage. . . If the Maharaja will take one of the Lords of the Court, it is well.

3. Regarding a prohibition against the slaughter of kine let H. H. consider that notwithstanding the territory in which I am residing is that of the Sikhs, the British Government and the Maharaja being connected by the ties of amity, the practice in question is permitted in the British Cantonments and Camps. Is it just that it should be prohibited in Kabul and Peshawar, which are Mohammadan countries?

4. Regarding the demand for the portals of sandal at Ghazni, a compliance with it is inadmissible in two ways, firstly . . . to desire the disgrace of one's friend is not consistent with the dictates of wisdom. Secondly, there is a tradition that the Sikhs in the attempt to bring away the portals of sandal will advance to Ghazni, but having arrived there the foundations of their empire shall be overthrown.¹

Shah Shujah realised the humiliation to which Ranjit had subjected him, but the Sikh Maharaja was his only hope. A letter written by Lala Kishan Chand to the Maharaja in January 1832 shows the changed attitude of the British towards the project :

9th Magh, 1888.
(January 20, 1832).

“Kazi Mulla Hussan came for the second time and said that Shah

1. Murray's Ranjit Singh, p. 153.

2. Parliamentary Papers, relative to Afghanistan—Captain C. M. Wade to H. T. Prinsep, 21st November, 1831. Enclosure No. 3.

Shujah wanted to see me. I thought it advisable to take permission from Captain Wade The Captain permitted me to see the Shah.

"Previously Captain Wade would not express any opinion in these matters. But now he casually expresses his opinion regarding these affairs. Captain Wade said, 'As the territory towards Kabul and Peshawar is lying without proper administration, the British are afraid that the Russians may extend their influence in this direction (just as they have done in Persia) and may establish their sway in these territories, as no one knows how long this territory would remain in its present unsettled condition.' Regarding Your Highness' desire to restore Shah Shujah on the throne the Captain said, 'It is a very good idea, but as long as the British Government does not act as a mediator between the two parties, I don't think it is possible for them to reach a reasonable settlement.'¹

"Yesterday I went along with the Kazi to the Shah, who said to me that the Maharaja should write to Captain Wade, that he wants to see me and that I should be allowed to meet him. If we are able to agree, then everything would be all right, otherwise I would return to Ludhiana. Secondly if His Highness does not like this proposal, then I will send Mulla Hussan Kazi and Mulla Shakur Khan to the Maharaja, so that everything may be settled and the Maharaja may fully satisfy himself. After the preliminaries have been settled I will meet the Maharaja at Lahore or Amritsar and there the agreement can be signed.

"He has given me in writing his reply to earlier inquiries, which I am submitting in original. He said that he would be waiting for a reply to his note, which I should be able to get within six or seven days and which I should submit to him immediately. His object is to interview Your Highness on the responsibility of the British, or in some other manner, at Lahore or Amritsar and to sign a treaty, if he could agree with Your Highness regarding affairs in Afghanistan. But if no agreement is reached, then he would return to Ludhiana and does not want any obstacles in his way.² Although he has not said these things openly, he has made his object clear."

The Shah continued negotiations with Ranjit. His greatest problem was funds and he was anxious to pledge his jewels worth 2 or 3 lakhs, but he could hardly find any banker. In despair he turned to the British; tried to impress upon them the immense popularity he enjoyed in the Afghan territories;³ and begged for the mediation of the British to get him a loan. "My friend" wrote the Governor General in reply, "I deem it my duty to apprise you distinctly that the British Government religiously abstains from intermeddling with the affairs of its neighbours when this can be avoided. Your Majesty is of course master of your own actions."⁴

Shah Shujah had failed to get help from Ranjit in 1832, because they were suspicious of each other. Moreover, he did not want to act without the consent of the British. The Amirs of Sind tried to play the two parties against each other in the hope of preventing a coalition between them. They even offered help to the Shah, if he would relinquish his

1. It shows that the British Government was now anxious that nothing should be done for the restoration of the Shah without its consent and knowledge.
2. This clearly shows Shah's suspicions of Ranjit regarding his personal safety.
3. Parliamentary Papers—11th May, 1832, Wade to W. H. Macnaghten. (Enclosure of paper presented by Kazi Mulla Mohd. Hussain, the Shah's Agent with Captain Wade)—11th May, 1832.
4. Parliamentary Papers - Lord William Bentinck to Shah Shujah.

claim to the sovereignty of Sindh and Shikarpur and would promise to leave Shikarpur, his intended base of operations within ten days of his arrival.¹

Meanwhile Wade tried his best to get help for the Shah; during his stay at Lahore in December, 1832, the British Agent repeatedly recommended Shah's case to the Maharaja and begged him to give the Shah a sum of Rs. one lakh and twenty-five thousands for his diamonds.² Ranjit would not commit himself. Wade's intervention was more successful with the British Government, which became more favourably inclined towards the Shah and assured the payment of the allowance to his family in his absence and waived the warning regarding his return to Ludhiana, in case of his defeat. And though the Government openly declared its neutrality, it allowed Shah Shujah four months' allowance in advance,³ an act which was regarded by many as "effectual countenance of the Shah's designs."⁴

In January 1833 the Shah left Ludhiana with about two lacs of rupees in his pocket and an army of adventurers. In the way he tried to reinforce himself both with men and money. He could hardly afford to alienate Ranjit, so continued negotiations with him. The Sikh ruler, aware of the friendship between Captain Wade and the ex-king, agreed to pay Rs. 1,25,000 to the Shah, but wanted to be sure of the British attitude. A treaty between the two was finally drawn up in the following terms on 12th March 1833 (but was ratified a few months later, in August 1833).⁵

Preamble.—Relations of friendship having been firmly established between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, so that there neither is nor ever shall be any alienation or difference of interest existing between them, they agree to adopt the following articles in consideration of the terms of goodwill and friendship by which they are reciprocally actuated.

1. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk disclaims all title on the part of himself, his heirs, successors and all the Saddozais, to whatever territories lying on either bank of the river Indus that may be possessed by the Maharaja, viz., Kashmir including its limits E. W. N. S. together with the Fort of Attock, Chetch Hazara, Khebal, and with its dependencies on the left bank of the aforesaid river, and on the right bank, Peshawar with the Usafzai territory, Khettaks, Hashtnagar, Machunie, Kohat and all places dependent on Peshawar as far as the Khyber Pass, Bannu the Waziri territory, Dour, Tank, Gorank, Kalabagh, and Khushalghar with their dependent districts, Dera Ismail Khan and its dependency together with Dera Ghazi Khan, Kot Mithan and their dependent territory Senghar, Heran Dajel, Hajipur, Rajinpur and the three Ketches as well as Mankerah with its district and the Province of Multan situated on the left bank. These countries and places are considered to be the property and to form the estate of the Maharaja, the Shah neither has nor will have any concern with them. They belong to the Maharaja and his posterity from generation to generation.

1. Parliamentary Papers, Captain Wade to Government, 15th September, 1832.

2. Sohan Lal, Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Vol. III, p. 163.

3. Parliamentary Papers, Macnaghten to Major Faithful, 13th December, 1832.

4. Durand—The First Afghan War, p. 18.

5. Wade to Macnaghten, 17th June 1834.

2. Regarding Shikarpur and the territory of Sindh lying on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah will abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper in conformity with the happy relations of friendship subsisting between the British Government and the Maharaja through Captain Wade.

3. When the Shah shall have established his authority in Kabul and Kandhar he will annually send the Maharaja the following articles, *viz.*, 55 high bred horses of approved colour and pleasant paces, 11 Persian poignards, 25 good mules, fruits of various kinds, both dry and fresh and *sirdas* or musk melons of a sweet and delicate flavour (to be sent throughout the year), by way of Kabul river to Peshawar; grapes, pomegranates, apples, quinces, almonds, raisins, pistas or chestnuts, an abundant supply of each; as well as pieces of satin of every colour, *choghas* of fur, *kimkhobs* wrought with gold and silver and Persian carpets altogether to the number of 101 pieces. All these articles the Shah will continue to send every year to the Maharaja.

4. Each party shall address the other on terms of equality.

5. Merchants of Afghanistan who will be desirous of trading to Lahore or Amritsar or any other part of the Maharaja's possessions shall not be stopped or molested on their way; on the contrary strict orders shall be issued to facilitate their intercourse and the Maharaja engages to observe the same line of conduct on his part in respect to traders who may wish to proceed to Afghanistan.

6. The Maharaja will yearly send to the Shah the following articles in the way of friendship, 55 pieces of shawl, 25 pieces of muslin, 11 dopattas, 5 pieces of kimkhob, 5 scarves, 5 turbans, 55 loads of Bareh rice (peculiar to Peshawar).

7. Any of the Maharaja's officers who may be deputed to Afghanistan to purchase horses, or on any other business as well as those who may be sent by the Shah into the Punjab for the purpose of purchasing piece-goods or shawls, to the amount of Rs. 11,000 will be treated by both sides with due attention and every facility will be afforded to them in the execution of their commission.

8. Whenever the armies of the two states may happen to be assembled at the same place, on no account shall the slaughter of kine be permitted to take place.

9. An exchange of missions charged with letters and presents shall constantly take place between the two parties.

10. Should the Maharaja require the aid of any of the Shah's troops, the Shah engages to send a force commanded by one of his principal officers; in like manner the Maharaja will furnish the Shah, when required, with an auxiliary force composed of Mohammadans and commanded by one of his principal officers as far as Kabul. When the Maharaja may go to Peshawar the Shah will depute a Shahzadah to visit him; on which occasion the Maharaja will receive and dismiss him with the honour and consideration due to his rank and dignity.

While negotiations were in progress Ranjit addressed the Governor General on the subject and was told that the British Government was in no way a party to the expedition.¹ The following letter by Lala Kishan Chand admirably sums up the British attitude, as well as Captain Wade's personal interest in the matter.

1. Parliamentary Papers—W. H. Macnaghten to W. Fraser, 5th March, 1833

26th Chet 1890.
(5th April, 1833).

YOUR HIGHNESS,

Captain Wade sent his peon this afternoon with a message that I should see him.

"In reply to the inquiry" said Captain Wade, "the Government has replied as follows to the Resident:—

"In reply to your letter I beg to say that you may call Rai Govind Jas and inform him that Shah Shujah has repeatedly asked the permission of the British Government to proceed to Afghanistan, but the Government, thinking the time to be inopportune, evaded an answer. Now the Shah is going himself to Afghanistan, therefore the Government does not consider it proper to stop him. The Government also thinks that the movements of the Shah would not interfere in any way with the territories of the Maharaja or of the British. As the British friendship with the Maharaja rests on solid foundations, there would be no disturbance in his territory. It is the duty of every state to defend its own frontiers and interference in the territories of others (who are not enemies) does not befit great rulers."¹

"After listening to Captain Wade, I submitted that he was responsible for unity and friendship between the two powers, and as he was fully conversant with everything I expressed a hope that he would complete the work and pay his full attention to the Shikarpur affair. Captain Wade replied that he had come to know about the Shikarpur affair from the letter of Your Highness, but had to wait for the permanent establishment of the Shah's power in order to fix the boundaries regarding Shikarpur, etc.

Your obedient servant,
KISHAN CHAND."

The Shah advanced slowly along the left bank of the Sutlej. Passing through Bahawalpur, whose ruler gave him very little help—a few camels and a gun—the Shah turned his direction towards Shikarpur.¹ Meanwhile Ranjit, suspicious of the designs of the Shah and the British, wanted to ratify the Treaty of March, 1833; but it could be done only if Wade gave his decision on the terms relating to Shikarpur and Sind. Wade, however, was dissatisfied with the Maharaja, because the latter had referred the matter directly to the Governor General. In his letter Lala Kishan Chand reported his resentment:—

7th Baisakh, 1890.
(17th April, 1833).

YOUR HIGHNESS,

I went to see Captain Wade to-day. Referring to Your Highness' letter about the affairs of Shah Shujah, Captain Wade said that the matter had been transferred to Shahjahanabad and that he had only received the copies of the letters from Headquarters to the Resident. He added that Your Highness was fully aware of their contents and asked what more could be done in the matter. I replied, "I have already submitted to you, that as you were away from here and Shah Shujah all

1. Cf. Parliamentary Papers relative to the Expedition into Afghanistan, No. 22 and No. 23.

2. Parliamentary Papers, Lt. Mackeson to Captain Wade, 22nd May. 1833,

of a sudden prepared to go towards Afghanistan, therefore, the Maharaja Sahib wrote to Rai Gobind Jas to inquire regarding Shikarpur and the sending of an army in that direction. You know that the stationing of an army in that area is in the interest of both the Governments (the British and the Sikh) and nothing else was meant except friendship."

To this Captain Wade replied, "I know this well. Although the British Government has not openly deputed Shah Shujah in this expedition, in reality his expedition is on behalf of the British.¹ As it is, our Governments' intentions are very clear that the Shah should reach his destination safely." He further added "I have come to know from the English newspaper of Shahjahanabad that a treaty has been signed between the Maharaja and the Shah and a copy of the terms has reached me through the paper. The Shah has started on this expedition after his treaty with Ranjit. If this treaty has not been written, how could it reach Delhi?"²

I replied, "The treaty between the Maharaja and the Shah has been agreed upon and written, but there is a dispute regarding Shikarpur and the territory of Sind and its decision rests with you. The Shah had even said that if friendship could be established, then all possessions would belong to the Maharaja and that he had no objection to cede in writing half of Shikarpur and Sind, but would do so only after consulting you (Wade). In fact he had even given a blank cheque to Mullah Shakhur, so that after consulting you the Mullah may commit himself in writing regarding this affair. The Shah has no doubts about the friendship of the Maharaja."

"Captain Wade remarked that the Amirs of Sindh had tried to block the Shah's passage after the alliance between the Shah and the Maharaja and that it all appears a result of the diplomacy of the Maharaja.³ I replied 'There is no question of diplomacy, as I acted as an intermediary. The Maharaja has devoted his whole attention to the Shah and when he received many reports about the blockade of Shah's passage by the Amirs, he said that the country of Sindh and Shikarpur belonged to him, as their *vakils* had been always present at his court and had brought presents, etc. But keeping in consideration the traditional customs of the state and the circumstances of the time, he had agreed to the division of the territory. If the Sindhis allowed passage, everything would be all right, otherwise a passage would be forced through their country, or another would be granted through his own (Maharaja's) territory *via* Mithankot.' On this Captain Wade asked, 'How does the Maharaja propose to divide into half the territory of Sindh on this side of the Sutlej?' I replied that Your Highness wanted to stick to the terms of the treaty with the British; that was why Your Highness had written in detail that the annexation of the territory of Sindh on this side of the Sutlej was no infringement of the treaty.⁴ Now this matter is suspended,

1. This is a very important admission on the part of Captain Wade. It is difficult to say whether it illustrates his own interest in the expedition, or the prevailing opinion of the British Government.
2. During all these negotiations, there was a mutual suspicion, prevailing among the three parties. The Shah was suspicious of Ranjit, Ranjit was suspicious both of the Shah and the British, while the British were suspicious of Ranjit.
3. Ranjit thought that the Sutlej came to an end when it joined the Indus and therefore, the territory beyond that point was not covered by the treaty of 1809.
4. Wade to Macnaghten, 17th June, 1834.

as the Shah has started on the expedition. If the Sindhis allow him, then he would reach his destination and moreover the interests of the Amirs of Sindh lie in their allowing the Shah to proceed ; but if on account of their foolishness they block the way, then the Maharaja would help him and sending him ahead would conquer Shikarpur. The Maharaja was waiting only for the proper time.

Your obedient servant,
KISHAN CHAND."

It appears that the Maharaja, suspicious about the exclusive views of the British regarding Afghanistan, was anxious quickly to settle the matter. The Shah was allowed to occupy Shikarpur without opposition, Ranjit then ratified the treaty and felt greatly pleased on the Shah's success.¹ At Shikarpur, the Shah considerably replenished his treasury and made heavy demands upon the Amirs, who were anxious to get rid of him.² Greatly annoyed by his daily increasing demands, they gathered their forces to decide matters by sword. The Shah defeated them decisively on 9th January, 1834 and forced them to pay Rs. 5 lacs.³ The Amirs accepted the supremacy of the Shah and agreed to farm the Shikarpur territory on payment of a fixed annual tribute. Greatly encouraged by his initial success, the Shah advanced to Kandhar and reached that city early in summer without much opposition.

Dost Mohammad found himself in great difficulties ; his own brothers, the rulers of Kandhar and Peshawar, were intriguing for his overthrow ; the Durrani tribes were anxious to avenge the wrongs which they had suffered at the hands of the Barakzais ; the Sikhs were a standing menace ; while many of his own supporters were greatly disheartened by a belief that the expedition of Shah Shujah was supported by the British. But the Barakzai ruler acted with his usual promptitude ; gathering his supporters, he captured Jalalabad by a rapid assault⁴ and then marched on Kandhar, arriving just in time to save the city from Shah Shujah. The battle which was fought on 1st July, 1834 was a short affair ; the forces of the Shah were completely routed more on account of his own faint-heartedness than the valour of his opponents. His Indian troops under Campbell fought well, but they were deserted by the Shah and overwhelmed by the Afghans.⁵ The Shah, leaving his artillery and equipment, fled and after many wanderings, during which he made appeals to the Shah of Persia and Shah Kamran of Herat and attempted unsuccessfully to conquer Shikarpur, reached Ludhiana in March 1835, a disappointed but not a wiser man.⁶

Meanwhile, Ranjit, apprehending treachery on the part of the Shah, ordered his troops to cross the Indus and regularly annex Peshawar.⁷ The Sikh army, nominally led by Prince Nau Nihal Singh the young grandson of Ranjit Singh, but really commanded by his redoubtable

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1. Parliamentary Papers—Lt.-Col. Pottinger to W. H. Macnaghten, 6th January, 1834.
 2. Parliamentary Papers, Wade to Macnaghten, 1st February, 1834.
 3. Parliamentary Papers—Captain Wade to W. H. Macnaghten, 5th May, 1834.
 4. Parliamentary Papers—Captain Wade to W. H. Macnaghten, 19th July, 1834. Also Captain Wade to W. H. Macnaghten, 13th August, 1834.
 5. Wade to Government, 19th March, 1835.
 6. Peshawar had been conquered before, but had been left with Sultan Mohammad as a tributary. Parliamentary Papers, Wade to Macnaghten, 22nd May 1834.
 7. No Sardars joined this movement.

General Hari Singh Nalwa, marched on Peshawar and demanded an increased tribute of horses. Sultan Mohammad Khan expressed readiness to comply with the demand, but Hari Singh precipitated matters by attacking Peshawar and conquered it on 6th May, 1834. Sultan Mohammad Khan fled, losing Peshawar for ever for the Afghans.

For Dost Mohammad the expedition proved a blessing in disguise; in the baggage of the ex-Shah at Kandhar he had found numerous letters of the Afghan chiefs written to Shah Shujah, a copy of the treaty between Ranjit and the Shah, and a number of recommendatory letters written under the seal of Captain Wade to various persons to help the Shah. He was thus able to distinguish between his friends and foes and became fully convinced that the joint invasions of Shah Shujah and the Sikh Maharaja had been undertaken with the consent and approval of the British; so turned to Persia and Russia for allies, unconsciously sowing the seeds of the First Afghan War. The expedition revealed to Ranjit British interests in Sindh and afforded him an opportunity regularly to annex Peshawar to his dominions. His treaty with Shah Shujah (12th March, 1833) became the basis of the Tripartite Treaty. The expedition thus formed a prelude to the First Afghan War.

V

MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH'S RETURN TO INDIA

By K. S. Thapar, Esq., M.A. (Panjab), B.A., B. Litt. (Oxon).

After discussing causes of unrest which persisted among certain sections of the Sikhs for some years after the annexation of the Panjab to British India, the paper shows how a demonstration in Calcutta in 1861 on behalf of Dalip Singh, but really inspired by the memory of Ranjit Singh, was soon followed by the emergence of a subversive sect called the Kookas. It then proceeds :—

It was originally a sect which aimed at the reform of the Sikh religion, but it soon became a dangerous conspiracy against the government. This was the sect of the Kookas (or Criers), guided by men like Ram Singh and Sahib Singh. Ram Singh himself had served in the army under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but resigned after the Sikh wars, refusing to serve the new masters. Among those who joined the sect were men in whom the intoxication of recent power¹ had not yet subsided and those who, out of racial pride, wanted the Sikh Raj back again. This movement became connected with the question of Dalip Singh's return to India.

The Kooka sect of Juggeasis was originated in 1847 by a Sikh named Baluk Singh, of the Arora caste in the District of Rawalpindi. Baluk Singh lived at Hazro and, after making a considerable number of converts, died in January 1863. His favourite disciples were Kahn Singh, who after the death of Baluk Singh became the head of the sect in Hazro; Lall Singh, who preached at Amritsar; and Ram Singh, a resident of Bhainee in the Ludhiana District.¹ The lastnamed disciple became the

1. This account of the Kookas is taken mainly from the narrative, compiled from reports furnished to the Inspector of Police, and confidentially circulated for the information of police officers in 1872. (*Vide* Proceeding Home, India Office Records).

acknowledged Guru and head of the sect, having been unanimously elected on the death of Baluk Singh. Ram Singh was the son of a carpenter, Jussa Singh, of Bhainee, and in his early life assisted his father. In 1834 he took service under Ranjit Singh as a sowar in Nau Nihal Singh's regiment. On the taking of Lahore in 1846 he quitted the service and returned to Bhainee. In 1850, he met Baluk Singh and was converted to the sect. (Recruits were mainly taken from amongst the Tikhans, Lohars, Bhatees, Kulals and Aroras).

Ram Singh abolished all distinctions of caste among the Sikhs and advocated indiscriminate intermarriage of all classes. He enjoined the marriage of widows, all of which he performed himself.¹ He never took alms and prohibited his followers from doing so and enjoined abstinence from liquor and drugs.

As a sect the Kookas were a brotherhood, with the Grunth as their only accepted volume. The official informer records, "One of their maxims says 'It is well that every man carry his staff' and they all do." The brotherhood was known by the tie of their turbans (Sheeda Pug), by a watch-word and by a necklace of knots which was worn by all the community.² There was a special ceremony for initiation into the sect, which contained the verse :—

First consent to death,
Give up the desire to live,
Become the dust of the earth,
Then come to me.

At first Ram Singh alone exercised the power of proselytising, but later he had assistants called Subas or Lieutenants. Some of the favourite *Achloks* which they sang at their meetings were :—

Murhee musesten dhaike, kurdeo
maidana.

Pahlo maro Pir Bunnoo, phir
maro Sultana.³

Oomut subhe Mohamdee khap-
jai maidana.

Soonut koi na karsake, kamban
Turkana.

Bhainee Satguru jagea aur jhut
jahana.

Throw down tombs and musjeds
and make all level.

First annihilate Pir Bunnoo, after
do the same to Sultana.

All the followers of the Prophet
(Muhammed) will disappear at once.

Trembling Turks will not in
future be able to circumcise.

The true Guru has arisen in
Bhainee; the rest of the world is full
of lies.

The sect was thus originally a movement of religious reform amongst the Sikhs. The Kookas made themselves unpopular alike to Moham-madans and Hindus.⁴ Their whole policy was strongly anti-Muslim, and the only crime they were guilty of as a sect was the destruction of tombs.⁵ The Poojaris and other spiritual persons, who live by the votive offerings of orthodox Hindus, were naturally the bitterest enemies of the new sect, as the spread of its tenets deprived them of their marriage fees and other gains and exactions. The movement started among the

1. Proceedings Home (Judicial) Department, India Office Records.

2. Government of India Proceedings, (Judicial), India Office Records.

3. These are places of Muslim pilgrimage, the first in Patiala, the second in Multan.

4. *Ibid.*, Proceedings, Judicial, India Office Records.

5. *Ibid.*

poorer class and Ram Singh exercised great influence over his followers, who were always prepared to do anything at his command. Had this movement confined itself to religious reform, all would have been well. But Ram Singh and his principal Suba Sahib Singh, developed secular ambitions. The Government well knew the danger of a political movement in India led by an accepted saint; so they kept a close watch on the sect.

Munee Ram, a Brahmin of Jullundur, who later abjured his Kooka faith, informed the Government that in common with all other Sikhs, Ram Singh wanted their rule back again, though he did not preach this.¹ Upon this information the Cantonment Magistrate of Jullundur sent Gaindah Singh, a Sikh informer, to Ram Singh's village. Ram Singh himself was absent. Gaindah Singh met Sahib Singh, who converted him to Kookaism. Gaindah Singh was given a letter addressed to Ram Singh by Sahib Singh. This he pretended to have lost and later handed it over to the Cantonment Magistrate.

The following is the text of the two enclosures in the letter :—

"No. 1. Salutation: The Sahai of Guru Govind Singh, I, Guru Govind Singh, will be born in a carpenter's shop and will be called Ram Singh. My house will be between Jumna and Sutlej rivers. I will declare my religion. I will defeat the Ferenghis and put the crown on my head and blow the sunkh. The musicians shall praise me in 1921 (1864); the carpenter will sit on the throne. When I have got one lakh and 25 thousand Sikhs with me, I will cut off the heads of the Ferenghis. I will never be conquered in battle, and will shout *Akal, Akal*. The Christians will desert their wives and fly from the country when they hear the shouts of one and a half lakhs of Khalsas. A great battle will take place on the banks of the Jumna and blood will flow like the waters of the Ravce and no Ferenghee be left alive. Insurrections will take place in the country in 1922 (1865). The Khalsa will reign and the Raja and *ryot* will live in peace and comfort and no one shall molest another.

"Day by day Ram Singh's rule will be enlarged. God has written this. It is no lie, my brethren. In 1865 the whole country will be ruled by Ram Singh. My followers will worship Bhagras. God says this will happen."

"No. 2. Salutations: Read the enclosed (*i.e.* the above) to all Sikhs. It is the request of the Sikhs here. Send the name of your whereabouts. We wish to see you here. You have been absent a long time; come in this direction quickly. We cannot remain apart from you so long."²

When this report reached the Cantonment Magistrate, it was resolved to send another man in disguise with the informer to test the latter's story. In the meantime Ram Singh was under strict police surveillance. He was naturally suspicious of meeting new people, but he did not distrust these two, as he had seen the informer before and the other was now introduced as his brother. They stayed two days with Ram Singh, who treated them very kindly and talked to them in a friendly manner.

One night he said that his followers had been molested at Amritsar, Ferozepore and other places, but that one of his followers (being under

1. *Ibid.*

2. Proceedings, Judicial; India Office Records.

divine protection) was equal to 100 other men, European soldiers included; that on one occasion three Europeans actually came to his house or tent at Amritsar and that, if they had arrested him, his followers would have forthwith killed them. He said he had plenty of disciples in the Amritsar police, who, had he chosen, would in half an hour have rid the place of every European in it, but the time had not yet come.¹ On another occasion he told them that the English reign would soon cease, that 'its roots had not struck very deep.'²

No drill took place in the presence of these two, but they heard from the disciples that it did take place regularly under the Guru's lieutenant, Sahib Singh, who was then absent. The man sent with the informer also confirmed that Sahib Singh had actually given the foregoing letters to the informer.

From the letters quoted above it would appear that Sahib Singh, rather than Ram Singh, was the instigator of the movement. But although Sahib Singh was the more active agent in the political work, it is impossible that he could have done anything without consulting Ram Singh. His disciples actually believed him to be Guru Gobind Singh risen from the dead. They believed he could foresee and foretell everything and that he had actually foretold the fall of the Sikh Raj.³

The Kookas, or as they are sometimes called, the *Sunt Khalsa*, had a private post of their own, which appears to have been admirably organised.⁴ A Kooka, on the arrival in his village of another of the same sect with a despatch, at once left off his work; if in the midst of a repast, not another morsel was eaten; he asked no questions, but taking the missive started off at a run and conveyed it to the next relief or to its destination. Important communications were sent verbally and were not committed to writing. In carrying messages they are said to have made great detours to avoid the Grand Trunk Road.⁵

Reports reached the Government that the Kookas openly talked of being masters of the country at some time when all in the land would profess the new faith.⁶ In 1866 Gairdhar Singh, the informer, reported that the Kookas were ready for disturbance and that they had petitioned Ram Singh for orders. He asserted that there would be some disturbance on the following Dewali; but nothing happened. The Kookas were reported to have been very orderly in spite of the fact that they had cause for grievance at the Dewali of 1866.⁷

Although the Government kept a close watch over the Kookas, so far they had no cause for anxiety about them. They said that in every creed enthusiasts exist and that as Ram Singh's followers had conducted themselves in an orderly manner and shown forbearance under provocation, the saying of a few of the more fanatical among the sect could not in justice be taken as a correct index of the state of feeling pervading the minds of the majority.⁸

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Government of India Proceedings, Home; India Office Records.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Their offerings at the *Akal Takhat* temple at Amritsar were not accepted.

8. Government of India, Home (Judicial) Department Proceedings; (India Office Records).

But before long the Government was awakened to its danger. In February 1869 an outbreak occurred in Tera, near Mokatsar, in which after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, the Kookas of that neighbourhood proclaimed the Sikh Raj. Disturbances also occurred in Raikote and Amritsar, where the Kookas murdered some butchers. The Mokatsar incident was clearly a political riot. The murder of butchers was also considered a political move defying British authority, which had specially permitted kine-killing.¹

The evidence in these cases was carefully considered by the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab, who did not think it advisable to authorise a criminal prosecution against Ram Singh for complicity in the murders, although it appeared certain that his disciples would never have committed these murders without the knowledge and approval of their spiritual head. Moreover, in the trials at Amritsar and Raikote direct evidence was given by some of the accused implicating Ram Singh in the offence of abetting the murders by instigation; but the Government was still of the opinion that the case against him was not sufficiently clear to make his conviction in a criminal court certain.²

Henceforward the Government watched the Kookas with the utmost vigilance and there was necessarily a lull in the activities of the sect. But early in 1872 they made an armed attack on Mulodh and Malerkotla, which towards the end looked like an open rebellion. On the 13th January 1872 Hira Singh and Lehna Singh of Sukroutie (in Patiala) were in Bhaince. These men had formerly been in good circumstances, but were now poor. They collected a gang of about a hundred Kookas and by prayers and recitations worked them up to a state of frenzy. Then, after abusing the British Government and the Native States which assisted in the Raikote murder case, they called on the gang to revenge the death of Gayanee, a Subah who had been hanged at Ludhiana, about a month before. The Government had warning of the intended mischief, but the gang marched off towards Mulodh, where on the 14th January they attacked the residence of Sardar Badan Singh,³ wounded the Sardar and carried away some horses. Thence they proceeded to Kotla, about nine miles from Malodh, and attacked the palace and the treasury, but failed to take anything except two horses and a few swords. They were followed and quickly overcome.

It was certain that, unless immediate measures were taken, the numbers of insurgents would rapidly increase. What might have been an isolated attack by a small party of fanatics was now unmistakably proved to be an organised conspiracy on the part of a formidable sect to disturb the peace of the country.⁴ The antecedents of Ram Singh, the Kooka leader, and his lieutenants were so well known that no reasonable doubt could exist that the attacks on Malodh and Malerkotla were results of their orders and advice. The punishment meted out was

1. J. W. Macnabb, Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, to L. H. Griffin Officiating Secretary to Government Panjab; India Office Records.
2. Secretary Government of the Panjab to Government of India. Government of India Proceeding, Home Department; India Office Records.
3. Badan Singh was related to the Maharaja of Patiala and it is believed that the attack on him was made in order to take revenge for the assistance rendered by the Maharaja in the Raikote case.
4. L. R. Griffin Officiating Secretary to Government of Panjab to E. C. Bayley, Secretary Government of India, January 16th, 1872. Government of India Proceedings; India Office Records.

prompt and terrible. About fifty of those who actually took part in the rebellion were blown from guns without any trial by the order of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana.¹ Ram Singh and most of his Subas were tried for complicity in the crime and deported for various numbers of years.

The report of the inquiry proved beyond doubt that Kookaism aimed at the restoration of Sikh rule and, by necessity, the subversion of the British power. For this there is the evidence of the police officers that, when the Kooka revolt was suppressed "several of the Kookas were exceedingly abusive and declared they would have no Government² but their own." There was also the admission of witnesses themselves, though they pretended the words were meant in a different sense. It is clear that where the witnesses talked of a Sikh Raj succeeding that of the English, a temporal and not merely a spiritual rule was intended. The mere declaration of the immediate advent of the Sikh Raj under Kooka leadership was a teaching intended to stir up sedition. In addition to this there is the evidence of a great number of Zaildars and Lambardars or headmen of villages, to prove that the general preaching of the Subas themselves was seditious. It was explained that there must first be persecution and then success — "a convenient doctrine accounting for all reverses."³

The second point to be noticed is that the political ambition of the Kookas prompted them to seek a foreign alliance. They approached the State of Nepal. In 1871, Sahib Singh with a few other Kookas visited Jung Bahadur of Nepal. On this occasion he took two mules and two buffaloes with him as a present for Jung Bahadur, and his son Babbar Jung. In return he was given six hundred rupees in cash, two *kukris*, a pony, a shawl and a necklace.⁴ At the inquiry Sahib Singh pretended that this was a mere mercantile transaction, though he could hardly help smiling when he said this.⁵ The distance to be travelled, the expense of carrying the animals by rail and the mode of repayment show that the animals were a gift to the Nepal Chief, who of course, made a return present. What was the nature of the interview that took place, it is impossible to say. But one is tempted to believe that the interview had some political significance.

The Kookas were suppressed, but it is hard to believe that they ever forgot the treatment meted out to their leaders. Mendicants went about the entire province predicting the return of the Khalsa Raj and spreading 'old' prophecies, most of which they concocted themselves, tending to show that the days of the British were over. The rising surge of patriotism in the rest of India about his time, could only whet their purpose. Kookaism might have fitted very well in the general picture of the political life in India, but their violent tendencies made them dangerous.

Political feeling in the country at this time was in a turmoil. The

1. *Vide* Parliamentary Papers, 1873.
2. Police Department, Ludhiana District. 'Special Report of Crime.' *vide* Parliamentary Papers, 1873.
3. J. W. Macnabb, D. C., Ambala, forwarding the report of the inquiry to L. H. Griffin officiating to Government of Punjab, Home Department Proceedings; India Office Records.
4. Statement of Sahib Singh (Government of India, Proceedings; Home Judicial Department; India Office Records).
5. Remarks by the Deputy Commissioner in the evidence of Sahib Singh, *Ibid*.

first half of the 19th century had witnessed a great zeal to adopt western culture and civilisation. There was an urge for everything western, and this wave influenced practically every sphere of Indian life. Such actions were sure, sooner or later, to lead to equal reaction in the opposite direction. As time passed and education spread the outlook took a political turn. Education was designed to provide clerks for Government offices and, as schools and colleges began to turn out more young men than could be absorbed in government services and the professions and unemployment increased, the Indian people began to feel the political disabilities under which they laboured. Patriotism, labouring under a sense of wrong, assumed an offensive attitude. The *Nil Darpan* was the first to give expression to this new phase. In 1873-74 two dramas, *Sarat Savitri* and *Surendro Binodini*, were published, but were considered objectionable and Lord Lytton suppressed them. Patriotism was rapidly developing into a deep antagonism against the ruling race in the country. The teaching of the Theosophists and the Ilbert Bill controversy further accentuated this antagonism. Thus Indian national feeling grew very hostile to the government. The vernacular press in India became antagonistic, which necessitated the passing of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. Frequent reference was, nevertheless, made to the alleged Russian designs on India and to the Russian attempts to seduce the Native States. These rumours, false or true, caused a certain amount of excitement and kept the government on the alert.

This was the state of feeling in India when it was reported in the press that Dalip Singh intended to return India for good. As a result of this the Government received several warnings from different quarters. As early as July 1883 a letter¹ came from a missionary at Ludhiana. It runs as follows:

“ My dear Macnabb,

I do not know whether there is any foundation for the newspaper rumour that Maharaja Dalip Singh is going to visit the Panjab, but think it right, and represent that even the rumour is likely to have a disquieting effect and should be authoritatively contradicted. The Government has had experience before of the undesirability of letting him come to India at all. Certain Sikh Sakhees or prophecies put it that he is to rule in the Panjab this year. His desire to come this year (if true) naturally suggests a nasty coincidence. I find that the feeling on the subject is keen and I am told that it would be most inadvisable to allow it, most especially just now, first with regard to the prophecy; secondly, with reference to the somewhat excitable feeling just now amongst certain classes; and thirdly, the excitement it would cause.”

This warning had some weight, as Wakefield saw a great deal of the people.

On 30th July, the Commissioner of Jullundur forwarded to Young, Chief Secretary to the Government of Panjab, a letter addressed to him by the Rev. Gordon, a missionary, with the following note :—

" I send you for His Honour's perusal, a note addressed to me at my request by the Rev. Gordon, a missionary of experience, showing that Dalip Singh has not scrupled to talk to Americans in a tone of dissatisfaction amounting to disaffection against the British Government. I have myself the strongest opinion of the unwisdom of allowing him to visit India ; we all know the restless state and state of expectancy in which the Kookas are living just now. We have enough popular excitement on hand of one sort or another without adding fuel of the sort this visit will prove to the minds of the disaffected men.

" Have the Panjab Government been consulted and if not can they not protest against having this embarrassment thrust upon them? I hope I am not an alarmist, but I certainly think this proposed visit ill-timed to a degree and fraught with possible political dangers."

In his statement Mr. Gordon had merely affirmed that Dalip Singh had expressed to two American gentlemen, his strong dislike of the British Government and a desire to rule the Panjab ; that he expressed his determination to go to India, even if he must go by way of Russia. Dalip Singh's sentiments as related above were expressed in confidence to private guests. Therefore, they were forwarded now by Gordon " for the use of the Government only and not for the public." " The presence of Ranjit Singh's heir in India," he added, " just now particularly, with his known ambition, might I fear become the occasion of a popular movement."¹

A similar view was expressed by an Indian gentleman, Sardar Attar Singh, C.I.E. He said in his letter to Mr. Young, Secretary to the Panjab Government, that it was not prudent to let the Maharaja visit India, particularly in that eventful year (Sambat 1940) known as *chalisa*, as there were numerous prophecies among the Hindus about its being a bad year both in respect of politics and religion. Similar belief was prevalent among the Mohammadans, who were living in great expectancy and looking forward to the advent of the Day of Judgment, which, as believed by the Mohammadans, was to take place some time that year. " There are several prophecies in the Sikh Sakhis " he added, " about the advent of the Khalsa raj and if Dalip Singh is allowed to return to India, the ignorant public will believe that all these prophecies will come true."²

These are the reasons why the Government disallowed Dalip Singh to visit India. Under these portentous warnings the Government framed their policy. Nor were the warnings absolutely groundless. They were ratified by letters of a revolutionary nature sent to people about the entire Panjab ; and in all of them Dalip Singh was given a prominent place. All these letters were posted from Amritsar. They start, " India for natives only," or " India for Indians only." Their text is simple and short :

" Wear this⁴ and let it be the sign of brotherhood and friendship. Remember our noble Surrendra Nath Bannerji of Calcutta. Be true to our race as Indians and strike now. The only chance left us is *Maharaja Dalip Singh ki jai*."

1. Letter from A. Gordon to M. Young, Commissioner, Jullundur ; July 30th, 1883. Panjab Government Records.

2. Sardar Attar Singh to M. Young, August 2nd, 1883. *Ibid*.

3. Letter to Young by Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, August 8th, 1883. *Ibid*.

4. On both ends of each letter is a piece of black tape.

Under these circumstances it was thought advisable to nip the evil in the bud and not to allow any opportunity for it to spread. Whether they rightly gauged the public sentiment is doubtful. These exciting letters were possibly the work of agents of Dalip Singh himself. From the way his 'manifestoes' were received in India and the comments on them by the Press we come to the conclusion that the danger was not very great. Dalip Singh had been in correspondence with certain people in the Panjab for quite a long time. As early as 1883 he had invited Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia and Harkishen Das to England. This was done in order to take advice about his private property. Only Harkishen Das went to England. The Government did not worry about him, as it was represented that the boy was a butt and Dalip Singh could not make much out of him, nevertheless he was cautioned.¹

On the other hand, the question of Thakur Singh almost perturbed the Government and they thought of preventing his visit to England. The Sardar was in debt and his creditors had filed suits against him. Just when he expressed his desire to embark for England, one of them applied for his arrest.² This was a handle to the Government. He was told that he must not think of taking such a step and that the Government would make efforts to rid him of his encumbrances.³ But the Sardar's alleged anxiety to go quickly to England was chiefly with a view to getting help from Dalip Singh to relieve him of his debts, as he had some family connection with the Maharaja. This again nonplussed the Government. "If the object of detaining him" says Knox, in his letter to M. Young, 3rd September 1883, "is for him to settle or help the court to settle his debts, that object would be particularly defeated by preventing his going to get funds for the very purpose. On the other hand, if there is any political development in view, his detention would probably counteract this."⁴

In the meantime the Sardar was declared incapable of managing his own property and was put under a court of wards. He could consequently not leave India without formal permission. If he desired to go to England, the matter had to be reported with reasons.⁵ But the Lieutenant Governor ultimately succeeded in convincing the Sardar that the Maharaja was himself in debt and very unlikely to render him assistance. The Sardar eventually agreed to give up his intention of going to England at the time.⁶ A year or so later however, Thakur Singh went to England and stayed as a guest of the Maharaja for nine months. By this time, it appears, Dalip Singh's plans were made up. He had his agents in the Panjab and he thought they had prepared the ground for him. Thakur Singh, the head of the once famous Sindhanwalia family, had been working to foment opinion in favour of Dalip Singh among the aristocracy of the province. It is not unlikely that he was the person who first induced Dalip Singh to return to India and embarrass the Government.¹ Thakur Singh's subsequent conduct shows that his visit to England in 1885 was

1. Letter of the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar to M. Young, 14th of September, 1883. *Ibid.*
2. Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar to M. Young, 30th of July, 1883. *Ibid.*
3. M. Young to McMahon, 8th September, 1883. *Ibid.*
4. Letter of G. Knox to M. Young, 3rd September, 1883.
5. Despatch prepared by M. Young. *Ibid.*
6. M. Young to Grant, Secretary Government of India, 11th September, 1883. *Ibid.*

to settle the plans of the intended movement, for after his return to India he shifted, to Pondicherry, obviously to be outside the jurisdiction of the Viceroy.

In spite of this, all might have gone well. The Government were careful, but they did not intend taking any harsh step. When Dalip Singh gave out his intention of visiting India, the Viceroy made arrangements for his stay in the southern peninsula.² But on the eve of his departure Dalip Singh issued an inflammatory address to the Sikhs and also made certain other declarations of a somewhat menacing character. This rendered it necessary, in the opinion of the Government of India, to put in force the special power possessed by the Governor General in Council as soon as the Maharaja came within their jurisdiction at Aden.³

VI

THE ARREST AND RELEASE OF SARDAR LAHNA SINGH MAJITHIA

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There is hardly a line to be found in the current works of history on the arrest of so important a person as Sardar Lahna Singh Majithia at Calcutta during the days of the Anglo-Sikh War of December 1845 – February 1846 and his subsequent release in March 1846. Sardar Lahna Singh Majithia, son of Sardar Desa Singh Majithia, was one of the most prominent characters of Sikh history during the declining days of the Lion of the Panjab—Maharaja Ranjit Singh—and during the five years following the death of the great Sikh monarch. But he was not a man of initiative. On the death of Dhian Singh, the Dogra Vizir of Lahore, on September 15, 1843, his son Hira Singh had come to succeed him. He was all powerful, and he played to the tune of his *tantric* preceptor Jallha Pandit. Jallha was a personal enemy of Sardar Lahna Singh. In the reign of chaos and confusion that was then supreme in Lahore, Lahna Singh found his life and property insecure and he, therefore, decided to leave the Panjab. In the first week of Chaitra 1901 Vikrami, corresponding to the third week of March, 1844, Sardar Lahna Singh, Bhai Ram Singh and Bhai Govind Ram left for a visit to the Ganges at Hardwar.

About a month and three weeks later, Jallha prevailed upon Hira Singh, Dogra, the Prime Minister, to despatch an expeditionary force against Bhai Vir Singh, the Saint of Aurangabad, near Tarn Taran in the Amritsar District on the plea of his harbouring malcontent chiefs. The hermitage

1. This view was also expressed by the Lieut. Governor of the Panjab. In his letter to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 7th February, 1887. M. Young Secretary to the Panjab Government wrote: "The Lieut. Governor has reason for believing that Thakur Singh has been an active agent in promulgating the complaints of Maharaja Dalip Singh relative to his treatment by the British Government"; Panjab Government Records. A similar view was expressed by the Sikh community of Gujranwala in their reply to Dalip Singh's manifesto. (*Infra*).
2. Statement of the Under-Secretary of State for India (Mr. Stafford Howard) in the House of Commons, May 25th, 1886. Hansard.
3. *Ibid*.

of the Saint was bombarded on the 8th of May, and among those who were killed were Bhai Vir Singh, Sardar Attar Singh Sapdhanwalia, Sardar Jwahir Singh and Prince Kashmira Singh. Evidently this confirmed the fears of Sardar Lahna Singh, and while Bhai Ram Singh and Bhai Govind Ram returned to the Panjab under his express wishes, he removed himself further away and moved on towards Benares,¹ where he could spend his days in peace and prosecute his astronomical and other studies.

Passing through Garh Mukteshwar, Muthra, Bindraban, Pragraj (Allahabad) and Gaya he arrived at Benares. Here he built a house for himself and settled down to a peaceful life. During his stay at Benares, he received frequent solicitations from Hira Singh and several letters from Maharaja Duleep Singh, bearing the seals of all the chiefs, but nothing could move him to return to the Panjab. The Maharaja even deputed two of his agents, Sardar Amar Singh and Bawa Lachhman Singh, to persuade him, and they stayed for about five months with the Sardar, but they could extract his consent.

In the winter of 1845, Sardar Lahna Singh undertook a journey to the eastern provinces with a view to visiting Ganga Sagar² and Jagannath Puri. In the meantime the Anglo-Sikh War broke out on the Panjab frontier. On his departure from the country Sardar Lahna Singh had left the management of his estates in the hands of his half-brother Sardar Ranjodh Singh Majithia, the youngest son of Sardar Desa Singh by another wife. Sardar Ranjodh Singh was then a General in the Sikh Army. With his Brigade, consisting, according to Griffin³, of some ten thousand infantry, sixty guns and some irregular cavalry, he marched on the English cantonment of Ludhiana, set fire to a portion of it and intercepted the force of Sir Harry Smith and inflicted a heavy loss upon him by the capture of almost all the baggage of the army on the 21st January, 1846. This became the plea for the Government of India to place Sardar Lahna Singh under surveillance and to detain the property of the Sardar. The Secretary to the Government with the Governor General in his letter No. 8 of 1846, dated Ferozepore, 9th January, 1846, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, informed him that "The Governor General has determined that the property of Leina Sing Mujitheia in our provinces shall be held responsible for the damage which has been, or may be done to the station of Loodhiana by the instrumentality of that Sardar's representative and manager." The President in Council was desired, the letter continued, to "issue instructions for preventing the removal from Benares (or wherever else it may be deposited) of the property in money, jewels, etc., of Sirdar Leina Sing Mujitheia, and that the person of the Sirdar may be placed under surveillance. It is not intended," the Secretary wrote in the third paragraph of the letter "that the restraint under which the Sirdar is placed should be more stringent than is necessary to prevent his leaving the place at which he may now be and to prevent his correspondence by letter or otherwise with the parties in the Panjab."⁴

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1. Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. 3, P. 44-45, 54-58; Shah Mohamad, verses 30-1.
 2. Also known as 'Sagar, an island at the mouth of the Hugli river, Bengal; a celebrated place of Hindu pilgrimage.
 3. *Panjab Chiefs* (1890), I. 272.
 4. Proceedings, Government Bengal, Judicial Department, Judicial 28th January, 1846, Vol. 99, Item 136 b.

The Sardar was then at Calcutta on his way back from Ganga Sagar. The instructions were, therefore, passed on to the Government of Bengal on the 20th January, 1846 to be carried into effect.¹

The warrant for the arrest was issued on the 22nd January, 1846. In obedience to this warrant, on 23rd January the Sardar was placed under surveillance. The followers of the Sardar were all disarmed. He, however, considered the carrying away of his arms a matter of disgrace, and as the magistrate found the Sardar to be "extremely reasonable," he "conceded this point and had them placed under guard."

"The Sardar appeared to have very little property with him, at Belgatchya," says the Magistrate, "and his horses and marching establishment to be of little value. I, therefore, deemed it would be a superfluous expense to Government to make a formal attachment of them, as Government would be expected to bear the charge of feeding them. I, therefore, merely had a list made . . . and directed the guards to prevent their removal till further orders . . ."

The Sardar informed Mr. Mytton that he had a boat near the Bagh Bazar bridge, in which his money was deposited, and that as his own men were disarmed he desired that it should be properly guarded. The Magistrate thereupon despatched the Darogha of Chitpore to take care of it and to inform him what it contained. The Magistrate immediately wrote to Sardar Lehna Singh requesting him to depute a confidential person to open the boxes so that an inventory could be taken of their contents. On the morning of the following day, 24th January, 1846, Mr. Mytton sent his head clerk Mr. F. Floyd to make the inventory of the lady's boxes. He, however, at the same time directed him not to insist on the boxes being opened, if the Sardar objected to it. As to the boat, he ordered that it should be shifted as near to the collector's office as circumstances permitted, and that the valuable property in cash and jewels that it contained should be taken out and made over to the Collector of 24 Pergunnahs.² At the request of the Magistrate, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal asked, the Collector "to receive and lodge in security in your treasury such monies and other valuables belonging to Sardar Leina Sing as may be made over to you for that purpose by the Magistrate of your district."

After the Magistrate had arrested the Sardar and placed him under the charge of Captain M. F. Gordon on the morning of 23rd January, 1846, the Sardar detained the Captain till 11 o'clock, detailed his grievances and desired him "to write and inform the Hon'ble Governor that he (Sardar Lehna Singh) felt much humiliated by what had taken place in the morning. He said that to escape from the disturbances in the Panjab he had left it, more than two years ago, against the wishes of Hira Singh and others, who had since then frequently solicited him to return, but he was tired of their intrigues and dissensions and had disregarded their invitations; . . . he ought not, he maintained, to be held responsible for the acts of his brother, which he had not prompted, nor could he control them; and he dwelt particularly on the indignity which, he said, had been put upon him, by surrounding his house with sepoys, seizing the arms of his followers and making himself a prisoner.

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1. Letter No. 83 of 1846, dated 20th January, 1846, Foreign Department (Secretary) from the Officiating Secretary Government of India, Fort William, to Secretary Government Bengal.
 2. R. H. Mytton to Secretary Government, Bengal, No. 77 of 24th January, 1846.

It would have been more courteous, he said, and agreeable to his feelings, to have been placed in Calcutta, under me (Captain Gordon) or any other officer; with the understanding that if he quitted, he should forfeit his liberty or be punished in any way Government might direct.”¹

On the 24th January, 1846 Sardar Lehna Singh handed over to Captain Gordon a petition in Persian to the Deputy Governor, Bengal, which the latter transmitted on the same day to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, with an English translation, as follows :—

Yesterday Mr. Melvill, Mr. Mytton and Captains Lang and Gordon came to me and said that my brother Runjoor Singh had burned the Cantonment of Loodeanah belonging to the British Government and had put to death (several individuals there); on that account Government had determined on placing me under surveillance. I answered what I considered fitting and agreed to all the injunctions of the Government, and I hope the above gentlemen have informed you of it. My history is this. It is two years since I crossed over into British territory with my family and property During my stay I received several letters from the Maharaja of Lahore bearing the seals of all the chiefs, inviting me to return, and Sardar Umar Singh and Baba Lakshmun Singh, confidential servants of the Maharaja even came for me, and remained with me for five months. However, I gave them a positive denial and I did not return. On their receiving letters from the Lahore Government telling them that if I did not accompany them, they were to return without me, they went away Notwithstanding my having brought my family and all my effects into British territory, I find myself in disgrace and a prisoner. It is astonishing if any charge could be brought against me in connection with my brother Runjoor Singh. Even if he were my real brother, yet I cannot be blamed, because it is two years since I left that country and came to this quarter. I did not return there even when I was summoned by the Maharaja. He (Runjoor Singh) is responsible for his own acts. I have nothing to do with them. I have no desire whatsoever to return to Lahore

True Translation.

M. Forbes Gordon, Bart, Captain,
Superintendent of the ex-Ameers of Scinde.²

It was the practice of the followers and servants of the Sardar to speak to him, or among themselves in his presence, in a very low tone. This was misunderstood by Captain Gordon on the 23rd January, 1846, when he first visited him in company with the Magistrate and reported to the Military Secretary to the Governor of Bengal on the same day saying: “I scarcely know yet what to think of this chief, but the constant whisperings among his followers after you left this morning and other signs lead me to apprehend that he has to answer to us for more than the burning of Loodhiana by his brother, and if he is even suspected of intrigue, it would I confess, be more satisfactory to me if he could be placed where I could exercise a more personal surveillance over him than in his present residence. I would also withdraw from the compound the whole of the arms (his own excepted, and dismiss some

1. Captain M. F. Gordon to Military Secretary to Governor, Bengal, 23rd January, 1846.

2. Gordon to Secretary Government, Bengal, 24th January, 1846.

of his followers, if he is suspected of having intrigues against or being in any way inimical to Government."¹

But Captain Gordon soon realised his mistake and corrected it in his letter of the 26th January. "I write a line to say," he wrote to the Military Secretary, "that I have a better opinion of the Sirdar than when I had the pleasure of addressing you last, as I find that the whispering I then alluded to as having a suspicious nature, is the ordinary mode in which the attendants address the chief when they have anything to say however trifling. I have been a good deal with him and my impression is that he has given a true account of himself."²

In acknowledging the receipt of Captain Gordon's letters of 23rd and 26th January and of the petition of Sardar Lehna Singh, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal referred to the Captain the remarks of Mr. Floyd in his report of 26th January, that the Sardar was visited by a number of persons from Calcutta under suspicious circumstances and desired him to let him (the Secretary) know whether the report was correct in that respect and whether he had any explanations to make on the subject.³ To this Captain Gordon replied on the 30th: "that since the Sirdar was arrested, I have visited him always once, and generally twice every day, and have invariably found him with a few of his followers. The individuals alluded to in the report, as having been with the Sirdar on the morning in question, were two native merchants from Calcutta, and one or two servants of the Baboo to whom the house belongs, all of whom had permission from me to visit him . . . This morning I instructed the Jamadar of the Guard to admit no person to the Sardar, except his own dependents."⁴

Sardar Lehna Singh had in his possession several letters from the Lahore Durbar written to him during his sojourn at Benares, desiring him with many liberal promises, to return to Lahore. These Captain Gordon recommended him to forward to the Government and also the copies of his replies, which he had kept, and in which he had assigned reasons for not returning the Panjab, being tired of politics.⁵ On this the Sardar desired Captain Gordon to forward to the Government the English translation of a *Parwana* dated 6th Jeth, 1902 Vikrami, 18th May, 1845, from Maharaja Duleep Singh remonstrating with him for having left the Panjab and soliciting him, with promises of honour and preferment, to return to his country. Captain Gordon sent it on to the Secretary of the Government of Bengal under his letter No. 10 of 1846, dated 28th January 1846; saying that the Sardar's "object in forwarding this letter is to satisfy Government that he is travelling in British territory from motives unconnected with politics and that he has incurred the displeasure of the Lahore Darbar by declining their urgent solicitations to return to the Panjab."⁶

As all the cash of the Sardar had been removed from his boat and lodged in the Alipore Treasury and the boxes containing the wearing apparel of his wife and her attendants had also been removed, the

1. Captain Gordon to the Military Secretary, 23rd January, 1846.

2. Captain Gordon to Military Secretary, 26th January, 1846.

3. Secretary Government, Bengal to Captain Gordon, 28th January, 1846.

4. Captain Gordon to Secretary Government Bengal, No. 15 of 1846, 30th January, 1846.

5. Captain Gordon to Military Secretary, 26th January, 1846.

6. Captain Gordon to Secretary, No. 10, 28th January, 1846.

Deputy Governor advanced him Rs. 5,000 (Rs. 3,000 for his monthly expenses and Rs. 2,000 to liquidate his bazar debts) from his own funds deposited in the treasury of the Collector of 24 Pergunnahs. The wearing apparel of his wife and her attendants were also made over to him.¹ Further requests of the Sardar for another advance of Rs. 13,300 and for arrangements to have his pinnacle coppered by a competent boat-builder were favourably considered by the Government and necessary arrangements were made, without any delay, to comply with his wishes.² There was, however, some protracted correspondence regarding the restoration of money and jewels found among the wearing apparel of the Sardar's wife.³

During the five weeks that had elapsed since his arrest, Sardar Lehna Singh felt harassed and uneasy under the guard that had been placed over him, and he, therefore, submitted on the 3rd March, 1846, the following memorial to the Government of Bengal requesting that the guard over him might be removed :

"It is quite apparent to Your Honour that five weeks have elapsed since a guard has been placed over me. I have already sent to Your Honour a memorial from which your Honour might have become acquainted with the whole of my circumstances, but as I have not yet been honoured with a reply, I beg to write that from having a guard placed over me, I am much harassed and unable to move about according to my own perception (*sic*). I have neither committed any crime nor have I done any unworthy action. But it is now two years since . . . I left my country with the whole of my family under the shadow of the *Sahiban* for my own comfort and welfare, and to that end I have built a house there. When Sardar Amar Singh and Bawa Luchman Singh, the confidential servants of the Maharaja of Lahore were ordered to bring me back, your Honour must be well aware of the positive refusal I gave them in the presence of Major Carpenter, the Resident at Benares, and I wrote a petition to the Maharaja and refused to return to the country. I afterwards obtained a letter from the Resident at Benares, to your Honour's address as also a pass and *chuprassies* But guards of *Sahiban* have been placed over me. If there be any charge against me, I hope it will be made known to me ; otherwise Your Honour will be pleased to relieve me from the hardship of the guard ; and though it be the pleasure of your Honour that I should live at Calcutta for some days more, yet I hope the guards will be removed ; and I will stop here as long as your Honour shall order me, and at the expiration of those days I will obtain my discharge from Your Honour together with a letter to the address of the Resident at Benares. Your Honour by way of kindness will order Captain Gordon to visit me as long as I am here, and to transact for me any business which may occur.

True Translation.

M. F. Gordon, Bart, Captain,
Superintendent of the Ex-Ameers of Scinde.⁴

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1. Secretary to Captain, Gordon 6th February, 1846, Gordon to Secretary, 6th February, 1846, Under Secretary to Bengal Government to Collector 24 Pergunnahs 10th February, 1846.
 2. Gordon to Secretary, 2nd March, 1846 ; Secretary to Gordon No. 69, 1846, 7th March, 1846, etc.
 3. 6th February, 1846 ; 10th February, 1846 ; etc.
 4. Gordon to Secretary, Bengal, No. 36, 3rd March, 1846.

At this time news arrived from the Panjab that hostilities between the Sikhs and the British Government had ceased and that friendship had been re-established between the two powers. The Sardar, thereupon felt that there was no cause for his further detention and he therefore wrote as follows to the Hon'ble Sir Herbert Maddock on the 6th March, 1846:

A. C.

I have sent to your Honour the accounts of my circumstances, but I have not as yet been honoured and gratified with a reply. I am told just now by Captain Gordon that between the two Governments of the Honorable Company and the Maharaja of Lahore, the rules of friendship and unity are established anew, and so I entertain great hopes that Your Honour has not only held a consultation for my enlargement but for issuing orders to set me at liberty, I, therefore, beg to solicit that as the hot season is fast approaching, Your Honour (will be pleased) to issue orders for my freedom as soon as Your Honour can do so in order that through Your Honour's kindness I may obtain my discharge and after visiting the places of worship, I may return to Benares and live comfortably.¹

The Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to whom the Sardar's memorial of the 3rd March had been forwarded by the Government of Bengal, replied on the 7th March, 1846, in his letter No. 69, to say that "The President in Council is of opinion that in consideration of the late progress of events in the war with the Seikhs, Sirdar Lehna Sing may be properly relieved from the condition of surveillance in which, on requisition from the Governor General, he has for some time been held, and His Honour in Council, therefore, desires that the guard now stationed at the Sirdar's residence may be withdrawn.

"Before restoring to the Sirdar his property, which at the time of his arrest was attached in order to meet any demands against him in compensation for damages incurred by the conduct of the troops of his brother Ranjoor (Runjodh) Sing the President in Council will make a reference to the Governor General and await the expression of His Excellency's wishes on the subject."

The guard in question was removed from the Sirdar's residence on the following morning, 8th March, 1846. But it was not possible for him to leave Calcutta without the restoration of his property. He, therefore, submitted to the Hon'ble Sir Herbert Maddock, Deputy Governor, Bengal the following memorial on the 11th March, 1846:

On Sunday, the 27th of Phaugun Captain Gordon came and removed the guard which had been placed over me and said that through the kindness of the *Sahiban* I was set at liberty; he also stated that there would be a little delay in restoring the whole of my money, etc., which is in deposit with the Collector, and I, therefore, beg to represent to Your Honour that the hot season is now at hand, and (one) generally suffers from travelling (at that time) and without receiving my property how can my departure take place? I hope that (Your Honour) by way of kindness will restore the whole of the property to me and will also give me a pass together with a letter for Major Carpenter, in order that I may reach Benares and live comfortably. The rest of my history is known to Your Honour, that I have neither an account with anyone, nor

1. Gordon to Secretary Bengal, No. 28, 6th March, 1846.

do I concern myself about public affairs, because it is now two years since I left my country for this and built a house at Benares under the shadow of the *Sahiban* solely for the purpose of visiting the places of worship and serving the Almighty. I hope Your Honour will be pleased to restore to me my property and to permit me to depart hence as soon as practicable, and it will put me under great obligation to you.

True Translation.

M. Fobes Gordon,

*Superintendent of the Ex-Ameers of Scinde.*¹

This memorial, in turn, was forwarded by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India, Foreign Department, on the 18th March "for the consideration and orders of the supreme Government" and the final orders were issued by the latter on the 28th March, 1846, saying "that His Honour the President in Council is of opinion that the property may be released and the Sirdar is at liberty to return to Benares."²

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1. Proceedings Judicial Department, Judicial Branch, 8th April, 1846, O. C. 73.
 2. Under Secretary, Bengal to Officiating Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 532, 18th March, 1846; Officiating Secretary Government of India to Secretary, Bengal, No. 89, 28th March, 1846.

Lahore:
Printed by The Northern India Printing and
Publishing Co., 11-B, Lawrence Road.

